

THE
HISTORIE
of the Reigne of
KING
HENRY
THE SEVENTH.

Written by the Right Hon:
FRANCIS LORD VERULAM,
Viscount S. Alban.

Whereunto is now added a very
usefull and necessary Table.

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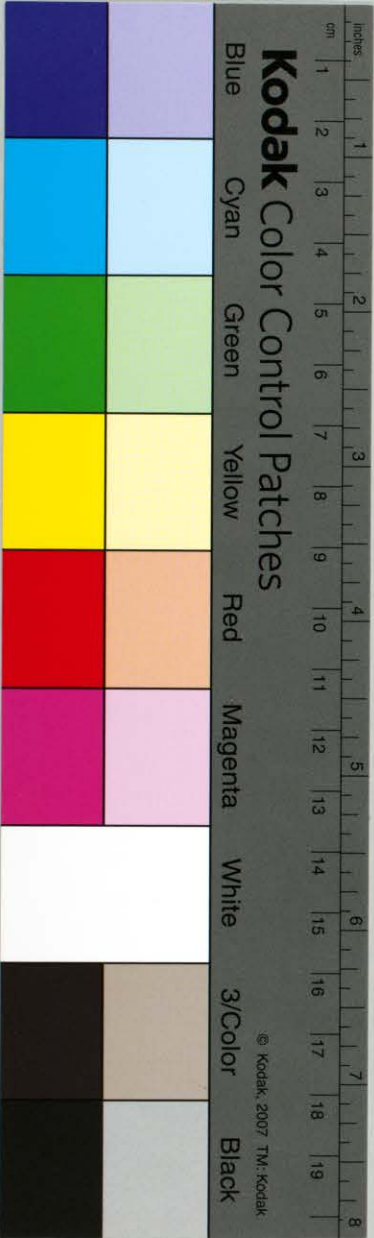


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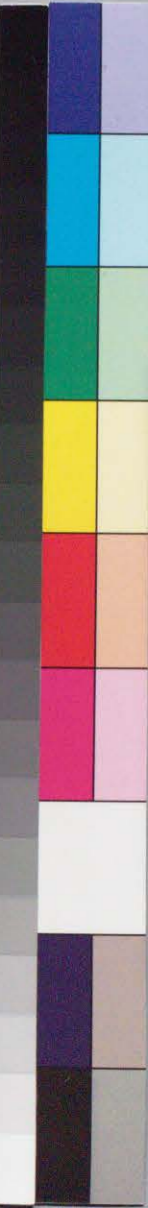


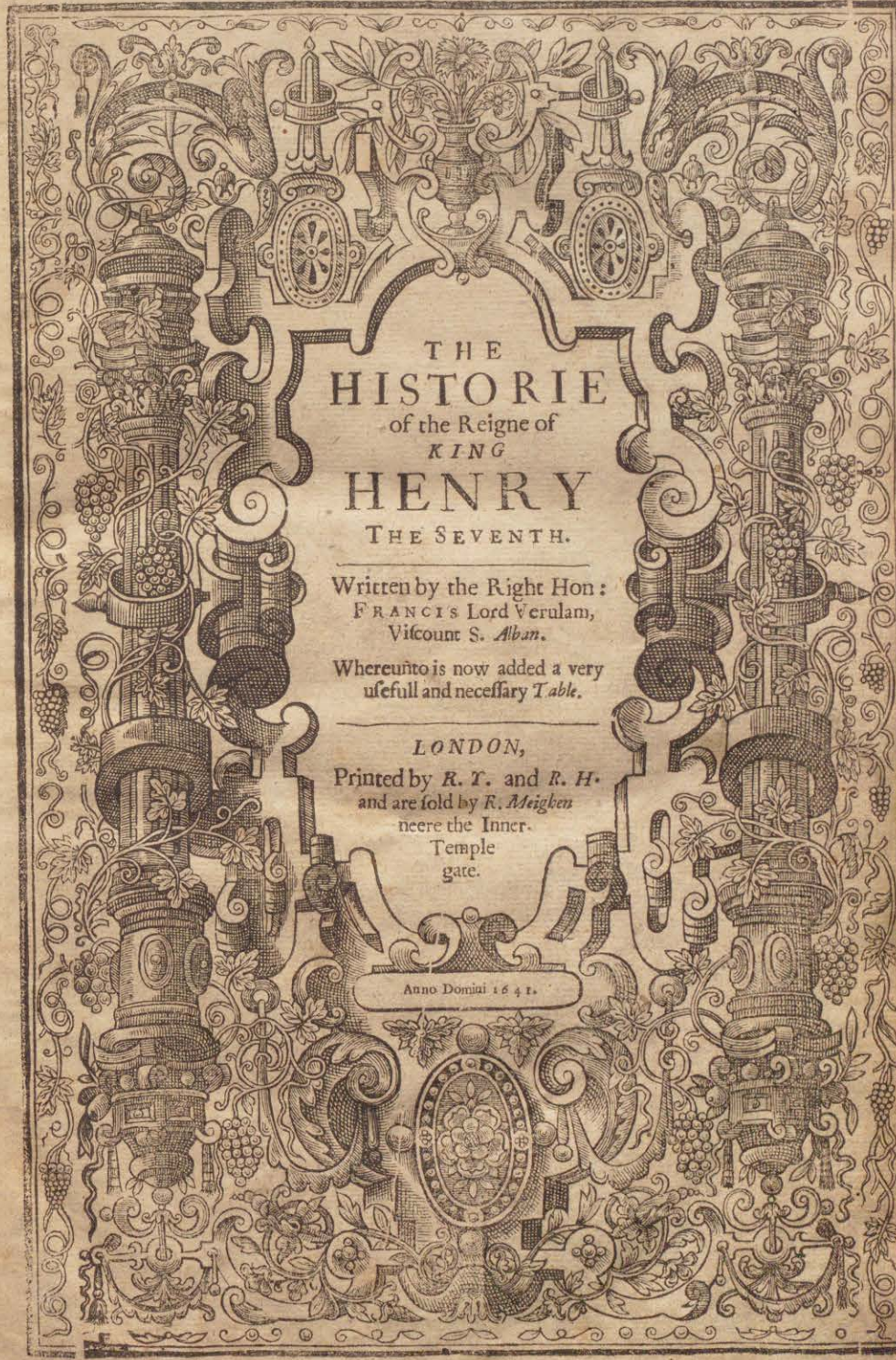
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Anno Domini 1633.



TO THE MOST
ILLUSTRIOUS AND
MOST EXCELLENT
PRINCE,

CHARLES,

Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*,

Earle of *Chester*, &c.

It may Please Your Highnesse,

IN part of my acknowledgment to *Your Highnesse*, I have endeavoured to doe *Honor* to the *Memory* of the last *King* of *England*, that was *Ancestor* to the *King* your *Father*, and *Your self*; and was that *King* to whom both *Unions* may in a sort referre: That of the *Roses* being in him *Consummate*, and that of the *Kingdomes* by him begun. Besides, his *times* deserve it. For hee was a *Wise Man*, and an

The Epistle Dedicatory.

an Excellent King; and yet the times were rough, and full of Mutations, and rare Accidents. And it is with *Times*, as it is with *Waves*. Some are more *Up-hill* and *Down-hill*, and some are more *Flat* and *Plaine*; and the *One* is better for the *Liver*, and the *Other* for the *Writer*. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so farre off, and having no better light. It is true, *Your Highnesse* hath a Living Patterne, Incomparable, of the *King your Father*. But it is not amisse for *You* also to see one of these Ancient Peees. God preserve *Your Highnesse*.

Your Highnesses most humble

and devoted Servant,

Francis St. Alban



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FINIS.




THE
HISTORIE
OF THE REIGNE OF
King HENRY the Seventh.

AFTER that RICHARD the third of that Name, King in fact onely, but Tyrant both in Title and Regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was by the *Divine Revenge*, favouring the designe of an Exilde man, overthrowne and slaine at *Bosworthfield*: There succeeded in the Kingdome the Earle of *Richmond*, thence-forth stiled HENRY the Seventh. The King immediately after the Victory, as one that had bene bred under a devout Mother, and was in his nature, a great observer of Religious formes, caused *Te Deum Laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole Armie upon the place, and washinselfe with generall applause, and great Cries of Joy, in a kind of *Militar Election*, or *Recognition*, saluted King. Meane-while the body

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of RICHARD after many indignities and reproches (the *Dirigies* and *Obsequies* of the common people towards *Tyrants*) was obscurely buried. For though the King of his Noblenesse gave charge unto the *Friers of Leicester* to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the *Religious people* themselves (being not free from the humors of the *Vulgar*) neglected it; wherein neverthelesse they did not then incurre any mans blame or censure. No man thinking any ignominie or contumely unworthy of him, that had beene the Executioner of King HENRY the Sixth (that innocent Prince) with his owne hands; the Contriver of the death of the Duke of *Clarence*, his Brother; the Murderer of his two *Nephews* (one of them his lawfull King in the Present, and the other in the Future, sayling of him) and vehemently suspected to have beene the Impoisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his Bed, a for Marriage within the *Degrees forbidden*. And although he were a Prince in Militar vertue approved, jealous of the honour of the *English Nation*, and likewise a good *Law-maker*, for the ease and solace of the common people: yet his Cruelties and Parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed downe his Vertues and merits; and in the opinion of wise men, even those Vertues themselves were conceived to be rather fained, and *affected* things to serve his Ambition, then true *Qualities* ingenrate in his Judgment or Nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding (who seeing his after Acts, looked backe upon his former Proceedings) that even in the time of King EDWARD his Brother, he was not without secret *Traines* and *Mines* to turne Envy and Hatred upon his Brothers Government; as having an Expectation and a kind of Divination, that the King, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his

his Sonnes of tender yeares; and then he knew well, how easie a step it was, from the place of a *Protector*, and first *Prince of the Blood*, to the Crowne. And that out of this deepe root of Ambition it sprang, that aswell at the Treaty of peace that passed betweene EDWARD the Fourth, and LEWIS the Eleventh of *France*, concluded by Enterview of both Kings at *Piqueny*, as upon all other Occasions, RICHARD then Duke of *Glocester*, stood ever upon the side of Honour, raising his owne Reputation to the disadvantage of the King his Brother. and drawing the eyes of all (specially of the *Nobles* and *Souldiours*) upon himselfe; as if the King by his voluptuous life and meane Marriage, were become effeminate and lesse sensible of honour, and Reason of State, then was fit for a King. And as for the Politique and wholesome *Lawes* which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the Brocage of an *Vsurper*, thereby to wooe, and winne the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himselfe that the true obligations of *Soveraignty* in him failed, and were wanting. But King HENRY in the very entrance of his Reigne, and the instant of time, when the Kingdome was cast into his Armes, met with a Point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newnesse of his Estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a *Deliberation*, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concutrent in his person, three severall *Titles* to the Imperiall Crowne; The first, the title of the Lady *Elizabeth*, with whom, by precedent Pact with the Party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed Title (both by *Plea* and *Armes*) of the House of *Lancaster*, to which he was Inheritour in his owne Person. The third, the

Title of the *Sword or Conquest*, for that he came in by victory of *Battle*, and that the King in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two and twenty yeares Reigne of King EDWARD the Fourth, had beene fully made capable of the clearnesse of the Title of the *White-Rose* or House of *Torke*; and by the milde and plausible Reigne of the same King toward his latter time, were become affectionate to that *Line*. But then it lay plaine before his Eyes, that if he relied upon that *Title*, he could be but a King at *Curtesie*, and have rather a *Matrimoniall* then a *Regall* power: the right remaining in his *Queene*, upon whose decease, either with Issue, or without Issue, he was to give place, and be removed. And though he should obtaine by *Parliament* to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference betweene a King that holdeth his Crowne by a civill act of *Estates*, and one that holdeth it originally by the Law of *Nature*, and descent of *Bloud*. Neither wanted there even at that time secret Rumors and whisperings (which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles) that the two young Sonnes of King EDWARD the Fourth, or one of them (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower) were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which if it had beene true, had prevented the Title of the Lady ELIZABETH. On the other side, if he stood upon his owne Title of the House of *Lancaster*, inherent in his Person; he knew it was a Title condemned by *Parliament*, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the Realme, and that it tended directly to the dis-inherison of the Line of *Torke*, held then the indubiate Heires of the Crowne. So that if he should have no Issue by the Lady ELIZABETH, which should be

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Descendents of the *Double-Line*, then the ancient flames of *Discord* and intestine Warres, upon the Competition of both Houses, would againe returne and revive.

As for *Conquest* notwithstanding, Sir WILLIAM STANLY, after some acclamations of the Souldiers in the Field, had put a Crowne of ornament (which RICHARD wore in the *Battle*, and was found amongst the Spoiles) upon King HENRIES head, as if there were his chiefe Title; yet he remembered well upon what Conditions and Agreements hee was brought in, and that to claime as *Conquerour*, was to put aswell his owne Party, as the rest, into Terror and Feare; as that which gave him power of disanulling of Lawes, and disposing of Mens Fortunes and Estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that WILLIAM himselfe, commonly called the *Conquerour*, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a *Conquerour*, to reward his *Normans*, yet he forbore to use that Claime in the beginning, but mixed it with a Titulary pretence grounded upon the *Will* and designation of EDWARD the *Confessor*. But the King out of the greatness of his owne minde, presently cast the Die, and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts; and knowing there could not be any *Interreigne* or suspension of Title; and preferring his affection to his owne Line and Bloud, and liking that Title best which made him independent; and being in his Nature and constitution of minde not very apprehensive or forecasting of future Events a-farre off, but an Intertainer of Fortune by the Day; resolved to rest upon the Title of *Lancaster* as the *Maine*, and to use the other two, that of *Marriage*, and that of *Battle*, but as *Supporters*, the one to appease secret Discontents, and the other to beat downe open murmur and dispute: not for-

forgetting that the same Title of *Lancaster* had formerly maintained a possession of three Descents in the Crowne, and might have proved a *Perpetuitie*, had it not ended in the weaknesse and inability of the last Prince. Whereupon the King presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the Stile of King in his owne name, without mention of the Lady *ELIZABETH* at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted, which did spin him a threed of many seditions and troubles. The King full of these thoughts, before his departure from *Leicester*, dispatched Sir *ROBERT WILLOUGHBY* to the Castle of *Sheriff-hutton* in *Yorkshire*, where were kept in safe custody by King *RICHARDS* commandement, both the Lady *ELIZABETH* daughter of king *EDWARD*, and *EDWARD PLANTAGENET*, Sonne and Heire to *GEORGE* Duke of *Clarence*. This *EDWARD* was by the Kings warrant delivered from the Constable of the Castle to the hand of Sir *ROBERT WILLOUGHBY*; and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of *London*, where he was shut up *Close-prisoner*. Which Act of the Kings (being an Act meere of Policy and power) proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of Doctor *Shawes* tale at *Pauls Crosse*, for the bastarding of *EDWARD* the fourths Issues, in which case this young Gentleman was to succeed (for that Fable was ever exploded) but upon a settled disposition to depresse all Eminent persons of the Line of *Yorke*. Wherein still the King out of strength of Will, or weaknesse of Judgement, did use to shew a little more of the *Party*, then of the *King*.

For the Lady *ELIZABETH* shee received also a direction to repaire with all convenient speed to *London*, and there to remaine with the Queene *Dowager*

wager her Mother; which accordingly she soone after did, accompanied with many *Noble-men* and *Ladies* of Honour. In the meane season the King set forwards by easie journeys to the Citie of *London*, receiving the Acclamations and Applauses of the People as he went, which indeed were true and unfained, as might well appeare in the very Demonstrations and fulnesse of the Cry. For they thought generally that hee was a *Prince* as ordayned and sent downe from Heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two Houses; which although they had had in the times of *HENRY* the Fourth, *HENRY* the Fifth, and a part of *HENRY* the Sixth on the one side, and the times of *EDWARD* the Fourth on the other, *Lucide-intervals* and happy Pauses; yet they did ever hang over the *Kingdome*, ready to breake forth into new Perturbations and Calamities. And as his victory gave him the *Knee*, so his purpose of marriage with the Lady *ELIZABETH* gave him the *Heart*; so that both *Knee* and *Heart* did truly bow before him.

Hee on the other side with great wisdome (not ignorant of the affections and feares of the people) to disperse the conceit and terrour of a *Conquest*, had given order that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike March, or manner: but rather like unto the *Progressse* of a King in full peace and assurance.

Hee entred the City upon a *Saturday*, as hee had also obtained the Victory upon a *Saturday*, which day of the Weeke first upon an Observation, and after upon Memory and Fancy, hee accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him.

The *Major* and *Companies* of the City received him at *Shore-ditch*: whence, with great and Honorable attendance and troupes of *Noble-men*, and *Persons* of

of Quality hee entred the City; himfelfe not being on Horfe-backe, or in any open *Chaire*, or *Throne*, but in a close *Chariot*, as one that having beene sometimes an Enemy to the whole State, and a Proscribed person, chole rather to keepe State, and strike a Reverence into the people, then to fawne upon them.

He went first into Saint *Pauls* Church, where not meaning that the people should forget too soon that hee came in by *Battaile*, hee made *Offertory* of his *Standards*, and had *Orizon* and *Te Deum* againe sung, and went to his Lodging prepared in the *Bishop* of *Londons* *Palace*, where he stayed for a time.

During his abode there, he assembled his *Counsell*, and other principall persons, in presence of whom, he did renew againe his promise to marry with the *Lady ELIZABETH*. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of *Britaine* given artificially, for serving of his owne turne, some hopes, in case he obtained the Kingdome, to Marry *ANNE* Inheritresse to the *Dutchie* of *Britaine*, whom *CHARLES* the eight of *France* soone after married; It bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers, that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of *England* so much desired: which Conceit also, though it were but *Talke* and *Discourse*, did much afflict the poore *Lady ELIZABETH* herselfe. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so beleaved, (the better to extinguish *Envy* and *Contradiction* to his other purposes) yet was hee resolved in himselfe not to proceed to the *Consummation* thereof, till his *Coronation* and a *Parliament* were past. The one, lest a joynt *Coronation* of himselfe and his *Queene* might give any countenance of participation of *Title*; The other, lest in the intayling of the *Crowne* to himselfe, which he hoped to obtaine by *Parliament*, the

Votes

Votes of the *Parliament* might any wayes reflect upon her.

About this time in *Autumne*, towards the end of *September*, there began and reigned in the *Citty* and other parts of the *Kingdome* a *Disease* then new: which of the *Accidents*, and manner thereof, they called the *Sweating sicknesse*. This *Disease* had a swift course both in the *Sicke-Body* and in the *Time* and period of the lasting thereof: for they that were taken with it, upon foure and twenty houres escaping were thought almost assured. And as to the *Time* of the malice and reigne of the *Disease* ere it ceased; It began about the one and twentieth of *September*, and cleared up before the end of *October*, insomuch as it was no hinderance to the *Kings Coronation*, which was the last of *October*: nor (which was more) to the holding of the *Parliament*, which began but seven dayes after. It was a *Pestilent-Fever* but, as it seemeth, not seated in the *Veynes* or *Humors*, for that there followed no *Carbuncle*, no purple or livide Spots, or the like, the *Mass* of the *Body* being not tainted: onely a *maligne Vapour* flew to the *Heart*, and seased the vitall *Spirits*, which stirred *Nature* to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience that this *Disease* was rather a *Surprise* of *Nature*, than obstinate to remedies; if it were in time looked unto. For if the *Patient* were kept in an equall temper, both for *Clothes*, *Fire*, and *Drinke*, moderately warme, with temperate *Cordials*, whereby *Natures* worke were neither irritated by *Heat*, nor turried backe by *Cold*, he commonly recovered. But infinite Persons dyed suddainly of it, before the manner of the *Cure* and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an *Epidemick* *Disease*, but to proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the *Aire*, gathered by the predispositions

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of Seasons : and the speedie cessation declared as much.

ON SIMON and JUDES Even the King dined with THOMAS BOURCHIER, *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury* and *Cardinal* : and from *Lambeth* went by Land over the Bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve *Knights-Bannerets*. But for *Creations* he despens'd them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a Field so lately fought, and a *Coronation* so neere at hand, hee onely created three : JAMES Earle of *Pembroke* (the Kings Uncle) was created Duke of *Bedford* ; THOMAS the Lord STANLEY (the Kings Father in Law) Earle of *Darby* ; and EDWARD COURTNEY Earle of *Devon* ; though the King had then nevertheless a purpose in himselfe to make more in time of *Parliament* ; bearing a wise and decent respect to distribute his *Creations* ; some to honour his *Coronation* , and some his *Parliament* .

The *Coronation* followed two dayes after upon the thirtieth day of *October* in the year of our Lord 1485. At which time INNOCENT the Eight was *Pope of Rome* , FREDERICK the third, *Emperour of Almanie* ; and MAXIMILIAN his sonne newly chosen King of the *Romans* ; CHARLES the Eight, King of *France* ; FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of *Spain* ; and JAMES the Third, King of *Scotland* ; with all which Kings and States, the King was at that time in good peace and amitie. At which day also (as if the Crowne upon his head, had put perils into his thoughts) he did institute for the better security of his person a Band of fifty *Archers* under a *Captaine* to attend him, by the name of *Teomen* of his *Guard* : and yet that it might be thought to be rather a matter of *Dignity* , after the imitation of that hee had knowne abroad, then any matter of *Diffidence* appropriate

priate to his owne Case, hee made it to be understood for an *Ordinance* not temporarie, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The seventh of *November* the King held his *Parliament* at *Westminster* , which he had summoned immediately after his coming to *London* . His Ends in calling a *Parliament* (and that so speedily) were chiefly three ; *First* , to procure the Crowne to bee entailed upon himselfe. *Next* , to have the *Attaindors* of all of his Party (which were in no small number) reversed, and all *Acts* of hostilitie by them done in his quarrell, remitted and discharged : and on the other side to attain by *Parliament* , the *Heads* and *Principals* of his *Enemies* . The *Third* , to calme and quiet the feares of the rest of that Partie by a *Generall Pardon* : not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his Subjects, when most of his Subjects are conscientious in themselves, that they stand in his danger. Unto these three speciall Motives of a *Parliament* was added, that hee as a prudent and moderate *Prince* , made this Judgment ; that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to governe by *Law* , howsoever he came in by the *Sword* : and fit also to reclaime them to know him for their *King* , whom they had so lately talked of as an *Enemy* or *Banished man* . For that which concerned the Entayling of the *Crowne* ; (more then that he was true in his owne Will, that he would not endure any mention of the Lady ELIZABETH : no not in the nature of *Speciall-Intaile* ,) he carried it otherwise with great wiidome and measure. For he did not presse to have the *Act* penned by way of *Declaration* or *Recognition* of right : as on the other side, he avoyded to have it by new *Law* or *Ordinance* ; but chose rather a kind of middle-way, by way of *Establishment* , and that under covert and indifferent words ; *That the inheritance*

of the Crowne should rest, remaine, and abide in the King, &c. which words might equally be applied; That the Crowne should continue to him: but whether as having former right to it, (which was doubtfull) or having it then in Fact and possession (which no man denied) was left faire to interpretation either way. And againe for the limitation of the *Entaile*, he did not presse it to goe further then to himselfe and to the *Heires* of his body, not speaking of his *right Heires*; but leaving that to the Law to decide: so as the *Entaile* might seeme rather a personall favour to him, and his Children, then a totall *Disinheritance* to the House of *Yorke*. And in this forme was the Law drawne and passed. Which *Statute* he procured to be confirmed by the *Popes Bull* the yeare following, with mention neverthelesse (by way of *Recitall*) of his other Titles; both of *Descent* and *Conquest*. So as now the wreath of *Three* was made a wreath of *Five*, for to the three first Titles of the two Houses, or Lines, and *Conquest*, were added two more; the Authorities *Parliamentary* and *Papall*.

The King likewise in the *Reversall* of the *Attaindors* of his *Partakers*, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his *Will* and *Acts* did passe accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers Persons in the House of *Commons*, for that they were *attainted*, and thereby not legall, nor habilitate to serve in *Parliament*, being disabled in the highest degree; And that it should be a great incongruitie to have them to make *Lawes*, who themselves were not *Inlawed*. The truth was, that divers of those which had in the time of King *RICHARD* been strongest and most declared for the Kings *Partie*, were returned *Knights* and *Burgesses* for the *Parliament*, whether by care or recom-

recommendation from the *State*, or the voluntary inclination of the *People*: many of which had beene by *RICHARD* the third *attainted* by *Outlawries*, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this. For though it had a grave and specious Shew, yet it reflected upon his *Party*. But wisely not shewing himselfe at all moved therewith, hee would not understand it but as a *Case of Law*; and wished the *Judges* to be advised thereupon: who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the *Exchequer-Chamber* (which is the *Councell-Chamber* of the *Judges*) and upon deliberation they gave a grave and safe *Opinion* and *Advice*, mixed with *Law* and *Convenience*; which was, that the *Knights* and *Burgesses* *attainted* by the course of *Law*, should forbear to come into the House, till a *Law* were passed for the *reversall* of their *Attaindors*.

It was at that time incidently moved amongst the *Judges* in their Consultation, what should be done for the King himselfe, who likewise was *attainted*; But it was with unanimous consent resolved; That the *Crown* takes away all defects and Stops in *bloud*: and that from the time the King did assume the *Crowne*, the fountain was cleared, and all *Attaindors* and *Corruption* of *bloud* discharged. But neverthelesse for *Honours* sake it was ordained by *Parliament*, that all *Records* wherein there was any memory, or mention of the Kings *Attaindor*, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off the *File*.

But on the part of the Kings *Enemies* there were by *Parliament* *attainted*; the late Duke of *Glocester*, calling himselfe *RICHARD* the Third, The Duke of *Norfolke*, the Earle of *Surrey*, Viscount *LOVEL*, the Lord *Ferrers*, the Lord *Zouch*, *Richard Ratcliffe*, *William Catesby*, and many others of degree and quality. In which *Bils* of *Attaindors*, never-

neverthelesse there were contained many just and temperate *Clauses, Savings and Provisoës*, well shewing and fore-tokening the wisdome, stay, and moderation of the Kings spirit of Government. And for the *Pardon* of the rest, that had stood against the King; the King, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should passe by *Parliament*, the better (being matter of Grace) to impropriate the thanks to himselfe: using onely the opportunity of a *Parliament* time, the better to disperse it into the *Veines* of the *Kingdome*. Therefore during the *Parliament*, hee published his *Royall Proclamation*, offering *Pardon and Grace* of restitution, to all such as had taken *Armes*, or been participant of any Attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a Day, and tooke the Oath of *Allegiance and Fidelity* to him. Whereupon many came out of *Sanctuary*, and many more came out of *Feare*, no lesse guilty then those that had taken *Sanctuary*.

As for *Money or Treasure*, the King thought it not reasonable, or fit to demand any of his *Subjects* at this *Parliament*: both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any *Generall Pardon*, being prevented therein by the *Coronation Pardon*, passed immediatly before: but chiefly, for that it was in every mans eye, what great *Forfeitures and Confiscations* he had at that present to helpe himselfe: Whereby those *Casualties* of the Crowne might in reason spare the Purfes of his *Subjects*; especially in a time when he was in peace with all his Neighbours. Some few *Lawes* passed at that *Parliament*, almost for forme sake: amongst which there was *One*, to reduce Aliens, being made *Denizens*, to pay strangers *Customes*; and another, to draw to himselfe the *Seisures and Compositions* of *Italian Goods*, for not employment, being

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Points of Profit to his Coffers, whereof from the very Beginning hee was not forgetfull; and had been more happy at the Latter End, if his early providence (which kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people) could likewise have attemp' red his nature therein. He added during *Parliament*, to his former *Creations*, the *Imblement* or advancement in *Nobility* of a few others: The Lord CHANDOS of Britaine, was made Earle of *Bathe*; and Sir GILES DAWBENY was made Lord *Dawbeny*; and Sir ROBERT WILLOUGHBY Lord *Brooke*.

The King did also with great Nobleness and Bounty (which Vertues at that time had their turns in his Nature) restore EDWARD STAFFORD (eldest sonne to HENRY, Duke of *Buckingham*, attainted in the time of King RICHARD) not onely to his *Dignities*, but to his *Fortunes and Possessions*, which were great, to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the Duke was the man that moved the first Stone against the Tyrannie of King RICHARD, and indeed made the King a bridge to the Crowne upon his owne Ruines. Thus the *Parliament* brake up.

The *Parliament* being dissolved, the King sent forthwith Money to redeeme the *Marquesse Dorset*, and Sir JOHN BOURCHIER, whom hee had left as his *Pledges* at *Paris*, for Money which he had borrowed, when he made his Expedition for *England*. And thereupon hee tooke a fit occasion to send the Lord *Treasurer* and *Master* BRAY (whom he used as *Councillor*) to the Lord *Maier* of *London*, requiring of the City a *Prest* of six thousand Markes: But after many *Parlees*, hee could obtaine but two thousand pounds. Which neverthelesse the King took in good part; as men use to doe, that practise to borrow Money, when they have no need. About this time, the

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King called unto his *Prive-Councill*, JOHN MORTON, and RICHARD FOX, the one *Bishop of Ely*, the other *Bishop of Excester*, vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his Affaires before he came to the Crowne, and were partakers of his adverse Fortune. This MORTON soon after upon the death of BOURCHIER, he made *Archbishop of Canterbury*. And for FOX, hee made him *Lord Keeper of his Prive-Seale*, and afterwards advanced him by Degrees, from *Excester to Bathe and Wells*, thence to *Durham*, and last, to *Winchester*. For although the King loved to imploy and advance *Bishops*, because having rich *Bishopricks* they carried their Reward upon themselves: yet he did use to raise them by steps; that hee might not lose the profit of the *First-fruits*, which by that course of Gradation was multiplied.

At last, upon the eighteenth of *January* was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired Marriage; between the King and the Lady ELIZABETH: Which Day of Marriage was celebrated with greater Triumph, and Demonstrations (especially on the peoples part) of Joy and Gladnesse, than the dayes either of his Entry, or Coronation; which the King rather noted, then liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the Lady ELIZABETH lived with him, (for she died before him) hee shewed himselfe no very indulgent Husband towards her; though shee was beautifull, gentle and fruitfull. But his aversion towards the House of *Yorke* was so predominant in him, as it found place, not only in his *Warres and Councils*, but in his *Chamber and Bed*.

Towards the middle of the *Spring*, the King, full of confidence and assurance, as a *Prince* that had bene victorious in *Battaile*, and had prevailed with his Par-

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liament in all that he desired, and had the *King of Acclamations* fresh in his eares, thought the rest of his Raigne should be but Play, and the enjoying of a *Kingdome*. Yet as a wise and watchfull King, he would not neglect any thing for his safety; thinking nevertheless to performe all things now, rather as an *Exercise*, then as a *Labour*. So he being truly informed, that the *Northerne parts* were not onely affectionate to the House of *Yorke*, but particularly had bene devoted to King RICHARD the thrid, thought it would be a Summer well spent to visit those *Parts*, and by his presence and application of himselfe, to reclaime and rectifie those humors. But the King, in his account of *Peace*, and *Calmes*, did much over-cast his Fortunes, which proved for many yeeres together full of *Broken Seas, Tides, and Tempests*. For he was no sooner come to *Lincolne*, where he kept his *Easter*, but he received newes, that the Lord LOVEL, HUMPHREY STAFFORD, and THOMAS STAFFORD (who had formerly taken *Sanctuary* at *Colchester*) were departed out of *Sanctuary*, but to what place, no man could tell. Which advertisement, the King despised, and continued his Journey to *Yorke*. At *Yorke* there came fresh and more certaine advertisement, that the Lord LOVEL was at hand with a great power of men, and that the STAFFORDS were in Armes in *Worcestershire*, and had made their approaches to the City of *Worcester*, to assaile it. The King, as a Prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a Ragge or Remnant of *Bosworth-Field*, and had nothing in it of the maine Party of the house of *Yorke*. But hee was more doubtfull of the rayfing of Forces to resist the *Rebels*, then of the Resistance it selfe; for that he was in a *Core* of People, whose affections he suspected. But the Action enduring no delay, hee did speedily

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levie and sent against the Lord LOVEL to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured (being taken some few out of his owne Train, and the rest out of the Tenants and Followers of such as were safe to be trusted) under the Conduct of the Duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his Pardons rather before the Sword then after, hee gave Commission to the Duke, to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: Which the Duke, upon his approach to the Lord LOVELS Campe, did performe. And it fell out as the King expected; the Heralds were the Great-Ordinance. For the Lord LOVEL, upon Proclamation of Pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON, after sailed over into Flanders, to the Lady MARGERET. And his men, forsaken of their Captaine, did presently submit themselves to the Duke. The STAFFORDS likewise, and their Forces, hearing what had happened to the Lord LOVEL (in whose successe their chiefe trust was) despaired, and dispersed. The two Brothers, taking Sanctuary at Colnham, a Village neere Abington; which Place, upon view of their Priviledge in the Kings Bench, being judged no sufficient Sanctuary for Traitors, HUMPHREY was executed at Tiburne; and THOMAS, as being led by his elder brother, was Pardoned. So this Rebellion proved but a Blast and the King having by this Journey purged a little the Dregs and Leaven of the Northerne People, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the Queene was delivered of her first sonne, whom the King (in honour of the Brittsish-Race, of which himselfe was) named ARTHUR, according to the Name of that ancient worthy King of the Brittaines; in whose Acts there is truth enough to make him Famous, besides that which is

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Fabulous. The *Childe* was strong and able, though he was borne in the *eight Moneth*, which the Physicians do prejudge.

Here followed this yeare, being the *Second* of the Kings Reigne, a strange Accident of *State*, whereof the Relations which we have, are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it (for it hath fallen out oft) but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore wee shall make our Judgement upon the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and (as wee can) digge Truth out of the Mine. The King was greene in his estate; and contrary to his owne opinion, and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the *Realme*. The root of all, was the discourtenancing of the House *Torke*, which the generall Body of the *Realme* still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the *Subjects* from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his Marriage, and after a Sonne borne, the King did neverthelesse not so much as proceed to the *Coronation* of the *Queene*, not vouchsafing her the honour of a *Matrimoniall Crowne*; for the *Coronation* of her was not till almost two yeeres after, when Danger had taught him what to doe. But much more, when it was spread abroad (whether by *Error*, or the cunning of *Male-content*) that the King had a purpose to put to Death *Edward Plantagenet* closely in the Tower: Whose case was so neerely paralleld with that of *Edward* the Fourth's Children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the King a most odious resemblance, as if hee would bee another King *RICHARD*. And all this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the Children of *Ed-*

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WARD the Fourth was living. Which Bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired *Innovation*. Neither was the Kings nature and customes greatly fit to disperse these *Mists*; but contrariwise hee had a fashion rather to create Doubts, then Assurance. Thus was *Fuell* prepared for the *Sparke*: the *Sparke* that afterwards kindled such a fire, and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtill Priest called RICHARD SIMON, that lived in *Oxford*, and had to his Pupill a *Bakers* sonne named LAMBERT SIMNELL, of the age of some fiftene yeeres; a comely Youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of aspect. It came into this Priests fancie (hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himselfe to some great *Bishopricke*) to cause this *Lad* to counterfeit and personate the second sonne of EDWARD the Fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward (for hee changed his intention in the manage) the Lord EDWARD PLANTAGENET then prisoner in the *Tower*, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the Part he was to play. This is that which (as was touched before) seemeth scarcely credible; Not that a false Person should be assumed to gaine a *Kingdome*, for it hath beene seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject Fellow, to enterprise so great a matter; for high Conceits doe sometimes come streaming into the Imaginations of base persons, especially when they are drunke with *Newes* and *Talke* of the people. But here is that which hath no apparance; That this Priest being utterly unacquainted with the true Person, according to whose patterne hee should shape his *Counterfeit*, should thinke it possible for him to instruct his Player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and edu-

education; or to fit answers to questions, or the like, any wayes to come neere the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this *Lad* was not to personate one, that had beene long before taken out of his Cradle, or conveyghed away in his infancie, knowne to few; but a *Youth* that till the age almost of ten yeeres had beene brought up in a Court where infinite eyes had beene upon him. For King EDWARD touched with remorse of his Brother the *Duke of Clarences* Death, would not indeed restore his Sonne, (of whom wee speake) to be *Duke of Clarence*, but yet created him *Earle of Warwicke*, reviving his honour on the Mothers side, and used him honourably during his time, though RICHARD the Third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great *Person*, that knew particularly, and familiarly EDWARD PLANTAGENET, had a hand in the businesse, from whom the *Priest* might take his ayne. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent Acts, is, that it was the *Queene Dowager*, from whom this action had the Principall source and motion. For certaine it is, shee was a busie negotiating woman; and in her *withdrawing-Chamber* had the fortunate *Conspiracie* for the King against King RICHARD the Third, beene hatched; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her daughter (as the King handled the matter) not advanced, but depressed: and none could hold the *Booke* so well to prompt and instruct this *Stage-play*, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this Enterprise and knew the Secret, that this disguised *Idoll* should possess the *Crowne*; but at his perill to make way to the Overthrow

throw of the King: and that done, they had their severall Hopes and Wayes. That which doth chiefly fortifie this Conjecture, is, that as soone as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the Kings first Acts to cloister the *Queene Dowager* in the *Nunnery of Bermonsey*, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by close *Councill* without any legall proceeding, upon farre-fetcht Pretences; That shee had delivered her two Daughters out of Sanctuary to King RICHARD contrary to promise. Which Proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King upon reason of *Policie*, and to avoyd envy would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of Examinations; for that the *Priest SIMON* himself, after hee was taken, was never brought to execution; no not so much as to publike *Triall* (as many *Clergymen* were upon lesse Treasons) but was only shut up close in a *Dungeon*. Adde to this that after the Earle of *Lincolne* (a principall Person of the House of *Yorke*) was slaine in *Stoke-field*, the King opened himselfe to some of his *Councill*, that he was sorry for the *Earles* Death, because by him (hee said) he might have knowne the bottome of his danger.

But to returne to the *Narration* it selfe; SIMON did first instruct his *Scholler* for the part of RICHARD *Duke of Yorke*, second sonne to King EDWARD the Fourth, and this was at such time as it was voyced that the King purposed to put to Death EDWARD PLANTAGENET prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soone after a generall bruit that PLANTAGENET had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoycing at his

his Escape, the cunning *Priest* changed his Copy, and chose now PLANTAGENET to be the Subject his *Pupill* should personate, because he was more in the present speech, and Votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely upon the bruit of *Plantagenets* escape. But yet doubting that there would bee too neare looking and too much *Perspective* into his Disguise, if he should shew it here in *England*; hee thought good (after the manner of *Scenes* in *Stage-Playes* and *Masks*) to shew it a farre off; and therefore sailed with his *Scholler* into *Ireland*, where the Affection to the House of *Yorke* was most in height. The King had beene a little improvident in matters of *Ireland*, and had not removed *Officers* and *Chancellors*, and put in their places, or at least intermingled persons, of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong Bent of that Countrey towards the House of *YORKE*; and that it was a ticklish and unsetled State, more easie to receive distempers and mutations, then *England* was. But trusting to the reputation of his Victories and Successes in *England*, he thought he should have time enough to extend his Cares afterwards to that second Kingdome.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of SIMON with his pretended *Plantagenet* into *Ireland*, all things were prepared for Revolt and Sedition, almost as if they had beene set and plotted before hand. SIMONS first addresse was to the Lord THOMAS FITZ-GERARD, *Earle of Kildare*, and Deputie of *Ireland*: before whose Eyes hee did cast such a Mist (by his owne insinuation, and by the carriage of his Youth, that expressed a naturall Princely behaviour) as joyned perhaps with some inward Vapours of Ambition and Affection in the *Earles* owne minde, left him fully

fully possessed, that it was the true PLANTAGENET. The Earle presently communicated the matter with some of the Nobles and others there, at the first secretly. But finding them of like affection to himselfe, he suffered it of purpose to vent and passe abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the Peoples inclination. But if the Great ones were in forwardnesse, the People were in fury, entertaining this Ayrie body or Phantasme with incredible affection; partly out of their great devotion to the House of Yorke; partly out of a proud humour in the Nation, to give a King to the Realme of England. Neither did the Party in this heat of affection much trouble themselves with the Attaindor of GEORGE Duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the Kings example, that Attaindors doe not interrupt the conveighing of Title to the Crowne. And as for the daughters of King EDWARD the Fourth, they thought King RICHARD had said enough for them; and tooke them to bee but as of the Kings Party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this Counterfeit PLANTAGENET was brought with great solemnity to the Castle of Dublin, and there saluted, served and honoured as King; the Boy becommig it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the basenesse of his condition. And within a few dayes after he was proclaimed King in Dublin, by the Name of King EDWARD the Sixt; there being not a sword drawne in King HENRY his quarrell.

The King was much moved with this unexpected accident, when it came to his eares, both because it strooke upon that String which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a Place, where he could not with safety transferre his owne person, to suppress

suppress it. For partly through naturall valour, and partly through an univerrall suspition (not knowing whom to trust) he was ever ready to wait upon all his atchievements in person. The King therefore first called his Councell together at the Charter-house at Shine. Which Councell was held with great secrecy, but the open Decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the Queene Dowager, for that she, contrary to her Pact, and Agreement with those that had concluded with her concerning the Marriage of her daughter ELIZABETH with King HENRY, had neverthesse delivered her daughters out of Sanctuary into King RICHARDS hands; should be cloistered in the Nunnerie of Bermousey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that EDWARD PLANTAGENET, then Close-prisoner in the Tower, should be in the most publike and notorious manner, that could be devised, shewed unto the people: In part to discharge the King of the Envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had beene put to death privily in the Tower; But chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their PLANTAGENET was indeed but a puppet, or a Counterfeit.

The Third was, that there should bee againe Proclaimed a Generall-Pardon to all that would reveale their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this Pardon should bee conceived in so ample and liberall a manner, as no High-Treason (no not against the Kings owne person) should be excepted. Which though it might seeme strange, yet was it not so to a wise King, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least Treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the King and his Councell were immediately

diatly put in execution. And first, the Queene Dowager was put into the Monastery of *Bermonsey*, and all her estate seized into the Kings hands, whereat there was much wondering; That a weake woman, for the yeelding to the menaces and promises of a Tyrant, after such a distance of time (wherein the King had shewed no displeasure nor alteration) but much more after so happy a marriage, betweene the King and her Daughter, blessed with Issue-male, should upon a sodaine mutability or disclosure of the Kings minde be so severely handled.

This Lady was amongst the examples of great variety of Fortune. Shee had first from a distressed Suitor; and desolate Widdow, been taken to the Marriage-Bed of a Batchellour-King, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reigne she had endured a strange Eclipse by the Kings flight, and temporary depriving from the Crowne. She was also very happy, in that she had by him faire Issue, and continued his Nuptiall love (helping her selfe by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures) to the very end. Shee was much affectionate to her owne Kindred, even unto Faction; which did stirre great Envy in the Lords of the Kings side, who counted her Bloud a disparagement to bee mingled with the Kings. With which Lords of the Kings bloud, joyned also the Kings Favorite the Lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the Kings great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and Splene, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husbands death, she was matter of Tragedy, having lived to see her Brother beheaded, and her two Sonnes deposed from the Crowne, Bastarded in their bloud, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless shee enjoyed her liberty, State, and Fortunes. But afterwards againe, upon the Rise of the
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Wheeles, when she had a King to her Sonne-in-Law, and was made Grand-mother to a Grand-child of the best Sexe; yet was she (upon darke and unknowne Reasons, and no lesse strange Pretences) precipitated, and banished the World; into a Nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the Kings Commandement buried with the King her husband at *Windsore*. Shee was Foundresse of *Queenes College* in *Cambridge*. For this Act the King sustained great obloquie, which nevertheless (besides the reason of State) was somewhat sweetned to him by a great Confiscation.

About this time also EDWARD PLANTAGENET was upon a Sunday brought throughout all the principall Streets of *London*, to be seene of the people. And having passed the view of the Streets, was conducted to *PAULS Church*, in solemne Procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the Nobility, and others of Quality (especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of PLANTAGENET best) had communication with the young Gentleman by the way, and entertayned him with speech and discourse; which did in effect marre the Pageant in *Ireland* with the Subjects here, at least with so many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in *Ireland* (where it was too late to goe backe) it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the Imposture upon the King, and gave out, That the King, to defeat the true Inheritor, and to mocke the World, and blinde the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a Boy in the likenesse of EDWARD PLANTAGENET, and shewed him to the people, not sparing to prophane the Ceremony of a Procession, the more to countenance the Fable.

The *Generall-Pardon* likewise neere the same time came forth; and the King therewithall omitted no diligence, in giving straight order, for the keeping the *Ports*; that *Fugitives*, *Male-content*s or suspected *Persons* might not passe over into *Ireland*, and *Flanders*.

Meane while the *Rebels* in *Ireland* had sent privy Messengers both into *England*, and into *Flanders*, who in both places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in *England* they wonne to their Party JOHN, Earle of *Lincolne*, sonne of JOHN DE LAPOLE, Duke of *Suffolke*, and of ELIZABETH, King EDWARD the Fourth's eldest sister. This Earle was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised by Hopes and Expectations for a time. For RICHARD the third had a Resolution, out of his hatred to both his Brethren, King EDWARD, and the Duke of *Clarence*, and their Lines, (having had his hand in both their blouds) to disable their Issues upon false and incompetent pretexts; the one, of *Attaindor*; the other, of *Illegitimation*: and to designe this Gentleman (in case himselfe should die without Children) for *Inheritor* of the *Crowne*. Neither was this unknowne to the King, who had secretly an Eye upon him. But the King having tasted of the Envy of the people, for his imprisonment of EDWARD PLANTAGENET, was doubtfull to heape up any more distasts of that kind, by the imprisonment of DELAPOLE also; the rather thinking it Policie to conserve him as a *Corriwall* unto the other. The Earle of *Lincolne* was induc'd to participate with the Action of *Ireland*, not lightly upon the strength of the *Proceedings* there, which was but a *Bubble*, but upon Letters from the Lady MARGARET of *Burgundy*, in whose succours and declaration for the *Enterprife*, there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for Reputation

tation and Forces. Neither did the Earle refraine the *Businesse*, for that he knew the pretended PLANTAGENET to be but an *Idoll*. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false PLANTAGENET then the true: because the false being sure to fall away of himselfe, and the true to be made sure of by the King; it might open and pave a faire and prepared way to his owne *Title*. With this Resolution he sayled secretly into *Flanders*; where was a little before arrived the Lord LOVEL, leaving a correspondence here in *England* with Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON, a man of great Power and Dependencies in *Lancashire*. For before this time, when the pretended PLANTAGENET was first received in *Ireland*, secret Messengers had beene also sent to the Lady MARGARET, advertising her what was passed in *Ireland*, imploring Succours in an *Enterprife* (as they said) so pious and just, and that God had so miraculously prospered the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the *Soveraigne Patronesse* and *Protectresse* of the *Enterprife*. MARGARET was second sister to King EDWARD the fourth, and had beene second Wife to CHARLES, surnamed the HARDY, Duke of *Burgundie*; by whom, having no Children of her owne, she did with singular care and tenderneffe intend the Education of PHILIP and MARGARET, Grand-children to her former Husband; which wonne her great love and authority among the *Dutch*. This *Princesse* (having the Spirit of a Man, and Malice of a woman) abounding in *Treasure*, by the greatness of her *Dower*, and her provident Government, and being childlesse, and without any neerer Care, made it her *Designe* and *Enterprife*, to see the *Majesty Royall* of *England* once againe re-placed in her House; and had set up King HENRY as a Marke, at whose over-

overthrow all her actions should ayne and shoote; insomuch as all the *Counsell*s of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that *Quiver*. And shee bare such a mortall hatred to the House of LANCASTER, and personally to the King, as she was no wayes mollified by the *Conjunction* of the Houses in her *Nieces* marriage, but rather hated her *Niece*, as the meanes of the Kings ascent to the *Crowne*, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this Overture. And upon Counsaile taken with the *Earle of Lincolne*, and the Lord LOVEL, and some other of the *Party*, it was resolved with all speed, the two *Lords* assisted with a Regiment of two thousand *Almaines*, being choice and Veterane *Bands* under the command of MARTIN SWART (a valiant and experimented *Captaine*) should passe over into *Ireland* to the new King. Hoping, that when the *Action* should have the face of a received and setled *Regality* (with such a second Person, as the *Earle of Lincolne*, and the *Conjunction* and reputation of forraigne succours) the fame of it would imbolden and prepare all the *Party* of the *Confederates* and *Malecontents* within the Realme of *England*, to give them assistance, when they should come over there. And for the *Person* of the *Counterfeit*, it was agreed, that if all things succeeded well, he should be put down, and the true PLANTAGENET received: Wherein nevertheless the *Earle of Lincolne* had his particular hopes. After they were come into *Ireland*, and that the *Party* tooke courage, by seeing themselves together in a Body, they grew very confident of successe, conceiving and discourfing amongst themselves, that they went in upon farre better *Cards* to overthrow King HENRY, then King HENRY had to overthrow King RICHARD. And that if there were not a Sword drawne against them in *Ireland*, it was

was a *Signe* the Swords in *England* would bee soone sheathed, or beaten downe. And first, for a *Bravery* upon this accession of power, they crowned their new King in the *Cathedall Church* of *Dublin*; who formerly had beene but proclaimed onely; and then fate in *Councell* what should further be done. At which *Councell*, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in *Ireland*, and to make that the Seat of the Warre, and to draw King HENRY thither in Person, by whose absence, they thought there would be great alterations and commotions in *England*, yet because the *Kingdome* there was poore, and they should not be able to keepe their *Armie* together, nor pay their *Germane* Souldiers, and for that also the sway of the *Irish-men* and generally of the Men-of-warre, which (as in such cases of Popular tumults is usuall) did in effect governe their Leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon *England*; It was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into *England*. The King in the meane time, who at the first when he heard what was done in *Ireland*, though it troubled him, yet thought hee should bee well enough able to scatter the *Irish* as a *Flight* of *Birds*, and rattle away this *Swarme* of *Bees*, with their King; when hee heard afterwards that the *Earle of Lincolne* was embarqued in the *Action*, and that the Lady MARGARET was declared for it, he apprehended the danger in a true Degree as it was, and saw plainly that his *Kingdome* must againe be put to the *Stake*, and that he must fight for it. And first, he did conceive, before he understood of the *Earle of Lincolnes* sayling into *Ireland* out of *Flanders*, that he should be assailed both upon the *East-parts* of the *Kingdome* of *England* by some impresson from *Flanders*, and upon the *North-west* out of *Ireland*. And therefore having

having ordered Musters to be made in both *Parts*, and having provisionally designed two *Generals*; IASPER Earle of *Bedford*, and JOHN Earle of *Oxford*, (meaning himself also to goe in person, where the Affairs should most require it) and neverthelesse not expecting any actuall *Invasion* at that time (the winter being farre on) he took his journey himselfe towards *Suffolke* and *Northfolke*, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to *S. Edmond-bury*, he understood, that THOMAS, Marquesse *Dorset* (who had beene one of the *Pledges* in *France*) was hasting towards him, to purge himselfe of some Accusations which had beene made against him. But the King, though hee kept an Eare for him, yet was the time so doubtfull, that he sent the Earle of *Oxford* to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the *Tower*; with a faire Message neverthelesse, that hee should beare that disgrace with patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but onely to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the Kings service, or to himselfe; and that the King should alwayes be able (when he had cleared himselfe) to make him reparation.

From *S. Edmonds-bury* he went to *Normich*, where he kept his *Christmas*. And from thence he went (in a manner of *Pilgrimage*) to *Walsingham*, where he visited our *Ladyes Church*, famous for *miracles*, and made his Prayers and Vowes for helpe and deliverance. And from thence he returned by *Cambridge* to *London*. Not long after, the *Rebels* with their King (under the Leading of the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Kildare*, the Lord LOVEL, and Coronell SWART) landed at *Fouldrey* in *Lancashire*, whither there repaired to them, Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON, with some small company of *English*. The King by that time (knowing now the Storme would not divide, but fall in one place) had levied *Forces* in good num-

number; And in person (taking with him his two designed *Generals*, the Duke of *Bedford*, and the Earle of *Oxford*) was come on his way towards them as farre as *Corventry*, whence he sent forth a troupe of *Light-horsemen* for discovery, and to intercept some straglers of the *Enemies*, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their Progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without intelligence from *Espials* in the *Campe*.

The *Rebels* tooke their way towards *Torke*, without spoyling the *Country*, or any act of *Hostility*, the better to put themselves into favour of the people, and to personate their *King*: who (no doubt, out of a Princely feeling) was sparing, and compassionate towards his Subjects. But their *Snowball* did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them: Neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the *Kingdome* for them, which was caused partly by the good taste that the King had given his People of his *Government*, joyned with the reputation of his *Felicity*, and partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of *England*, to have a King brought in to them upon the shoulders of *Irish* and *Dutch*, of which their Army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgement on the Party of the *Rebels*, for them to take their way towards *Yorke*: Considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a *Nurserie* of their friends; yet it was there, where the Lord LOVEL had so lately disbanded, and where the Kings presence had a little before qualified discontent. The Earle of *Lincolne* deceived of his hopes of the *Countries* concurrence unto him (in which case he would have temporized) and seeing the businesse past *Retract*, resolved to make on where the King was,

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and to give him battaile; and thereupon, marched towards *Newarke*, thinking to have surprized the Towne. But the King was somewhat before this time come to *Nottingham*, where he called a *Councell* of Warre, at which was consulted, whether it were best to protract time, or speedily to set upon the *Rebels*. In which *Councell* the King himselfe (whose continuall vigilancie did sucke in sometimes causelesse suspicions, which few else knew) inclined to the accelerating a *Battaile*. But this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aides that came in to him in the instant of this Consultation, partly upon *Mis-sives*, and partly *Voluntaries* from many parts of the Kingdome.

The principall persons that came then to the Kings aide, were the *Earle of Shrewesbury*, and the Lord *STRANGE*, of the *Nobility*: and of *Knights* and *Gentlemen* to the number of at least threescore and tenne persons, with their Companies, making in the whole, at the least six thousand fighting men, besides the *Forces* that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his Army so bravely re-enforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his former resolution, and marched speedily, so as hee put himselfe betweene the *Enemies Campe* and *Newarke*; being loth their Army should get the commodity of that Towne. The *Earle* nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a litle Village called *Stoke*, and there encamped that night, upon the Brow or hanging of a hill. The King the next day presented him *Battaile* upon the *Plaine*, the fields there being open and champion. The *Earle* courageously came downe and joynd *Battaile* with him. Concerning which *Battaile*, the relations that are left us to us are so naked and negligent (though it be an action of so recent

recent memory) as they rather declared the *Successe* of the day, then the manner of the fight. They say, that the King divided his Army into three *Battailes*, whereof the *vant-guard* only well strengthened with wings, came to fight. That the *Fight* was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three houres, before the victory inclined either way; save that Judgement might be made, by that the Kings *Vant-guard* of it selfe maintained fight against the whole *Power* of the *Enemies*, (the other two *Battailes* remaining out of action) what the successe was like to bee in the end. That *MARTIN SWART* with his *Germanes* performed bravely; and so did those few *English* that were on that side, neither did the *Irish* faile in courage or fiercenesse, but being almost naked men, only armed with *Darts* and *Skeines*, it was rather an *Execution*, then a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalement to the rest; That there dyed upon the place all the *Chiefetaines*; That is, the *Earle of Lincolne*, the *Earle of Kildare*, *FRANCIS LORD LOVEL*, *MARTIN SWART*, and *Sir THOMAS BROUGHTON*; all making good the fight without any ground given. Onely of the *Lord LOVEL* there went a report, that he fled and swame over *Trent* on horsebacke, but could not recover the further side, by reason of the steepenesse of the Banke, and so was drowned in the *River*. But another report leaves him not there, but that hee lived long after in a *Cave* or *Vault*. The number that was slaine in the field, was of the *Enemies* part, foure thousand at the least; and of the *Kings* part, one halfe of his *Vant-guard*, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners amongst others, the *Counterfeit PLANTAGENET* (now *LAMBERT SIMNELL* againe) and the crafty *Priest* his *Tutor*. For *LAMBERT*, the King
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would not take his life, both out of Magnanimity, taking him but as an *Image of Wax*, that others had tempered and moulded; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soone; but being kept alive, he would be a continuall *Spectacle*, and a kind of remedie against the like *Inchantments of People*, in time to come. For which cause hee was taken into service in his *Court* to a base office in his *Kitchen*; so that (in a kinde of *Mattacina* of humane fortune) Hee turned a *Broach*, that had worne a *Crown*: Whereas Fortune commonly doth not bring in a *Comedy* or *Farce* after a *Tragedie*. And afterwards hee was preferred to bee one of the Kings *Falconers*. As to the *Priest*, he was committed *Closet prisoner*, and heard of no more, the King loving to seale up his owne dangers.

After the *Battaile*, the King went to *Lincolne*, where hee caused *Supplications* and *Thanksgivings* to be made for his Deliverance and Victory. And that his Devotions might goe round in Circle, he sent his *Banner* to bee offered to our Lady of *Walsingham*, where before he made his *Vows*. And thus delivered of this so strang an *Engine* and new *Invention* of Fortune, he returned to his former confidence of minde, thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the *Speech* of the *Common people* in the beginning of his reigne, that said; *It was a token he should reigne in labour, because his reigne began with a sicknesse of Sweat*. But howsoever the King thought himselfe now in a *Haven*, yet such was his wisdom, as his *Confidence* did seldome darken his *Fore-sight*, especially in things neere hand. And therefore awakened by so fresh, and unexpected dangers, he entred into due consideration, aswell how to weed out the *Partakers* of the former *Rebellion*, as to kill the *Seeds* of the like in time to come:
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and withall to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented *Persons*, where they might hatch and foster *Rebellions*, which afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, hee did yet againe make a *Progressse* from *Lincolne* to the *Northerne Parts*, though it were indeed rather an *Itinerary Circuit* of Justice, then a *Progressse*. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by *Martiall Law*, and partly by *Commission*, were punished, the *Adherents*, and *Ayders* of the late *Rebels*: Not all by death, (for the *Field* had drawne much blood) but by *Fines* and *Ransomes* which spared *Life*, and raised *Treasure*. Amongst other Crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquirie made of such as had raised and disperfed a bruit and rumour, a little before the *Field* fought, *That the Rebels had the day; and that the Kings Armie was overthrowne, and the King fled*. Whereby it was supposed that many *Succours*, which otherwise would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off, and kept backe. Which *Charge* and *Accusation*, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having beene in themselves not the best affected to the Kings part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour, to cover their neglect and coldnesse, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning neverthelesse, the King would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the *Roots* and causes of the like *Commutations* in time to come, the King began to finde where his shooe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the *House of Yorke*, that did rancle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in
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that kind (at least in *Ceremony*) he resolved at last to proceed to the *Coronation* of his *Queene*. And therefore at his coming to *London*, where he entered in state, and in a kinde of *Triumph*, and celebrated his *Victory*, with two dayes of Devotion, (for the first day hee repaired to *Pauls*, and had the *Hymne* of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in *Procession*, and heard the Sermon at the *Crosse*) the *Queene* was with great solemnity Crowned at *Westminster*, the five and twentieth of *November*, in the third yeare of his reigne, which was about two yeeres after the marriage; Like an old *Christning*, that had stayed long for *Godfathers*. Which strange and usuall distance of time, made it subject to every mans note, that it was an Act against his stomacke, and put upon him by necessity and reason of *State*. Soone after, to shew that it was now faire weather againe, and that the imprisonment of *THOMAS Marquesse Dorset*, was rather upon suspicion of the Time, then of the man, hee the said *Marquesse* was set at liberty without examination, or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an *Ambassadour* unto *Pope INNOCENT*, signifying unto him this his Marriage, and that now (like another *ÆNEAS*) hee had passed through the flouds of his former troubles and travailes, and was arrived unto a safe *Haven*: and thanking his *Holinesse*, that he had honoured the Celebration of his Marriage with the presence of his *Ambassadour*: and offering both his *Person* and the forces of his *Kingdome* upon all occasions to doe him service.

The *Ambassadour*, making his Oration to the *Pope*, in the presence of the *Cardinals*, did so magnifie the *King* and *Queene*, as was enough to glut the Hearers. But then he did againe so extoll and deifie the *Pope*, as made all that he had said in praise of his *Master* and
Mistresse

Mistresse seeme temperate and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extreainely much made on by the *Pope*. Who knowing himselfe to bee *Lazie* and unprofitable to the *Christian World*, was wonderfully glad to heare that there were such *Echoes* of him founding in remote parts. Hee obtained also of the *Pope* a very just and honorable *Bull*, qualifying the *Priviledges* of *Sanctuary* (wherewith the king had bene extreainely gauled) in three points.

This first, that if any *Sanctuary man* did by night, or otherwise, get out of *Sanctuary* privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in againe, he should lose the benefit of *Sanctuarie* for ever after. The second, that howsoever the *Person* of the *Sanctuary man* was protected from his *Creditors*, yet his *Goods* out of *Sanctuarie* should not. The third, that if any tooke *Sanctuary* for case of *Treason*, the *King* might appoint him keepers to looke to him in *Sanctuarie*.

The *King* also for the better securing of his estate, against mutinous and malecontented Subjects (wherof He saw the *Realme* was full) who might have their refuge into *Scotland*, which was not under key, as the *Ports* were; For that cause, rather then for any doubt of *Hofility* from those parts, before his coming to *London* (when he was at *Newcastle*) had sent a solemne *Ambassage* unto *JAMES* the third, *King* of *Scotland*, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The *Ambassadors* were *RICHARD FOXE* Bishop of *Excester*, and *SIR RICHARD EDGCOMBE* Comptroller of the *Kings* House, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the *King* of *Scotland* labouring of the same disease that *King HENRY* did (though more mortall, as afterwards appeared) that is, *Discontented Subjects*, apt to rise, and raise Tumult, although
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in his owne affection hee did much desire to make a Peace with the King; Yet finding his Nobles averse, and not daring to displeas them, concluded onely a Truce for seven yeares; giving neverthelesse promise in private, that it should bee renewed from time to time, during the two Kings lives.

Hilberto the King had bene exercised in settling his affaires at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to looke abroad, and to hearken to forraine businesse. CHARLES the eight the French King, by the vertue and good fortune of his two immediate Predecessors, CHARLES the seventh his Grand-father, and LEWIS the eleventh his Father, received the Kingdome of France in more flourishing and spread Estate, than it had been of many yeares before; being redintegrate in those principall Members, which anciently had bene portions of the Crowne of France, and were after dissevered, so as they remained onely in *Homage*, and not in *Sovereignty* (being governed by absolute Princes of their owne) *Angeou*, *Normandy*, *Provence* and *Burgundie*, There remained onle *Brittaine* to be reunited, and so the *Monarchie* of France to be reduced to the ancient Termes and Bounds.

King CHARLES was not a little inflamed with an ambition to repurchase, and reannex that *Duchie*. Which his ambition was a wise and well weighed Ambition; not like unto the ambitions of his succeeding enterprizes of *Italy*. For at that time being newly come to the Crowne, he was somewhat guided by his Fathers *Counsels* (*Counsels*, not *Counsellors*) for his Father was his owne *Counsell*, and had few able men about him. And that King (he knew well) had ever distasted the designs of *Italy*, and in particular had an eye upon *Brittaine*. There were many circumstances

stances that did feed the ambition of CHARLES, with pregnant and apparant hopes of Successe. The Duke of Brittain old, and entred into a *Lethargie*, and served with *Mercenary Counsellors*, father of two only daughters, the one sicke and not like to continue. King CHARLES himselfe in the flower of his age, and the Subjects of France at that time well trained for Warre, both for Leaders and Souldiers; men of service being not yet worne out, since the warres of LEWIS against *Burgundy*. He found himselfe also in peace with all his *Neighbour-Princes*. As for those that might oppose to his enterprize; MAXIMILIAN King of *Romans*, his Rivall in the same desires, (as well for the *Duchy*, as the Daughter) feeble in meanes; and King HENRY of *England* aswell somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a faire and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justifie his warring upon *Brittaine*, for that the Duke had received, and succoured LEWIS Duke of *Orleance*, and other of the French Nobility, which had taken Armes against their King. Wherefore King CHARLES being resolved upon that Warre, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King HENRY should either upon *Police of State*, in preventing the growing greatnesse of France; or upon gratitude unto the Duke of *Brittaine*, for his former favours, in the time of his distresse, espouse that quarrell, and declare himselfe in aid of the Duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King HENRY was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent *Ambassadors* unto him, to pray his assistance, or at the least that hee would stand neutrall. Which *Ambassadors* found the King at *Leicester*, and delivered their *Ambassage* to this effect. They first imparted unto the King the successe that

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their *Master* had had a little before against *MAXIMILIAN*, in recovery of certaine Townes from him: which was done in a kinde of privacie, and inwardnesse towards the King; and if the *French-king* did not esteeme him for an outward or formall *Confederate*, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his businesse. After this *Complement*, and some gratulation for the Kings victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the *King*, that their *Master* was enforced to enter into a just and necessary Warre with the *Duke of Brittain*, for that hee had received and succoured those that were *Traitors*, and Declared Enemies unto his *Person* and *State*. That they were no meane, distressed, and calamitous *Persons* that fled to him for refuge, but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their owne fortune, but to infest and invade his; the *Head* of them being the *Duke of Orleance*, the first *Prince* of the blood, and the second *Person* of *France*. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on their *Masters* part a *Defensive* Warre, then an *Offensive*; as that, that could not bee omitted or forborne, if hee tended the conservation of his owne *Estate*; and that it was not the first *Blow* that made the Warre invasive, (for that no wise *Prince* would stay for) but the first *Provocation*, or at least the first *Preparation*. Nay that this Warre was rather a *Suppression* of *Rebels*, then a warre with a just *Enemy*, where the case is; That his *Subjects*, *Traitors*, are received by the *Duke of Brittain* his *Homager*. That King *HENRY* knew well what went upon it in example, if *Neighbour Princes* should patronize and comfort *Rebels*, against the Law of Nations and of *Leagues*. Neverthelesse that their *Master* was not ignorant, that the *King* had beene beholding to the
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Duke of Brittain in his adverfity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readinesse of their *King*, in ayding him when the *Duke of Brittain*, or his mercenary *Concellors* failed him, and would have betrayed him; And that there was a great difference betweene the courtesies received from their *Master*, and the *Duke of Brittain*; for that the *Dukes* might have ends of utility and Bargaine; whereas their *Masters* could not have proceeded but out of entire *Affection*. For that, if it had been measured by a politicke line, it had been better for his affaires, that a *Tarant* should have reigned in *England*, troubled and hated, then such a *Prince*, whose vertues could not faile to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be *Master* of his affaires. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation, which the *King* might owe to the *Duke of Brittain*, yet their *Master* was well assured, it would not divert King *HENRY* of *England* from doing that, that was just, nor ever embarke him in so ill grounded a quarrell. Therefore, since this Warre which their *Master* was now to make, was but to deliver himsele from imminent dangers, their *King* hoped the *King* would shew the like affection to the conservation of their *Masters* estate, as their *Master* had (when time was) shewed to the Kings acquisition of his kingdome. At the least, that according to the inclination which the *King* had ever professed of Peace, he would looke on, and stand *Neutrall*; for that their *Master* could not with reason presse him to undertake part in the Warre, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the *Mysterie* of reannexing of the *Duchy of Brittain* to the Crowne of *France*, either by warre, or by marriage with the *Daughter of Brittain*; the *Ambassadors* bare aloofe from it, as from a *Rocke*, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all
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meanes declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced in their conference with the King, the assured purpose of their *Master*, to match with the Daughter of MAXIMILIAN; And entertained the King also with some wandring Discourses of their Kings purpose, to recover by Armes his right to the Kingdome of *Naples*, by an expedition in Person; All to remove the King from all jealousie of any *Designe*, in these hither Part upon *Brittaine*, otherwise then for quenching of the fire, which he feared might be kindled in his owne estate.

The King after advice taken with his *Councill*, made answer to the *Ambassadors*. And first returned their *Complement*, shewing he was right glad of the *French Kings* reception of those Townes from MAXIMILIAN. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his owne adventures and victory passed. As to the businesse of *Brittaine*, the King answered in few words; That the *French King* and the Duke of *Brittaine*, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that hee should thinke himselfe very happy, if things should goe so betweene them, as he should not be able to acquite himselfe in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no meanes for him as a *Christian King* and a Common friend to them, to satisfie all obligations both to God and Man, but to offer himselfe for a *Mediator* of an *Accord* and *Peace* betweene them; by which course he doubted not but their Kings estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more *Safety* and lesse *Envy* then by a Warre, and that hee would spare no cost or paines, no if it were *To goe on Pilgrimage*, for so good an effect; And concluded, that in this great *Affaire*, which he tooke so much to heart, he would expresse himselfe more fully by an *Ambassage*, which he would speedily dispatch unto the *French King* for that purpose.

pose. And in this sort the *French Ambassadors* were dismissed; The King avoyding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of *Brittaine*, as the *Ambassadors* had avoided to mention it; save that he gave a little touch of it in the word, *Envy*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow, nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the *French*, for the investing himselfe of *Brittaine*. But first he was utterly unwilling (howsoever he gave out) to enter into Warre with *France*. A Fame of a Warre he liked well, but not an *Atchievement*; for the one hee thought would make him *Richer*, and the other *Poorer*: and he was possessed with many secret feares, touching his owne people, which he was therefore loth to arme, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding (as a prudent and couragious *Prince*) he was not so averse from a Warre, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather then to have *Brittaine* carried by *France*, being so great and opulent a *Duchie*, and situate so opportunely to annoy *England*, either for *Coast*, or *Trade*. But the Kings hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly imputed to the *French* (especially in the *Court* of a young King) and partly by the native power of *Brittaine* it selfe, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great Party, that the *Duke of Orleance* had in the Kingdome of *France*, and thereby meanes to stirre up *Civill* troubles, to divert the *French-king* from the enterprize of *Brittaine*: And lastly, in regard of the power of MAXIMILIAN, who was Corrivall to the *French King* in that *pursuit*, the Enterprize would either bow to a peace, or break in it selfe. In all which, the King measured and valued things amisse, as afterwards appeared. He sent therefore forthwith to the *French King*, CHRISTOPHER URSWICKE, his *Chaplain*, a person by him much trusted and employed: choosing him the rather, because

cause he was a *Church-man*, as best fortting with an *Ambassie of Pacification*: and giving him also a *Commission*, That if the *French King* consented to treat, hee should thence repaire to the *Duke of Brittain*, and ripen the *Treaty* on both parts. *URSWICK* made declaration to the *French King*, much to the purpose of the *Kings* answer to the *French Ambassadors* here; infilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the *Duke of Orleance*, and some tasted of *Conditions of Accord*. But the *French King* on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deale of art and dissimulation, in this *Treaty*; having for his end to gaine time, and so put off the *English Succours*, under hope of *Peace*, till he had got good footing in *Brittain*, by force of *Armes*. Wherefore he answered the *Ambassadour*, That hee would put himselfe into the *Kings* hands, and make him *Arbiter* of the *Peace*: and willingly consent, that the *Ambassadour* should straightwayes passe into *Brittain*, to signifie this his consent, and to know the *Dukes* minde likewise; well fore-seeing, that the *Duke of Orleance*, by whom the *Duke of Brittain* was wholly led, taking himselfe to be upon termes irreconcilable with him, would admit of no *Treaty of Peace*. Whereby hee should in one, both generally abroad veyle over his *Ambition*, and winne the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withall endear himselfe in the Affections of the *King of England*, as one, that had committed all to his Will: Nay, and (which was yet more fine) make faith in him, That although he went on with the *Warre*, yet it should be but with his sword in his hand, to bend the stiffenesse of the other party to accept of *Peace*: and so the *King* should take no umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the *Treaty* to be kept on foot, to the very last instant, till he were *Master of the Feild*.

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Which grounds being by the *French King* wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the *English Ambassador* came to the Court of *Brittain*, the *Duke* was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the *Duke of Orleance*; who gave audience to the *Chaplain URSWICK*, and upon his *Ambassage* delivered, made answer in somewhat high termes: That the *Duke of Brittain* having been an *Host*, and a kind of Parent or Foster-father to the *King*, in his tenderesse of age, and weakenesse of fortune, did looke for at this time from *King HENRY* (the renowned *King of England*) rather brave troupes for his Succours, then a vaine *Treaty of Peace*. And if the *King* could forget the good Offices of the *Duke* done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his wisdome consider of the future; how much it imported his owne safety and reputation, both in foraine parts, and with his own people, not to suffer *Brittain* (the old confederates of *England*) to be swallowed up by *France*, and so many good *Ports*, and strong Townes upon the Coast, be in the command of so potent a Neighbor-*King*, and so ancient an Enemy. And therefore humbly desired the *King* to think of this businessse as his own; and therewith brake off, and denied any further conference for *Treaty*.

URSWICK returned first to the *French King*, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, tooke hold of them, and said; That the *Ambassador* might perceive now, that which he for his part, partly, imagined before; That considering in what hands the *Duke of Brittain* was, there would be no *Peace*, but by a mixt *Treaty* of force and perswasion. And therefore he would goe on with the one, and desired the *King* not to desist from the other. But for his owne part, he did faithfully promise, to be still in the *Kings* power, to rule him

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him in the matter of Peace. This was accordingly represented unto the *King* by URSWICKE at his returne, and in such a fashion, as if the *Treaty* were in no sort desperate, but rather staid for a better houre, till the *Hammer* had wrought, and beat the *Partie* of *Brittaine* more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually *Packets* and *Dispatches* betweene the two *Kings*, from the *One* out of desire, and from the other out of *dissimulation*, about the negotiation of Peace. The *French King* meane while invaded *Brittaine* with great forces, and distressed the City of *Nantes* with a strait siege, and (as one, who though hee had no great Judgement, yet had that, that hee could dissemble home) the more he did urge the prosecution of the *Warre*, the more he did at the same time, urge the solicitation of the *Peace*. Infomuch as during the siege of *Nantes*, after many Letters and particular messages, the better to maintaine his *dissimulation*, and to refresh the *Treaty*; he sent BERNARD DAUBIGNEY (a person of good quality) to the *King*, earnestly to desire him, to make an end of the businesse howsoever.

The *King* was no lesse ready to revive and quicken the *Treaty*; And thereupon sent three *Commissioners*, the *Abbot of Abbington*, SIR RICHARD TUNSTAL, and CHAPLEINE URSWICK formerly imployed, to doe their utmost endeavours, to manage the *Treaty* roundly and strongly.

About this time the Lord WOODVILE, (Uncle to the *Queen*) a valiant gentleman, and desirous of honor, sued to the *King*, that he might raise some *Power* of *Voluntaries* under-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the *King* might any wayes appeare) goe to the aide of the *Duke of Brittain*. The *King* denied his request, (or at least seemed so to doe) and layed strait Commandement upon him, that hee should

should not stirre, for that the *King* thought his honour would suffer therein, during a *Treaty*, to better a *Party*. Neverthelesse this Lord (either being unruly, or out of conceipt that the *King* would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not openly avow) sailed secretly over into the Isle of *Wight*, whereof he was *Governour*, and levied a faire *Troupe* of foure hundred men, and with them passed over into *Brittaine*, and joyned himselfe with the *Dukes* forces. The *Newes* whereof when it came to the *French Court*, put divers *Young bloods* into such a fury, as the *English Ambassadors* were not without perill to be outraged. But the *French King* both to preserve the Priviledge of *Ambassadors*, and being conscious to himselfe that in the businesse of *Peace*, hee himselfe was the greater dissembler of the two, forbade all injuries of fact or word, against their persons, or Followers. And presently came an *Agent* from the *King*, to purge himselfe touching the Lord WOODVILES going over, using for a principall argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that the *Troupes* were so small, as neither had the *Face* of a succour by authority; nor could much advance the *Brittaines* affaires. To which message, although the *French King* gave no full credit, yet he made faire weather with the *King*, and seemed satisfied. Soone after the *English Ambassadors* returned, having two of them beene likewise with the *Duke of Brittain*, and found things in no other termes, then they were before. Upon their return, they informed the *King* of the state of the affaires, and how farre the *French King* was from any true meaning of *Peace*; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course. Neither was the *King* himselfe lead all this while with credulity meere, as was generally supposed: But his Error was not so much facility of beleefe, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other *Party*. H For

For (as was partly touched before) the King had cast the businesse thus with himselfe. He took it for granted in his owne judgement, that the Warre of *Brittaine*, in respect of the strength of the *Townes*, and of the *Party*, could not speedily come to a *Period*. For he conceived that the Counsels of a warre, that was undertaken by the *French-king*, then childlesse, against an *Heire-apparent* of *France*, would bee very faint and slow. And besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of *France* should be imbroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the *Duke of Orleance*. He conceived likewise, that *MAXIMILIAN*, King of the *Romans*, was a Prince warlike and potent; who (he made account) would give succours to the *Brittaines* roundly. So then judging it would be a worke of *Time*, he laid his plot, how hee might best make use of that *Time*, for his own affaires. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his *Parliament*; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrell of *Brittaine*, would give treasure largely. Which treasure, as a noise of warre might draw forth; so a peace succeeding might cofer up. And because he knew his people were hot upon the businesse, he chose rather to seeme to bee deceived, and lulled asleepe by the *French*, then to bee backward in himselfe; considering his *Subjects* were not so fully capable of the reasons of *State*, which made him hold backe. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, then to set and keep on foot a continuall *Treaty of Peace*; laying it downe, and taking it up againe, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of Honour in bearing the blessed person of a *Pacificator*. Hee thought likewise to make use of the Envy, that the *French King* met with, by occasion of this warre of *Brittaine*, in strengthening himselfe with new allian-

ces; as namely that of *FERDINANDO* of *Spaine*, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customes; and likewise with *MAXIMILIAN*, who was particularly interessed. So that in substance he promised himselfe Money, Honour, Friends, and Peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate, and succeed in all parts; for that great affaires are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges, or points of wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive, that the *Councell* of *France* would be wary to put the King into a Warre against the *Heire-apparent* of *France*; yet he did not consider, that *CHARLES* was not guided by any of the principall of the *Bloud* or *Nobility*, but by meane Men, who would make it their *Master-peece*, of Credit and favour, to give venturous Counsels, which no great or wise Man durst or would. And for *MAXIMILIAN*, he was thought then a *Greater-matter* then hee was; his unstable and necessitous Courses being not then knowne.

After Consultation with the *Ambassadors*, who brought him no other newes, then he expected before (though he would not seem to know it till then) he presently summoned his *Parliament*, and in open *Parliament* propounded the cause of *Brittaine* to both *Houses*, by his *Chancellor MORTON Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, who spake to this effect.

M*Y Lords and Masters; The Kings Grace our Sovereigne Lord, hath commanded mee to declare unto you the causes that have moved him at this time to summon this his Parliament; Which I shall doe in few words,*

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craving pardon of his Grace, and you all, if I performe it not as I would.

His Grace doth first of all let you know, that he retaineth in thankefull memory the love and loyaltie shewed to him by you, at your last Meeting, in Establishment of his royaltie; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and confiscation of his Traitors and Rebels: more then which could not come from Subjects to their Sovereigne, in one action. This hee taketh so well at your hands, as he hath made it a Resolution to himselfe to communicate with so loving and well approved Subjects, in all Affaires that are of publike nature, at home or abroad.

Two Therefore are the causes of your present assembling: the one, a forraigne Businesse; the other, matter of government at home.

The French King (as no doubt yee have heard) maketh at this present hot Warre upon the Duke of Brittain. His Armie is now before Nantes, and holdeth it straitly besieged, being the principall Cittie (if not in Ceremonie and Prebeminence, yet in Strength and Wealth) of that Duchie. Yee may guesse at his Hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of the Warre first. The cause of this Warre he knoweth best. He alleageth the entertaining and succouring of the Duke of Orleance, and
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some other French Lords, whom the King taketh for his Enemies. Others divine of other Matters. Both parts have by their Ambassadors divers times prayed the Kings Aides: The French King, Aides or Neutrality; the Brittons, Aides simply; for so their case requirerth. The King, as a Christian Prince, and blessed Sonne of the Holy Church, hath offered himselfe as a Mediator, to treat a Peace betweene them. The French King yeeldeth to treat, but will not stay the prosecution of the Warre. The Brittons, that desire Peace most, hearken to it least; not upon confidence or stiffnesse, but upon distrust of true meaning, seeing the Warre goes on. So as the King, after as much paines and care to effect a Peace, as ever he tooke in any Businesse, not being able to remove the Prosecution on the one side, nor the Distrust on the other, caused by that Prosecution, hath let fall the Treaty; not repenting of it, but despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore by this Narrative you now understand the state of the Question, whereupon the King prayeth your advice: which is no other, but whether hee shall enter into an auxiliarie and defensive Warre for the Brittons against France.

And the better to open your understandings
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in this Affaire, the King hath commanded mee to say somewhat to you from him, of the Persons that doe intervene in this Businesse; and somewhat of the Consequence thereof, as it hath relation to this Kingdome; and somewhat of the Example of it in generall: making neverthelesse no Conclusion or Judgement of any Point, untill his Grace hath received your faithfull and politique advices.

First, for the King our Sovereigne himselfe, who is the principall Person you are to eye in this Businesse; his Grace doth professe, that he truly and constantly desireth to reigne in Peace. But his Grace saith, hee will neither buy Peace with Dishonour, nor take it up at interest of Danger to ensue; but shall thinke it a good Change, if it pleased God to change the inward Troubles and Seditions, wherewith he hath bene hitherto exercised, into an honourable Forraigne Warre. And for the other two Persons in this Action, the French King, and the Duke of Britaine, his Grace doth declare unto you, that they be the Men, unto whom he is of all other Friends and Allies most bounden: the one having held over him his hand of Protection from the Tyrant: the Other having reacht forth unto him his hand of helpe, for the recovery of his Kingdome. So that his affection toward them in his naturall

rall Person, is upon equall termes. And whereas you may have heard, that his Grace was enforced to flie out of Brittain into France, for doubts of being betrayed; his Grace would not in any sort have that reflect upon the Duke of Brittain, in defacement of his former benefits: for that hee is thoroughly informed, that it was but the practice of some corrupt Persons about him, during the time of his sicknesse, altogether without his consent or privity.

But howsoever these things doe interesse his Grace in his particular, yet he knoweth well that the higher Bond that tieth him to procure by all meanes the safety and welfare of his loving Subjects doth dis-interesse him of these Obligations of Gratitude, otherwise then thus: that if his Grace be forced to make a Warre, he doe it without passion, or ambition.

For the consequence of this Action towards this Kingdome, it is much as the French Kings intention is. For if it be no more, but to range his Subjects to reason, who beare themselves stout upon the strength of the Duke of Brittain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French Kings purpose, or if it should not be in his purpose, yet if it shall follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French King shall make a Province of Brittain, and joyne it to the Crowne

Crowne of France: then it is worthy the consideration, how this may import England, as well in the increasement of the greatnesse of France, by the addition of such a Countrey, that stretcheth his Boughes unto our Seas, as in depriving this Nation, and leaving it so naked of so firme and assured Confederates, as the Brittons have alwayes beene. For then it will come to passe, that whereas not long since, this Realme was mightie upon the Continent, first in Territorie, and after in Alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Brittain, which were Confederates indeed, but dependant Confederates; now the one being already cast, partly into the greatnesse of France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like wholly to bee cast into the greatnesse of France, and this Island shall remaine confined in effect within the salt Waters, and girt about with the Coast-Countries of two mighty Monarchs.

For the Example, it resteth likewise upon the same Question, upon the French Kings intent. For if Brittain bee caried and swallowed up by France, as the world abroad (apt to impute and construe the Actions of Princes to Ambition) conceive it will; then it is an Example very dangerous and universall, that the lesser Neighbour Estate should bee devoured of the greater. For this may bee the case of Scotland
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towards England; of Portugall, towards Spaine; of the smaller Estates of Italie, towards the greater; and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the Commons might not live and dwell safely, besides some of these great Lords. And the bringing in of this Example, will be chiefly laid to the Kings charge, as to him that was most interessed and most able to forbid it. But then on the other side, there is so faire a Pretext on the French Kings Part (and yet Pretext is never wanting to power) in regard the danger imminent to his owne Estate is such, as may make this Enterprize seeme rather a work of Necessity then of Ambition, as doth in reason correct the Danger of the Example. For that the Example of that which is done in a mans owne defence, cannot be dangerous; because it is in another's power to avoid it. But in all this businesse, the King remits himselfe to your grave and mature advice, whereupon he purposeth to relye.

This was the effect of the Lord Chancellors Speech touching the Cause of Brittain: For the King had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the Parliament towards the Businesse; but without engaging the King in any expresse declaration.

The Chancellor went on:

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FOR that which may concerne the Governement at home, the King hath commanded me to say unto you; That he thinketh there was never any King (for the small time that he hath reigned) had greater and juster cause of the two contrarie Passions of Joy and Sorrow, then his Grace hath. Joy, in respect of the rare and visible Favours of Almighty GOD in girding the Imperiall Sword upon his side, and assisting the same his Sword against all his Enemies; and likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving Servants and Subjects, which have never failed to give him faithfull Counsell, ready Obedience, and couragious Defence. Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to sheathe his Sword (as he greatly desired otherwise then for Administration of Justice) but that he hath beene forced to draw it so oft, to cut off Trayterous and disloyall Subjects, whom (it seemes) God hath left (a few amongst many good) as the Canaanites among the People of Israel, to be thornes in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the end hath been alwayes (Gods Name be blessed therefore) that the destruction hath fallen upon their owne heads.

Wherefore his Grace saith; That hee seeth, that it is not the Bloud spilt in the Field, that
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will save the Bloud in the Cittie; nor the Marshals Sword, that will set this Kingdome in perfect Peace: But that the true way is, to stop the Seeds of Sedition and Rebellion in their beginnings; and for that purpose to devise, confirme, and quicken good and wholesome Lawes, against Riots, and unlawfull Assemblies of People, and all Combinations and Confederacies of them, by Liveries, Tokens, and other Badges of factious Dependance; that the Peace of the Land may by these Ordinances, as by Barres of Iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and all Force both in Court, Countrey, and private Houses, be suppress. The care hereof, which so much concerneth your selves, and which the nature of the Times doth instantly call for, his Grace commends to your Wisdomes.

And because it is the Kings desire, that this Peace, wherein he hopeth to governe and maintaine you, doe not beare onely unto you Leaves for you to sit under the shade of them in safetie; but also should beare you Fruit of Riches, Wealth and Plenty: Therefore his Grace prays you, to take into consideration matter of Trade, as also the Manufactures of the Kingdome, and to repress the bastard and barren Employment of Moneies, to Usury and unlawfull Exchanges, that they may be (as their natu-

rall use is) turned upon Commerce, and lawfull and Royall Trading. And likewise, that Our People be set on worke in Arts and Handy-crafts; that the Realme may subsist more of it selfe; that Idlenesse be avoided, and the drayning out of our Treasure, for forraine Manufactures, stopped. But you are not to rest here onely, but to provide further, that whatsoever Merchandize shall be brought in from beyond the Seas, may bee imployed upon the Commodities of this Land; whereby the Kingdomes stocke of Treasure may bee sure to be kept from being diminished, by any over-trading of the Forraimer.

And lastly, because the King is well assured, that you would not have him poore, that wishes you rich; he doubteth not, but that you will have care, as well to maintaine his Revenues, of Customs, and all other Natures, as also to supply him with your loving Aydes, if the case shall so require. The rather, for that you know the King is a good Husband, and but a Steward in effect for the Publike; and that what comes from you is but as Moisture drawne from the Earth, which gathers into a Cloud, and falls backe upon the Earth againe. And you know well, how the Kingdomes about you grow more and more in Greatnesse, and the Times are stirring; and therefore not fit to finde the
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King with an empty Purse. More I have not to say to you; and wish, that what hath been said, had beene better exprest: But that your Wisedomes and good Affections will supply. GOD blesse your Doings.

IT was no hard matter to dispose and affect the Parliament in this businesse; aswell in respect of the Emulation betweene the Nations, and the Envy at the late groweth of the French Monarchy; as in regard of the Danger, to suffer the French to make their approaches upon England, by obtaining so goodly a maritime Province, full of Sea-Townes, and Havens, that might doe mischief to the English, either by invasion or by interruption of Traffique. The Parliament was also moved with the point of Oppression; for although the French seemed to speake reason, yet Arguments are ever with multitudes too weake for suspitions. Wherefore they did advise the King roundly to embrace the Brittons quarrell, and to send them speedie aydes, and with much alacritie and forwardnesse granted to the King a great rate of Subsidie, in contemplation of these aydes. But the King both to keepe a decencie towards the French King, to whom he profest himselfe to bee obliged, and indeede desirous rather to shew Warre, then to make it; sent new solemne Ambassadors to intimate unto him, the Decree of his Estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from Hostility; or if Warre must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Brittons as their ancient Friends, and Confederates, hee did send them succours;

cours; with protestation neverthelesse, that to save all Treatyes and Lawes of Friendship, hee had limited his Force, to proceed in ayde of the Brittons, but in no wise to warre upon the French, otherwise then as they maintained the possession of Brittain. But before this formall Ambassage arrived, the Party of the Duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For neere the Town of Saint Alban in Brittain, a Battaile had been given, where the Brittons were overthrowne, and the Duke of Orleance, and the Prince of Orange taken Prisoners, there being slaine on the Brittons part six thousand Men, and amongst them the Lord WOODVILE, and almost all his Souldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part one thousand two hundred, with their Leader, JAMES GALEOT, a great Commander.

When the news of this Battaile came over into England, it was time for the King (who now had no subterfuge to continue further Treaty, and saw before his Eyes, that Brittain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes, knowing also that with his People and Forreiners both, he sustained no small Envy and disreputation for his former delays) to dispatch with all possible speed his succour into Brittain; which he did under the conduct of ROBERT LORD BROOKE, to the number of eight thousand choise Men, and well armed; who having a faire winde, in few houres landed in Brittain, and joyned themselves forthwith to those Briton Forces, that remained after the Defeat, and marched straight on to find the Enemy, and incamped fast by them. The French wisely husbanding the possession of a Victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their Trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battaile.

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But meane while, to harrasse and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their Light-horse; wherein neverthelesse they received commonly losse, especially by meanes of the English-Archers.

But upon these atchievements FRANCIS Duke of Brittain deceased; an accident that the King might easily have foreseene, and ought to have reckoned upon, and provided for, but that the Point of Reputation, when newes first came of the Battaile lost (that somewhat must be done) did overbear the Reason of Warre.

After the Dukes decease, the principall Persons of Brittain, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding Head or Body with whom to joyne their Forces, and being in jealousy of Friends, as well as in danger of Enemies, and the Winter begun, returned home five moneths after their landing. So the Battaile of Saint Alban, the death of the Duke, and the retire of the English succours were (after some time) the causes of the losse of that Duchie; which action some accounted as a blemish of the Kings Judgement; but most, but as the misfortune of his times.

But howsoever the temporary Fruit of the Parliament in their ayde and advice given for Brittain, tooke not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting Fruit of Parliament, which is good and wholesome Lawes, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For according to the Lord Chancellors admonition, there were that Parliament divers excellent Lawes ordamed, concerning the Points which the King recommended.

First, the authority of the Star-Chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient Common-Lawes of the Realme, was confirmed in certaine Cases by Act of Par-

Parliament. This Court is one of the sagest and noblest Institutions of this Kingdome. For in the distribution of Courts of Ordinary Justice (besides the High Court of Parliament) in which distribution the Kings-Bench holdeth the Pleas of the Crowne, the Common-Place, Pleas-Civill, the Exchequer Pleas concerning the Kings Revenue, and the Chancery the pretorian power for mitigating the Rigour of Law, in case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man; there was neverthelesse alwayes reserved a high and preheminent power to the Kings Councill, in Causes that might in example, or consequence, concern the state of the Common-wealth, which if they were Criminall, the Councill used to sit in the Chamber, called the Star-Chamber; if Civill, in the White-chamber, or White-hall. And as the Chancery had the Pretorian power for Equity, so the Star-chamber had the Censorian power for Offences, under the degree of Capitall. This Court of Star-chamber is compounded of good Elements; for it consisteth of foure kindes of Persons: Councillors, Peeres, Prelates, and chief-Judges. It discerneth also principally of foure kinds of Causes; Forces, Frauds, Crimes various of Stellation, and the Inchoations or middle acts towards Crimes Capitall, or hainous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this Act was Force, and the two chiefe Supports of Force, Combination of multitudes, and Maintenance or Headship of great Persons.

From the generall peace of the Country, the Kings care went on to the peace of the Kings House, and the security of his great Officers and Counsellors. But this Law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper; That if any of the Kings servants under the degree of a Lord, doe conspire the death of any of the Kings Councill, or Lord of the Realm, it is made Capitall. This Law was thought to be procured by the Lord
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Chancellor, who being a sterne and haughty man, and finding he had some mortall Enemies in Court, provided for his owne safety; drowning the envy of it in a generall Law, by communicating the priviledge with all other Councillors and Peeres, and yet not daring to extend it further, then to the Kings servants in Checkrowle, lest it should have beene too harsh to the Gentlemen, and other Commons of the Kingdome; who might have thought their ancient Liberty, and the clemency of the Lawes of England invaded, *If the will in any case of Felony should be made the deed.* And yet the reason which the Act yeeldeth (that is to say, *That he that conspireth the death of Councillors may be thought indirectly, and by a meane, to conspire the death of the King himselfe*) is indifferent to all Subjects, as well as to Servants in Court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the Lord Chancellors turne at this time. But yet he lived to need a Generall Law, for that hee grew afterwards as odious to the Country, as hee was then to the Court.

From the peace of the Kings House, the Kings care extended to the peace of Private Houses and Families. For there was an excellent Morall Law moulded thus; The taking and carrying away of Women forcibly, and against their will (except Female-Wards and Bond-women) was made Capitall. The Parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of Women by force into Possession (howsoever afterwards Assent might follow by Allurements) was but a Rape drawne forth in length, because the first Force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another Law for Peace in generall, and repressing of Murthers and Man-slaughters, and was in amendment of the Common Lawes of the Realme, being this: That whereas by the Common Law, the Kings-suit in case of Homicide, did expect The
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yeere and the day, allowed to the Parties Suit by way of *Appeale*; and that it was found by experience, that the Party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the *Suit*, so that in the end such *Suit* was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby *Prosecution* at the Kings *suit* by *Indictment* (which is ever best, *Flagrante crimine*) neglected; it was ordained, That the *Suit* by *Indictment* might be taken as well at any time within the yeere and the day, as after, not prejudicing nevertheless the Parties *suit*.

The King began also then, as well in *Wisdom*e as in *Justice* to pare a little the *Priviledge* of *Clergie*, ordaining, That *Clarkes convicted* should be burned in the hand; both because they might taste of some corporall punishment, and that they might carry a *Brand* of infamy. But for this good Acts sake, the King himself was after branded by PERKINS Proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the Rites of *Holy Church*.

Another *Law* was made for the better Peace of the *Country*; by which *Law* the Kings Officers and *Farmors* were to forfeit their Places and Holds, in case of unlawfull *Retainer*, or partaking in *Routs* and unlawfull *Assemblies*.

These were the *Laws* that were made for repressing of Force, which those times did chiefly require: and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politicke *Laws* that Parliament against *Usury*, which is the *Bastard use* of Money; And against unlawfull *Chievances* and *Exchanges*, which is *Bastard Usury*; And also for the security of the Kings *Customes*; And for the employment of the *Procedures* of *Forraine Commodities*, brought in by *Merchant-strangers*, upon the Native *Commodities* of the *Realme*; Together with some other *Laws* of lesse importance.

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But howsoever the *Lawes* made in that *Parliament* did beare good and hollome *Fruit*; yet the *Subsidie* granted at the same time, bare a *Fruit*, that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the Kings *Barne*; but it was after a *Storme*. For when the *Commissioners* entred into the *Taxation* of the *Subsidy* in *Torkeshire*, and the *Bishopricke* of *Duresme*; the people upon a sudaine grew into great mutiny, and said openly, that they had endured of late yeares a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the *Subsidy*. This (no doubt) proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those *Countries*, where the memory of King RICHARD was so strong, that it lies like *Lees* in the bottome of mens hearts; and if the *Vessell* was but stirred, it would come up. And (no doubt) it was partly also by the instigation of some factious *Malecontents*, that bare principall stroke amongst them. Hereupon the *Commissioners* being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the *Earle* of *Northumberland*, who was the principall man of Authority in those Parts. The *Earle* forthwith wrote unto the Court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those *Countries*, and praying the Kings direction. The King wrote backe peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had beene granted to him by *Parliament*, both because it might encourage other *Countries* to pray the like Release or Mitigation, and chiefly, because he would never endure, that the base *Multitude* should frustrate the Authority of the *Parliament*, wherein their *Votes* and *Consents* were concluded. Upon this dispatch from Court, the *Earle* assembled the principall *Justices* and *Free-holders* of the *Country*; and speaking to them in that imperious Language wherein the King had written to him,

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which needed not (save that an *Harsh* businessse was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a Harsh-man) did not onely irritate the People, but make them conceive, by the stoutnesse and hautinesse of delivery of the Kings Errand; that himselfe was the Author or principall Perswader of that Counsell. Whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the Earle in his House, slew him, and divers of his servants. And rested not there, but creating for their Leader Sir JOHN EGREMOND, a factious person, and one that had of a long time borne an ill Talent towards the King; and being animated also by a base Fellow, called JOHN A CHAMBER, a very *Boute-feu*, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entred into open *Rebellion*, and gave out in flat termes that they would goe against King HENRY, and fight with him for the maintenance of their *Liber-ties*.

When the King was advertised of this new *Insurrection* (being almost a *Fever*, that tooke him every yeere) after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent THOMAS Earle of Surrey (whom he had a little before not onely released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to speciall favour) with a competent Power against the *Rebels*; who fought with the principall Band of them, and defeated them, and tooke alive JOHN A CHAMBER, their fire-brand. As for Sir JOHN EGREMOND, he fled into Flanders, to the Lady MARGARET of Burgundie; whose Palace was the *Sanctuary* and Receptacle of all Traitors against the King. JOHN A CHAMBER was executed at *Tooke*, in great state; for he was hanged upon a Gibbet raised a Stage higher in the midst of a square gallowes, as a Traitor paramount; And a number of his men that were his chiefe Complices, were hanged upon the lower Story round about

about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himselfe omit his custome, to be first or second in all his warlike Exploits; making good his Word, which was usuall with him when he heard of *Rebels*; that *He desired but to see them*. For immediatly after he had sent downe the Earle of Surrey, he marched towards them himselfe in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the Victory, yet hee went on as farre as *Torke*, to pacifie and settle those Countries. And that done returned to *London*, leaving the Earle of Surrey for his *Lieutenant* in the *Northern* parts, and Sir RICHARD TUNSTALL for his principall *Commissioner*, to levy the *Subsidie*, whereof he did not remit a *Denier*.

About the same time that the King lost so good a Servant, as the Earle of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithfull friend and Allie of JAMES the third, King of *Scotland*, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his *Nobility* and *People*, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of Court, was at last distressed by them, having taken Armes, and surpris'd the person of Prince JAMES his sonne, partly by force, partly by threats that they would otherwise deliver up the Kingdome to the King of England, to shaddow thier Rebellion, and to bee the titular and painted Head of those Armes. Whereupon the King (finding himselfe too weak) sought unto King HENRY, as also unto the *Pope*, and the King of France, to compose those troubles, betweene him and his Subjects. The King accordingly interposed their Mediation in a round and Princely manner: Not only by way of request and perswasion, but also by way of protestation of menace; declaring, that they thought it to be the common Cause of all Kings, *If Subjects should be suffered to give Lawes unto*

unto their Sovereigne; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the *Rebels* that had shaken off the greater *Yoke* of Obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser *Tye* of Respect. And *Fury* prevailing above *Feare*, made answer, That there was no talking of Peace, except the King would resigne his Crowne. Whereupon (Treaty of Accord taking no place) it came to a *Battaile*, at *Bannocks Bourne* bn *Strivelin*. In which *Battaile* the King transported with wrath and just indignation, in considerably fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was (notwithstanding the contrary expresse and straight commandement of the *Prince* his sonne) slaine in the Pursuit, being fled to a Mill, scituate in the field, where the *Battaile* was fought.

As for the Popes *Ambassie*, which was sent by *ADRIAN DE CASTELLO* an *Italian Legate* (and perhaps as those times were might have prevailed more) it came too late for the *Ambassie*, but not for the *Ambassador*. For passing through *England*, and being honourably entertained, and received of King *HENRY*; (who ever applied himselfe with much respect to the *Sea of Rome*) he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiarity and friendship with *MORTON* the *Chancellor*. In so much as the King taking a liking to him, and finding him to his minde, preferred him to the *Bishopricke* of *Hereford*, and afterwards to that of *Bath* and *Wels*, and imployed him in many of his affaires of State, that had relation to *Rome*. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in businesse of State; and having not long after ascended to the degree of *Cardinall*, payd the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of *Italy*. Neverthelesse in the end of his time, hee was parta-

partaker of the conspiracie, which *Cardinall ALPHONSO PETRUCCI*, and some other *Cardinals* had plotted against the life of *Pope LEO*. And this offence in it selfe so hainous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the *Papacy*. And in this height of impiety there wanted not an intermixture of levity and folly; for that (as was generally believed) hee was animated to expect the *Papacy*, by a fatall mockerie, the prediction of a *Southsayer*, which was; *That one should succeed Pope LEO, whose name should bee ADRIAN, an aged man of meane birth, and of great learning and wisdom.* By which *Character*, and figure, he tooke himselfe to be described, though it were fulfilled of *ADRIAN* the *Flemming*, sonne of a *Dutch Brewer*, *Cardinall* of *Tortosa*, and *Preceptor* unto *CHARLES* the *Fift*, the same that not changing his *Christen-name*, was afterward called *ADRIAN* the *Sixt*.

But these things happened in the yeere following, which was the fift of this King. But in the end of the fourth yeere the King had called againe his *Parliament*, not as it seemeth for any particular occasion of *State*. But the former *Parliament* being ended somewhat sodainely, in regard of the preparation for *Britaine*, the King thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good *Lawes*, which evermore was his *Retribution* for *Treasure*. And finding by the *Insurrection* in the *North*, there was discontentment abroad, in respect of the *Subsidie*, he thought it good to give his *Subjects* yet further contentment, and comfort in that kinde. Certainly his times for good *Commonwealths Lawes* did excell. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best *Law-giver* to this Nation, after King *EDWARD* the first. For his *Lawes* (who so markes them well) are deepe, and not vulgar;

gar: not made upon the Spurre of a particular Occasion for the Present, but out of Providence of the *Future*, to make the Estate of his People still more and more happy; after the manner of the *Legislators* in ancient and Heroicall Times.

First therefore he made a *Law*, suitable to his own Acts and Times. For as himsele had in his Person and Marriage made a finall Concord, in the great Suit and Title for the *Crowne*; so by this *Law* he fetled the like Peace and Quiet in the private Possessions of the Subjects. Ordaining, *That Fines thence-forth should be finall, to conclude all Strangers Rights*; and that upon *Fines* levied, and solemnly proclaimed, the *Subject* should have his time of Watch for five yeeres after his Title accrued; which if hee fore-passed, his Right should be bound for ever after; with some exception neverthelesse, of *Minors*, Married-women, and such incompetent Persons.

This *Statute* did in effect but restore an ancient Statute of the Realme, which was it selfe also made but in affirmance of the *Common-Law*. The alteration had beene by a Statute, commonly called the Statute of *Non-claim*, made in the time of *EDWARD* the Third. And surely this Law was a kind of *Prognosticke* of the good Peace, which since his time hath (for the most part) continued in this Kingdome, untill this day. For Statutes of *Non-claim* are fit for times of warre, when mens heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their Estate; But Statutes, that quiet *Possessions*, are fittest for Times of Peace, to extinguish Suits and Contentions, which is one of the *Banes* of Peace.

Another *Statute* was made of singular *Policy*, for the Population apparently, and (if it be thoroughly considered) for the *Souldiery*, and *Militar Forces* of the Realme.

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Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent, whereby Arable Land (which could not be manured without people and Families) was turned into Pasture, which was easily rid by a few *Heards-men*; and Tenancies for *Yeares*, *Lives*, and *At Will* (whereupon much of the *Yeomandry* lived) were turned in Demesnes. This bred a decay of People, and (by consequence) a decay of *Townes*, *Churches*, *Tithes*, and the like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise forgot, that there ensued with al upon this a decay and diminution of *Subsidy* and *Taxes*; for the more Gentlemen, ever the lower bookes of *Subsidies*. In remedying of this inconvenience, the Kings Wisdome was admirable, and the *Parliaments* at that time. *Inclosures* they would not forbid, for that had beene to forbid the improvement of the *Patrimonie* of the Kingdome; nor *Tillage* they would not compell, for that was to strive with Nature and Utility. But they tooke a course to take away depopulating *Inclosures*, and depopulating *Pasturage*, and yet not by that name, or by any Imperious expresse *Prohibition*, but by consequence. The *Ordinance* was, *That all Houses of Husbandry, that were used with twenty Acres of Ground, and upwards, should bee maintained and kept up for ever; together with a competent Proportion of Land to be used and occupied with them*; and in no wise to bee severed from them, as by another *Statute*, made afterwards in his Successors time, was more fully declared. This upon Forfeiture to be taken; not by way of Popular *Action*, but by seizure of the Land it selfe, by the King and Lords of the *Fee*, as to halfe the Profits, till the Houses and Lands were restored. By this meanes the Houses being kept up, did of necessity inforce a *Dweller*; and the proportion of Land for Occupation being kept up, did of necessity inforce that *Dweller*, not to be a Begger or *Cottager*, but a man

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of some substance, that might keepe Hinds and Servants, and set the Plough on going. This did wonderfully concerne the *Might* and *Manner-hood* of the Kingdome, to have Fermes, as it were of a *Standard* sufficient to maintaine an able Body out of Penury, and did in effect amortize a great part of the Lands of the Kingdome unto the Hold and Occupation of the *Yeomanry* or *Middle people*, of a condition betweene *Gentlemen* and *Cottagers* or *Peasants*. Now, how much this did advance the *Militar power* of the Kingdome, is apparent by the true *Principles* of Warre, and the examples of other Kingdomes. For it hath bene held by the generall Opinion of men of best Judgement in the warres (howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of Case) that the principall strength of an Army consisteth in the *Infantry* or *Foot*. And to make good *Infantry*, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentifull manner. Therefore if a *State* runne most to *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen*, and that the *Husband-men* and *Plough-men* be but as their work-folkes and Labourers, or else meere *Cottagers* (which are but *Housed-Beggars*) you may have a good *Cavelery*, but never good stable Bands of *Foot*, like to *Coppice-Woods*, that if you leave in them *Staddles* too thicke, they will runne to Bushes and Briars, and have little cleane Underwood. And this is to be seene in *France*, and *Italy*, and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is *Noblesse*, or *Pesantry*, I speake of people out of Townes, and no middle People; and therefore no good Forces of *Foot*: Infomuch, as they are inforced to imploy Mercenary Bands, of *Switzers* and the like, for their *Battailions* of *Foot*: Whereby also it comes to passe, that those *Nations* have much People, and few *Souldiers*. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise
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it would follow, that *England*, though much lesse in Territory, yet should have infinitely more *Souldiours* of their native Forces, then those other Nations have. Thus did the King secretly sow *Hidraes* teeth, whereupon (according to the *Poets* fiction) should rise up *Armed men* for the service of the Kingdome.

The King also (having care to make his Realme potent, as well by *Sea* as by *Land*) for the better maintenance of the *Navy*, ordained; That wines and woads from the parts of *Galcoigne* and *Languedocke*, should not be brought but in *English* bottomes; Bowing the ancient Policy of this Estate, from consideration of *Plenty*, to consideration of *Power*. For that almost all the ancient *Statutes* incite by all meanes *Merchant-Strangers*, to bring in all sorts of Commodities; having for end *Cheapnesse*, and not looking to the point of *State* concerning the *Navall-power*.

The King also made a *Statute* in that *Parliament* Monitory and Minatory, towards *Justices of Peace*, that they should duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their *Fellow Justices*, then to the *Justices of Assise*, then to the King or *Chancellor*; and that a *Proclamation*, which hee had published of that Tenor, should be read in open *Sessions* foure times a yeere, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his lawes executed, and thereby to reape either *Obedience* or *Forfeitures*; (wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand) he did ordaine remedy against the practice that was growne in use, to stop and dampe *Informations* upon *Penall Lawes*, by procuring *Informations* by collusion to be put in by the Confederates of the Delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure, and pleading them in Barre of the *Informations*, which were prosecuted with effect.

He made also *Lawes* for the correction of the *Mint*,

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and counterfaying of forreine *Coine* currant. And that no payment in *Gold* should bee made to any *Merchant-stranger*, the better to keep *Treasure* within the *Realme*, for that *Gold* was the metall that lay in least roome.

He made also *Statutes* for the maintenance of *Draperie*, and the keeping of *Wools* within the *Realme*; and not only so, but for stinting, and limiting the prices of *Cloth*, one for the *Finer*, and another for the *Courser* sort. Which I note, both because it was a rare thing to set prices by *Statute*, especially upon our Home-Commodities; and because of the wise *Modele* of the *Act*, not prescribing Prices, but stinting them not to exceed a rate, that the *Clothier* might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good *Statutes* were made that *Parliament*, but these were the principall. And here I doe desire those, into whose hands this worke shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the *Laws* that were made in this Kings reigne; Whereof I have these reasons: Both because it was the pre eminent vertue and merit of this King, to whose memory I doe honour; and because it hath some correspondence to my Person; but chiefly, because (in my judgment) it is some defect even in the best writers of *Historie*, that they doe not often enough summarily deliver and set downe the most memorable *Laws*, that passed in the times whereof they write, being indeed the principall *Acts* of Peace. For though they may bee had in *Originall Bookes* of *Law* themselves; yet that informeth not the judgment of *Kings* and *Councillors*, and *Persons* of *Estate*, so well as to see them described, and entred in the *Table* and *Pourtrait* of the Times.

About the same time, the King had a *Loane* from the *City* of *Foure thousand pounds*; which was double

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to that they lent before, and was duely and orderly payd back at the day, as the former likewise had beene; The King ever choosing rather to borrow too soone, then to pay too late, and so keeping up his Credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his cares and hopes touching *Britaine*, but thought to master the occasion by Policy, though his Armes had beene unfortunate, and to bereave the *French King* of the fruit of his *Victory*. The summe of his designe was, to encourage *MAXIMILIAN* to goe on with his suit, for the marriage of *ANNE*, the heire of *Britaine*, and to aide him to the consummation thereof. But the affaires of *MAXIMILIAN* were at that time in great trouble and combustion, by a *Rebellion* of his Subjects in *Flanders*; especially those of *Burges* and *Gaunt*, whereof the Towne of *Burges* (at such time as *MAXIMILIAN* was there in person) had sodainly armed in tumult, and slaine some of his principall Officers, and taken himselfe prisoner, and held him in durance, till they had enforced him, and some of his Councillors, to take a solemne oath, to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Neverthelesse *FREDERICK* the *Emperour* would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his sonne to passe, but made sharpe warres upon *Flanders*, to reclaime and chastise the *Rebels*. But the Lord *RAVENSTEIN*, a principall person about *MAXIMILIAN*, and one that had taken the oath of *Abolition* with his Master, pretending the Religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and (as it was thought) instigated and corrupted from *France*, forsooke the *Emperour* and *MAXIMILIAN* his Lord, and made himself an Head of the popular Party, and seized upon the Townes of *Ipre* and *Sluce*, with both the *Castles*; And forthwith sent

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sent to the Lord C O R D E S , Governour of *Picardy* under the *French King*, to desire aide, and to move him, that he on the behalfe of the *French King* would be *Protector* of the united Towns, and by force of Armes reduce the rest. The Lord C O R D E S was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his owne setting, and sent forthwith greater Forces, then it had beene possible for him to raise on the so-daine, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aide of the Lord R A V E N S T E I N, and the *Flemmings*, with instructions to invest the Townes betweene *France* and *Burges*. The *French Forces* besieged a little Towne called *Dixmue*, where part of the *Flemmish Forces* joyned with them. While they lay at this siege, the *King of England*, upon pretence of the safety of the English Pale about *Calice*, but in truth being loth that M A X I M I L I A N should become contemptible, and thereby bee shaken off by the States of *Britaine* about this marriage, sent over the Lord M O R L E Y with a thousand men unto the Lord D A U B I G N Y, then Deputy of *Calice*, with secret instructions to aide M A X I M I L I A N, and to raise the siege of *Dixmue*. The Lord D A U B I G N Y (giving it out that all was for the strengthning of the *English Marches*) drew out of the *Garrisons*, of *Calice*, *Hammes*, and *Guines*, to the number of a thousand Men more. So that with the fresh Succours that came under the *Conduet* of the Lord M O R L E Y, they made up to the number of two thousand, or better. Which Forces joyning with some Companies of *Almaines*, put themselves into *Dixmue*, not perceived by the Enemies; and passing through the Towne with some reenforcement (from the Forces that were in the Towne) assailed the Enemies Campe, negligently guarded, as being out of feare; where there was a bloody fight, in which the *English* and their *Partakers* ob-

obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand Men, with the losse on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the Lord M O R L E Y. They tooke also their great Ordnance, with much rich spoiles, which they carried to *Newport*, whence the Lord D A U B I G N Y returned to *Calice*, leaving the hurt Men, and some other Voluntaries in *Newport*. But the Lord C O R D E S being at *Ipre* with a great power of Men, thinking to recover the losse and disgrace of the fight at *Dixmue*, came presently on, and fate downe before *Newport* and besieged it; and after some dayes siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an *Assault*: Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so farre, that he had taken the principall Tower and Fort in that City, and planted upon it the *French Banner*. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the *English*, by the helpe of some fresh Succours of Archers arriving by good fortune (at the instant) in the Haven of *Newport*; Whereupon the Lord C O R D E S discouraged, and measuring the new Succours (which were small) by the Success (which was great) levied his Siege. By this meanes, matters grew more exasperate betweene the two Kings of *England* and *France*, for that in the Warre of *Flanders*, the auxiliary Forces of *French* and *English* were much blouded one against another. Which Bloud rankled the more, by the vaine words of the Lord C O R D E S, that declared himselfe an open Enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present Service; making it a common byword of his, *That hee could bee content to lye in Hell seven yeares, so hee might winne Calice from the English*.

The King having thus upheld the Reputation of M A X I M I L I A N, advised him now to presse on his Mar-

Marriage with *Britaine* to a conclusion. Which *MAXIMILIAN* accordingly did, and so farre forth prevailed both with the young *Lady*, and with the principall persons about her, as the Marriage was consummate by *Proxie*, with a *Ceremonie* at that time in these Parts new. For she was not only publikely contracted, but stated as a *Bride*, and solemnly Bedded; and after she was laid, there came in *MAXIMILIAN'S* *Ambassadour* with letters of *Procuracion*, and in the presence of fundry Noble Personages, Men and Women, put his Legge (stript naked to the Knee) betweene the Espoufall Sheets; to the end, that that *Ceremonie* might be thought to amount to a Consummation, and actuall Knowledge. This done, *Maximilian* (whose property was to leave things then, when they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill Archers, that draw not their Arrows up to the Head: and who might as easily have bedded the *Lady* himselfe, as to have made a *Play* and *Disguise* of it) thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further Proceeding, and intended his Warres. Meane while, the *French King* (consulting with his *Divines*, and finding that this pretended *Consummation* was rather an *Invention* of Court, then any wayes valide by the Lawes of the Church) went more really to worke, and by secret Instruments and cunning Agents, as well *Matrons* about the young *Lady*, as *Counsellors*, first sought to remove the point of *Religion* and *Honour* out of the minde of the *Lady* her selfe, wherein there was a double labour. For *Maximilian* was not only contracted unto the *Lady*, but *Maximilians* daughter was likewise contracted to King *CHARLES*. So as the *Marriage* halted upon both feet, and was not cleare on either side: But for the Contract with King *CHARLES*, the Exception lay plaine and faire; for that *Maximilians*

LIANS daughter was under yeeres of *Consent*, and so not bound by Law, but a power of Disagreement left to either part. But for the Contract made by *MAXIMILIAN* with the *Lady* her selfe, they were harder driven: having nothing to alledge, but that it was done without the consent of her *Soveraigne Lord*, King *CHARLES*, whose *Ward* and *Client* she was, and Hee to her in place of a Father; and therefore it was void, and of no force, for want of such Consent. Which defect (they said) though it would not evacuate a *Marriage*, after *Cohabitation*, and *Actuall Consummation*, yet it was enough to make void a Contract. For as for a pretended *Consummation*, they made sport with it, and said: That it was an argument, that *MAXIMILIAN* was a *Widdower*, and a cold *Wooper*, that could content himselfe to be a *Bridegrome* by *Deputy*, and would not make a little Journey, to put all out of question. So that the young *Lady*, wrought upon by these Reasons, finely instilled by such as the *French King* (who spared for no Rewards or Promises) had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present Glory and Greatnesse of King *CHARLES*, (being also a young King, and a *Batchelor*) and loth to make her Countrey the Seat of a long and miserable Warre; secretly yeelded to accept of King *CHARLES*. But during this secret *Treaty* with the *Lady*, the better to save it from Blasts of Opposition and Interruption, King *CHARLES* resorting to his wonted Arts, and thinking to carry the *Marriage*, as hee had carried the Warres, by entertaining the King of *England* in vaine believe, sent a solemne *Ambassage* by *FRANCIS* Lord of *Luximburge*; *CHARLES* *MARRIGNIAN* and *ROBERT* *GAGUIEN*, Generall of the Order of the *Bonnes Hommes* of the *Trinity*, to treat Peace and League with the King; coupling it with an *Article* in nature of a *Request*, that the

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French King might with the Kings good will (according unto his right of *Seigniorie* and *Tutelage*) dispose of the Marriage of the young *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, as hee should thinke good; offering by a *Judiciall* proceeding to make void the *Marriage* of *MAXIMILIAN* by *Proxie*. Also all this while the better to amuse the world, hee did continue in his Court and custodie the Daughter of *MAXIMILIAN*, who formerly had bene sent unto him, to bee bred and educated in *France*; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that Match. And that for the *Duchesse* of *Britaine*, he desired onely to preserve his right of *Seigniorie*, and to give her in Marriage to some such *Allye*, as might depend upon him.

When the three Commissioners came to the Court of *England*, they delivered their *Ambassage* unto the King, who remitted them to his *Councell*; where some dayes after they had Audience, and made their Proposition by the *Prior* of the *Trinity* (who though he were third in place, yet was held the best Speaker of them) to this effect.

MY Lords, the King our Master, the greatest and mightiest King that raigned in *France* since *CHARLES* the Great (whose Name he beareth) hath neverthelesse thought it no disparagement to his Greatnesse, at this time to propound a Peace, yea, and to pray a Peace with the King of *England*. For which purpose hee hath sent us his Commissioners instructed and enabled with full and ample power,

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to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in some other businesse the secrets of his owne intentions. These be indeed the precious Love-tokens betweene great Kings, to communicate one with another the true state of their affaires, and to passe by nice Points of Honour, which ought not to give Law unto Affection. This I doe assure your Lordships; It is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordiall Love, that the King our Master beareth to your Soveraigne, except you were neer him, as we are. He useth his Name with so great respect; he remembreth their first acquaintance at *Paris* with so great contentment; nay, hee never speakes of him, but that presently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great Kings, in that they cannot converse with their Equalls, but with Servants. This affection to your Kings Person and Vertues, GOD hath put into the Heart of our Master, no doubt for the good of *Christendome*, and for purposes yet unknowne to us all. For other Root it cannot have, since it was the same to the Earle of *Richmond*, that it is now to the King of *England*. This is therefore the first motive that makes our King to desire Peace, and League with your Soveraigne: Good affection, and somewhat that he findes in his owne Heart. This affection is also armed

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with reason of Estate. For our King doth in all candour and frankenesse of dealing open himselfe unto you; that having an honourable, yea, and a holy Purpose, to make a Voyage and Warre in remote Parts, he considereth that it will be of no small effect, in point of Reputation to his enterprise, if it be knowne abroad, that he is in good peace with all his Neighbour Princes, and specially with the King of England, whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

But now (my Lord) give me leave to use a few words to remove all scruples and misse-understandings, betweene your Soveraigne and ours, concerning some late Actions; which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this Peace. To the end, that for matters past, neither King may conceive unkindnesse of other, nor thinke the other conceiveth unkindnesse of him. The late Actions are two; That of Brittain, and that of Flanders. In both which, it is true, that the Subjects swords of both Kings, have incoun-tered and stricken, and the wayes and Inclinations also of the two King, in respect of their Confederates and Allies, have severed.

For that of Brittain; The King your Soveraigne knoweth best what hath passed. It was a Warre of necessity on our Masters part. And though the Motives of it were sharpe and piquant

quant as could bee, yet did he make that Warre rather with an Olive-branch, then a Laurel-Branch in his Hand, more desiring Peace then Victory. Besides, from time to time he sent (as it were) Blank-papers to your King, to write the conditions of Peace. For though both his Honour and Safety went upon it, yet he thought neither of them too precious, to put into the King of Englands hands. Neither doth your King on the other side make any unfriendly interpretation, of your Kings sending of succours to the Duke of Brittain; for the King knoweth well, that many things must be done of Kings for satisfaction of their People, and it is not hard to discern what is a Kings owne. But this matter of Brittain is now (by the Act of GOD) ended and passed; and (as the King hopeth) like the way of a Ship in the Sea, without leaving any impression in either of the Kings mindes; as hee is sure for his part it hath not done in his.

For the Action of Flanders; As the former of Brittain was a Warre of necessity, so this was a Warre of Justice; which with a good King is of equall necessity, with danger of Estate, for else hee should leave to be a Kings. The Subject of Burgundie are Subjects in Chiefe to the Crown of France, and their Duke the Homager and Vassall of France. They had wont to be good
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Subjects, howsoever MAXIMILIAN hath of late distempered them. They fled to the King for Justice, and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could not deny; Purchase hee did not seeke. It is was good for MAXIMILIAN, if he could have seene it in people mutined, to arrest Fury, and prevent Despaire. My Lords, it maybe this I have said is needlesse, save that the King our Master is tender in any thing, that may but glance upon the friendship of England. The amity betweene the two Kings (no doubt) stands entire and inviolate. And that their Subjects swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the publike Peace of the Crownes; it being a thing very usuall in auxiliary Forces of the best and straitest Confederates, to meete and draw bloud in the Field. Nay, many times there bee Aydes of the same Nation on both sides, and yet it is not (for all that) A Kingdome divided in it selfe.

It resteth (my Lords) that I impart unto you a matter, that I know your Lordships all will much rejoyce to beare; as that which importeth the Christian Common-weale more, then any Action that hath hapned of long time. The King our Master hath a purpose and determination, to make Warre upon the Kingdome of Naples; being now in the possession of a Bastardship of
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Arragon, but appertaining unto his Majestie, by cleare and undoubted right; which if hee should not by just Armes seeke to recover; hee could neither acquite his Honour, nor answer it to his People. But his Noble and Christian thoughts rest not here. For his Resolution and Hope is, to make the Re-conquest of Naples, but as a Bridge, to transport his Forces into Grecia; and not to spare Bloud or Treasure (if it were to the impawning of his Crowne, and dis-peopling of France) till either hee hath overthrowne the Empire of the OTTOMANS, or taken it in his way to Paradise. The King knoweth well, that this is a designe, that could not arise in the minde of any King, that did not stedfastly looke up unto GOD, whose quarrell this is, and from whom commeth both the Will, and the Deed. But yet it is agreeable to the Person that hee beareth (though unworthy) of the Thrice-Christian King, and the Eldest Sonne of the Church. Whereunto he is also invited by the Example (in more ancient time) of King HENRY the Fourth of England, (the First Renowned King of the House of LANCASTER, Ancestour, though not Progenitour to your King) who had a purpose towards the end of his time (as you know better) to make an Expedition into the Holy-Land;
and

and by the Example also (present before his eyes) of that Honourable and Religious Warre which the King of Spaine now maketh , and hath almost brought to perfection , for the recoverie of the Realme of GRANADA from the Moores. And although this Enterprise may seeme vast and unmeasured , for the King to attempt that by his owne Forces , wherein heretofore a Conjunction of most of the Christian Princes hath found worke enough ; yet his Majestie wisely considereth , that sometimes smaller Forces being united under one Command , are more effectuall in Prooffe (though not so promising in Opinion and Fame) then much greater Forces , variously propounded by Associations and Leagues ; which commonly in a short time after their Beginnings , turne to Dissociations and Divisions. But (my Lords) that which is as a Voyce from Heaven that called the King to this Enterprise , is a Rent at this time in the House of the OTTOMANS. I do not say , but there hath beene Brother against Brother in that House before , but never any that had refuge to the Armes of the Christians , as now hath GEMES , (Brother unto BIAZETH , that reigneth) the farre braver Man of the Two , the Other beeing betweene a Monke and a Phylosopher
and

and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes , then able to weild the Scepter of so warre-like an Empire. This therefore is the King our Masters memorable and heroicall Resolution for an Holy Warre. And because hee carrieth in this the Person of a Christian Souldiour , as well as of a Great Temporall Monarch ; hee beginneth with Humility , and is content for this cause , to begge Peace at the hands of other Christian Kings. There remaineth onely rather a Civill Request , then any essentiall part of our Negotiation , which the King maketh to the King your Sovereigne. The King (as the World knoweth) is Lord in Chiefe of the Duchie of Britaine. The Marriage of the Heire belongeth to him as Guardian. This is a private Patrimoniall Right , and no businesse of Estate : yet neverthelesse (to runne a faire course with your King ; whom he desires to make another Himself , and to be one and the same thing with him) his Request is , That with the Kings Favour and Consent , he may dispose of her Marriage , as he thinketh good , and make void the intruded and pretended Marriage of MAXIMILIAN , according to Justice. This (my Lords) is all that I have to say , desiring your pardon for my weakness in the delivery.

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Thus

Thus did the *French Ambassadors* with great shew of their Kings affection, and many sugred words seeke to adulce all matters betweene the two Kings, having two things for their ends; The one, to keepe the King quiet till the Marriage of *Britaine* was past, and this was but a *Summers fruit*, which they thought was almost ripe and would be soone gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put him into such a temper as hee might be no disturbance or impediment to the voyage for *Italy*. The *Lords* of the *Councell* were silent; and said only, *That they knew the Ambassadors would looke for no answer, till they had reported to the King*; And so they rose from *Councell*. The King could not well tell what to thinke of the Marriage of *Britaine*. He saw plainly the ambition of the *French King* was to impatronize himsele of the *Duchie*; but he wondred he would bring into his House a litigious Marriage, especiall considering who was his Successor. But weighing one thing with another, he gave *Britaine* for lost; but resolved to make his profit of this businesse of *Britaine*, as a quarrell for Warre; and that of *Naples*, as a *Wrench* and meane for Peace; being well advertised, how strongly the King was bent upon that *Action*. Having therefore conferred divers times with his *Councell*, and keeping himsele somewhat close, he gave a direction to the *Chancellor*, for a formall answer to the *Ambassadors*, and that he did in the presence of his *Councell*. And after calling the *Chancellor* to him apart, bade him speake in such language, as was fit for a *Treaty* that was to end in a Breach; and gave him also a speciall *Carreat*, that he should not use any words, to discourage the voyage of *Italie*. Soone after the *Ambassadors* were sent for to the *Councell*, and the *Lord Chancellor* spake to them in this fort.

My

My Lords Ambassadors, I shall make answer by the Kings Commandement, unto the eloquent Declaration of you my Lord Prior, in a brieve and plaine manner. The King forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the King your Master. But of this there needeth no repetition. For if it bee betweene them as it was, it is well; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

For the Businesse of *Britaine*, the King findeth it a little strange that the *French King* maketh mention of it, as matter of well-deserving at his hand. For that Deserving was no more, but to make him his Instrument, to surprize one of his best Confederates. And for the Marriage, the King would not meddle in it if your Master would marry by the Booke, and not by the Sword.

For that of *Flanders*, if the Subjects of *Burgundie* had appealed to your King, as their Chiefe Lord, at first, by way of Supplication; it might have had a shew of Justice. But it was a new forme of Proesse, for Subjects to imprison their Prince first, and to slay his Officers, and then to be Complainers. The King saith, That sure he is, when the *French King*, and himsele sent to the Subjects of *Scotland* (that

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had

had taken Armes against their King) they both spake in another Stile, and did in princely manner signifie their detestation of popular Attentates, upon the Person or Authority of Princes. But my Lords Ambassadors, the King leaveth these two actions thus: That on the one side, he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you concerning them; and on the other that he doth not apprehend them so deeply, as in respect of them, to refuse to treat of Peace, if other things may goe hand in hand. As for the Warre of Naples, and the Designe against the Duke; the King hath commanded me expressly to say, That hee doth wish with all his heart, to his good Brother the French King, that his Fortunes may succede according to his Hopes, and honourable intentions. And whensoever he shall heare, that he is prepared for Grecia, as your Master is pleased now to say, that he beggeth a Peace of the King, so the King will then begge of him a part in that Warre.

But now my Lords Ambassadors, I am to propound unto you somewhat on the Kings part. The King your Master hath taught our King what to say and demand. You say (my Lord Prior) that your King is resolved to recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him.
And

And that if hee should not thus doe, he could not acquit his Honour, nor answer it to his People. Thinke (my Lords) that the King our Master saith the same thing over againe to you touching Normandy, Guien, Angeou, yea and the Kingdome of France it selfe. I cannot expresse it better then in your owne words: If therefore the French King shall consent, that the King our Masters Title to France (at least Tribute for the same) be handled in the Treaty, the King is content to goe on with the rest; otherwise he refuseth to Treat.

THE Ambassadors being somewhat abashed with this demand, answered in some heat; That they doubted not, but the King their Soveraignes sword would be able to maintaine his Scepter: And they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yeeld to any diminution of the Crowne of France either in Territory or Regality. But howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speake of, having no Commission. It was replied, that the King looked for no other answer from them; but would forth-with send his owne Ambassadors to the French King. There was a question also asked at the table, Whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the Marriage of Britaine with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her him selfe? To which the Ambassadors answered; That it was so farre out of their Kings thoughts, as they had received no Instruction touching the same. Thus were the Ambassadors dismissed, all save the Prior; and were followed immediatly by THOMAS Earle of Ormond, and THOMAS GOLDENSTON Prior of Christ-

Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into *France*. In the meane space, *LIONELL* Bishop of *Concordia*, was sent as *Nuntio* from *Pope ALEXANDER* the sixth to both Kings, to move a Peace between them. For *Pope ALEXANDER* finding himselfe pent and lockt up, by a League and Association of the Principall States of *Italy*, that hee could not make his way for the advancement of his owne *House* (which he immoderately thirsted after) was desirous to trouble the waters in *Italie*, that he might fish the better; casting the Net, not out of *Saint PETERS*, but out of *BORGIA'S* Barke. And doubting lest the feare from *England*, might stay the *French Kings* voyage into *Italy*, dispatched this *Bishop* to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could. Who first repaired to the *French King*, and finding him well inclined (as he conceived) tooke on his Journey towards *England*, and found the *English Ambassadors* at *Calice*, on their way towards the *French King*. After some conference with them, he was in Honourable manner transported over into *England*, where he had audience of the King. But notwithstanding hee had a good *Ominous name* to have made a Peace, nothing followed. For in the meane time, the purpose of the *French King* to Marry the *Duchesse* could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the *English Ambassadors* (finding how things went) took their leave, and returned. And the *Prior* also was warned from hence, to depart out of *England*. Who when he turned his backe (more like a *Pedant*, then an *Ambassador*) dispersed a bitter *Libell*, in *Latine Verse*, against the King; unto which the King (though he had nothing of a *Pedant*) yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like *Verse*; and that as speaking in his owne Person, but in a style of *Scorne* and *Sport*. About this time also was borne the Kings second Son

HENRY,

HENRY, who afterward reigned. And soone after followed the solemnization of the Marriage between *CHARLES*, and *ANNE Duchesse of Britaine*, with whom he received the *Duchie of Britaine* as her Dowry; the Daughter of *MAXIMILIAN* being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the Eares of *MAXIMILIAN* (who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the Principall in deceiving himselfe, though in this the *French King* did very handsomely second it) and tumbling it over and over in his thoughts, that he should at one blow (with such a double scorne) be defeated, both of the Marriage of his daughter, and his owne (upon both which he had fixed high imaginations;) he lost all patience, and casting off the Respects fit to be continued betweene great Kings (even when their bloud is hottest, and most risen) fell to bitter *Invectives* against the person and Actions of the *French King*. And (by how much he was the lesse able to do, talking so much the more) spake all the Injuries he could devise of *CHARLES*, saying; That he was the most perfidious man upon the Earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an *Adwoutry* and a *Rape*: which was done (he said) by the just judgement of God; to the end, that (the *Nullity* thereof being so apparent to all the World) the Race of so unworthy a person might not reigne in *France*. And forthwith he sent *Ambassadors* as well to the King of *England*, as to the King of *Spaine*, to incite them to Warre, and to treat a *League* offensive against *France*, promising to concurre with great Forces of his owne. Hereupon the King of *England* (going neverthelesse his owne way) called a *Parliament*, it being the seventh yeere of his Reigne; and the first day of opening thereof (sitting under his *Cloth of Estate*) spake himselfe unto his Lords, and Commons in this manner.

My

M*Y* Lords, and you the Commons; When I purposed to make a Warre in Britaine by my Lievetenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I meane to make a Warre upon France in Person, I will declare it to you my Selve. That Warre, was to defend another mans right, but this is to recover our owne; And that ended by Accident, but we hope this shall end in Victory.

The French King troubles the Christian World. That which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himselfe of Britaine. Hee maintaineth the Rebels in Flanders, and he threatneth Italy. For Our Selves, he hath proceeded from Dissimulation to Neglect, and from Neglect to Contumely. Hee hath assayed our Confederates: He denieth our Tribute: In a Word, hee seekes Warre. So did not his Father, but sought Peace at Our Hands; and so perhaps will be, when good Counsell or Time shall make him see as much as his Father did.

Meane while; let Us make his Ambition, our Advantage; and let us not stand upon a few Crownes of Tribute, or Acknowledgement, but (by the favour of Almighty GOD) try Our Right for the Crowne of FRANCE it selfe; remembering that there hath beene A
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French King Prisoner in England, and a King of England Crowned in France. Our Confederates are not diminished. Burgundie is in a mightier Hand then ever, and never more provoked. Brittainē cannot helpe us, but it may hurt them. New Acquests are more Burthen, then Strength. The Male-contents of his owne Kingdome have not beene Base, Popular, nor Titulary Impostors, but of an higher Nature. The King of Spaine (doubt yee not) will joyne with us, not knowing where the French Kings Ambition will stay. Our Holy Father the Pope, likes no Tramontanes in Italie. But howsoever it bee, this Matter of Confederates, is rather to bee thought on, then reckoned on. For God forbid, but England should bee able to get Reason of France, without a Second.

At the Battails of Cressy, Poictiers, Agent-Court, wee were of Our selves. France hath much People, and few Souldiours. They have no stable Bands of Foot. Some good Horse they have; but those are Forces, which are least fit for a Defensive Warre, where the Actions are in the Assailants choice. It was our Discords only, that lost France; and (by the Power of GOD)

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it is the good Peace which wee now enjoy, that will recover it. GOD hath hiterto blessed my Sword. I have in this time that I have Reigned, weeded out my bad Subjects, and tryed my good. My People and I know one another; which breeds Confidence. And if there should be any bad Bloud left in the Kingdome, an Honourable Forraine Warre will vent it, or purifie it. In this great Businesse, let me have your Advice, and Aide. If any of you were to make his Some Knight, you might have aide of your Tenants by Law. This concernes the Knighthood and Spurres of the Kingdome, whereof I am Father; and bound not only to seek to maintaine it, but to advance it. But for Matter of Treasure, let it not be taken from the Poorest Sort; but from those, to whom the Benefit of the Warre may redound. France is no Wildernesse: and I, that professe Good Husbandry, hope to make the Warre (after the Beginnings) to pay it selfe. Goe together in GODS Name, and lose no time; for I have called this Parliament wholly for this Cause.

Thus

Thus spake the King; But for all this, though he shewed great forwardnesse for a Warre, not only to his Parliament and Court, but to his Privy Councill likewise (except the two Bishops and a few more) yet nevertheless in his secret intentions, he had no purpose to goe through with any Warre, upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffique with that Warre, to make his Returne in money. He knew well, that France was now entire, and at unity with it selfe, and never so mighty many yeeres before. Hee saw by the taste that he had of his Forces sent into Britaine, that the French knew well enough how to make war with the English; by not putting things to the hazard of a Battaille, but wearing them by long Sieges of Townes, and strong fortified Encampings. JAMES the Third of Scotland, (his true friend, and Confederate) gone; and JAMES the Fourth (that had succeeded) wholly at the devotion of France, and ill affected towards him. As for the Conjunctions of FERDINANDO of Spaine, and MAXIMILIAN; he could make no foundation upon them. For the One had Power, and not Will; and the Other had Will, and not Power. Besides that, FERDINANDO had but newly taken breath, from the Warre with the Moores; and merchanted at this time with France, for the restoring of the Counties of Ruffignon and Perpignian, oppignorated to the French. Neither was he out of feare of the Discontents, and ill bloud within the Realme; which having used alwaies to repress and appease in person, hee was loth they should find him at a distance beyond Sea, and engaged in Warre. Finding therefore the Inconveniencies and Difficulties in the prosecution of a Warre, he cast with himselfe how to compasse two things. The one, how by the declaration, and inchoation of a warre, to make his Profit. The other, how to come off from the warre,

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with

with saving of his Honour. For Profit, it was to be made two wayes; upon his Subjects for the Warre, and upon his Enemies for the Peace; like a good Merchant, that maketh his gaine, both upon the Commodities Exported, and Imported backe againe. For the point of Honour, wherein he might suffer, for giving over the Warre; he considered well, that as hee could not trust upon the aides of FERDINANDO and MAXIMILIAN for supports of Warre: so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay faire for him for occasions to accept of Peace. These things he did wisely fore-see, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lappe, as he desired.

For as for the Parliament, it presently tooke fire, being affectionate (of old) to the Warre of France; and desirous afresh to reparaire the dishonour, they thought the King sustained by the losse of Brittain. Therefore they advised the King (with great alacrity) to undertake the Warre of France. And although the Parliament consisted of the First and Second Nobility (together with principall Citizens and Townsmen) yet worthily and justly respecting more the People (whose deputies they were) then their owne private Persons, and finding by the Lord Chancellours speech the Kings inclination that way; they consented that Commissioners should goe forth, for the gathering and levying of a Benevolence, from the more able fort. This Tax (called Benevolence) was devised by EDWARD the Fourth, for which he sustained much Envy. It was abolished by RICHARD the Third by Act of Parliament, to ingratiate himselfe with the people; and it was now revived by the King, but with consent of Parliament, for so it was not in the time of King EDWARD the fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great summes. Infomuch

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as the City of London (in those dayes) contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a Tradition of a Dilemma, that Bishop MORTON the Chancellour used, to raise up the Benevolence to higher Rates; and some called it his Forke, and some his Crotch. For he had couched an Article in the Instructions to the Commissioners, who were to levie the Benevolence; That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seene in their Port, and manner of living. So neither kinde came amisse.

This Parliament was meerly a Parliament of Warre; for it was in Substance, but a declaration of Warre against France and Scotland, with some Statutes conducing thereunto; As the severe punishing of Mortpayes, and keeping backe of Souldiours wages in Captaines. The like severity for the departure of Souldiours without licence; Strengthening of the Common Law in favour of Protections, for those that were in the Kings service; And the setting the gate open and wide, for men to sell or Mortgage their lands without Fines for Alienation, to furnish themselves with mony for the Warre; And lastly, the avoiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a Statute, for the dispersing of the Standard of the Exchequer, throughout England; thereby to size Weights and Measures; and two or three more of lesse importance.

After the Parliament was broken up (which lasted not long) the King went on with his Preparations for the Warre of France; yet neglected not in the meane time the affaires of MAXIMILIAN, for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring him to his authoritie amongst his Subjects. For at that time, the Lord of Ravensstein being not onely a Subject rebelled, but a

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Servant revolted (and so much the more malicious and violent , by the aide of *Bruges* and *Gaunt*) had taken the Towne, and both the Castles of *Sluice* ; as we said before.

And having (by the commodity of the Haven) gotten together certaine Ships and Barkes, fell to a kind of *Pyriticall* trade ; robbing and spoiling , and taking Prisoners the Ships and Vessels of all Nations, that passed alongst that Coast , towards the *Mart* of *Antwerpe* , or into any part of *Brabant* , *Zeland* , or *Freezland* ; being ever well victualled from *Picardy* , besides the commodity of victuals from *Sluice* , and the Countrey adjacent , and the availles of his owne *Prizes*. The *French* assisted him still under-hand ; and hee likewise (as all men doe , that have been of both sides) thought himselfe not safe, except he depended upon a third *Person*.

There was a small Towne some two miles from *Bruges*, towards the Sea , called *Dam* ; which was a Fort and Approch to *Bruges* , and had a relation also to *Sluice*. This Towne the King of the *Romans* had attempted often, (not for any worth of the Town in it selfe, but because it might choake *Bruges*, and cut it off from the Sea) and ever failed. But therewith the *Duke* of *Saxonie* came down into *Flanders*, taking upon him the Person of an *Vmpire* , to compose things between *MAXIMILIAN* and his Subjects ; but being (indeed) fast and assured to *MAXIMILIAN*. Upon this Pretext of *Neutrality* and *Treaty* , hee repaired to *Bruges* ; desiring the States of *Bruges* , to enter peaceably into their Towne, with a Retinue of some number of men of Armes , fit for his Estate , being somewhat the more (as he said) the better to guard him in a Countrey, that was up in Armes : and bearing them in hand , that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance, for their

their good. Which having obtained of them , he sent his Carriages and *Harbengers* before him , to provide his Lodging. So that his *Men of Warre* entred the City in good Array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before, enquired still for Innes and Lodgings , as if they would have rested there all Night, and so went on, till they came to the Gate, that leadeth directly towards *Dam* ; and they of *Bruges* only gazed upon them and gave them passage. The *Captaines* and inhabitants of *Dam* also suspected no harme, from any that passed through *Bruges* ; and discovering Forces a farre off, supposed they had been some *Succours* , that were come from their Friends, knowing some Dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well, till it was too late, suffered them to enter their Towne. By which kind of *Sleight* rather than *Stratageme*, the Towne of *Dam* was taken and the Town of *Bruges* shrewdly blockt up, whereby they tooke great discouragement.

The *Duke* of *Saxonie* having wonne the Towne of *Dam* , sent immediatly to the King to let him know that it was *Sluice* chiefly , and the Lord *RAVENSTEIN*, that kept the Rebellion of *Flanders* in life ; And that if it pleased the King to besiege it by Sea, he also would besiege it Land , and so cut out the *Core* of those Warres.

The King willing to uphold the Authority of *MAXIMILIAN* (the better to hold *France* in awe) and being likewise sued unto by his *Merchants* , for that the Seas were much infested by the Barkes of the Lord *RAVENSTEIN* ; sent straightwaies Sir *EDWARD POYNINGS*, a valiant man , and of good service, with twelve Ships, well furnished with Souldiers and Artillerie, to cleare the Seas, and to besiege *Sluice* on that part. The *Englishmen* did not only coupe up the Lord *RAVENSTEIN*, that hee stirred

stirred not, and likewise hold in strait Siege the Maritime part of the Towne; but also assailed one of the Castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty dayes space (issuing still out of their Ships at the Ebbe) as they made great slaughter of them of the Castle; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the *English* part also were slaine a brother of the *Earle of Oxfords*, and some fifty more.

But the Siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the Castles (which were the principall strength of the Towne) being distressed, the one by the *Duke of Saxonie*, and the other by the *English*; and a Bridge of boats, which the Lord *RAVENSTEIN* had made betweene both Castles, whereby Succours and Releefe might passe from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the *English*, he despairing to hold the Towne, yeelded (at the last) the Castle to the *English*, and the Town to the *Duke of Saxonie*, by composition. Which done, the *Duke of Saxonie* and Sir *EDWARD POYNINGS* treated with them of *Burges*, to submit themselves to *MAXIMILIAN* their Lord; which after some time they did, paying (in some good part) the Charge of the Warre, whereby the *Almaines* and forraigne Succours were dismissed. The example of *Bruges*, other of the *Revolted* Townes followed, so that *MAXIMILIAN* grew to be out of danger, but (as his manner was to handle matters) never out of necessity. And Sir *EDWARD POYNINGS* (after hee had continued at *Sluice* some good while, till all things were settled) returned unto the King, being then before *Bulloigne*.

Somewhat about this time came Letters from *FERDINANDO*, and *ISABELLA*, King and Queene of *Spaine*; signifying the finall conquest of

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Granada from the *Moores*; which action in it selfe so worthy, King *FERDINANDO* (whose manner was never to lose any vertue for the shewing) had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities, and religious *Punctoes* and Ceremonies, that were observed in the reception of that *City* and *Kingdome*: Shewing amongst other things, That the King would not by any meanes in person enter the *City*, untill he had first aloofe seen the *Crosse* set up upon the greater *Tower* of *Granada*, whereby it became *Christian* ground: That likewise before he would enter, he did *Homage* to God above, pronouncing by an *Herauld* from the *Height* of that *Tower*, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that *Kingdome*, by the helpe of *GOD Almighty* and the glorious *Virgin*, and the vertuous *Apostle* *Saint JAMES*, and the holy *Father INNOCENT* the *Eight*, together with the aydes and services of his *Prelats*, *Nobles* and *Commons*: That yet hee stirred not from his *Campe*, till he had seene a little *Armie* of *Martyrs*, to the number of seven hundred and more *Christians* (that had lived in bonds and servitude as *Slaves* to the *Moores*) passe before his Eyes, singing a *Psalme* for their redemption, and that he had given *Tribute* unto *GOD* by *Almes*, and releefe, extended to them all, for his admission into the *City*. These things were in the Letters, with many more Ceremonies of a kind of *Holy Ostentation*.

The King ever willing to put himselfe into the *Consort* or *Quire* of all religious Actions, and naturally affecting much the King of *Spaine*, (as farre as one King can affect another) partly for his vertues, and partly for a counterpoise to *France*; upon the receipt of these Letters, sent all his *Nobles* and *Prelates*, that were about the *Court*, together with the *Major* and *Aldermen* of *London*, in great solemnity to the Church

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of Pauls; there to heare a Declaration from the Lord Chancellor, now Cardinall. When they were assembled, the Cardinall (standing upon the uppermost step, or Halfe-pase before the Quire; and all the Nobles, Prelates, and Governours of the City at the foot of the Staires) made a Speech to them; letting them know, that they were assembled in that Consecrate place, to sing unto God a New-song; For that (said he) these many yeeres the Christians have not gayned new ground or Territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set further the Bounds of the Christian-world: But this is now done, by the prowesse and devotion of FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of Spaine; Who have (to their immortal Honour) recovered the great and rich Kingdome of Granada, and the populous and mighty City of the same name, from the Moores, having beene in possession thereof by the space of seven hundred yeeres and more. For which, this Assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble Act of the King of Spaine; who in this is not only Victorious, but Apostolicall, in the gaining of new Provinces to the Christian Faith. And the rather, for that this victory and Conquest is obtained, without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall bee gained, not only new Territorie, but infinite foules, to the Church of Christ; whom the Almighty (as it seems) would have live to bee converted. Herewithall hee did relate some of the most memorable Particulars of the Warre and Victory. And after his Speech ended, the whole assemblie went solemnely in Procession, and Te Deum was sung.

Immediately after the Solemnity, the King kept his May Day at his Palace of Sheine, now Richmond. Where to warme the blood of his Nobility, and Gal-

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lants, against the warre, he kept great Triumphs of Justing and Tourney, during all that Moneth. In which space it so fell out, that Sir JAMES PARKER, and HUGH VAUGHAN, (one of the Kings Gentlemen-Ushers) having had a Controversie touching certaine Armes, that the King at Armes had given VAUGHAN, were appointed to runne some Courses one against an other. And by accident of a faulty Helmet, that PARKER had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first Course, so that his tongue was born unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort that he died presently upon the Place. Which because of the Controversie precedent, and the Death that followed, was accounted among the Vulgar, as a Combate or Tryall of Right. The King, towards the end of this Summer, having put his Forces, wherewith he meant to invade France, in readinesse, (but so as they were not yet met or mustered together) sent URSWICK (now made his Almoner) and Sir JOHN RISLEY, to MAXIMILIAN; to let him know, that he was in Armes, ready to passe the Seas into France, and did but expect to heare from him, when and where he did appoint to joyne with him, according to his promise made unto him by COUNTEBALL, his Ambassador.

The English Ambassadors, having repaired to MAXIMILIAN, did finde his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of Men, Money, and Armes, for any such enterprize. For MAXIMILIAN, having neither Wing to flie on (for that his Patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his Father being then living: And on the other side, his Matrimonial Territories of Flanders being partly in Dowre to his Mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late Rebellions) was thereby destitute of means to enter into warre. The Ambaf-

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sadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to returne themselves till the Kings further pleasure were known: The rather, for that MAXIMILIAN himselfe spake as great, as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory Answers; so as the formall part of their *Ambassage* might well warrant and require their further stay. The King hereupon (who doubted as much before, and saw through his businesse from the beginning) wrote backe to the *Ambassadors*, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keepe the State wherein they found MAXIMILIAN, as a Secret, till they heard further from him; And meane while went on with his Voyage Royall for France, suppressing for a time this Advertisement touching MAXIMILIAN'S poverty and disability.

By this time, was drawne together a great and puissant Army into the City of London. In which were THOMAS Marquesse Dorset, THOMAS Earle of Arundell, THOMAS Earle of Derby, GEORGE Earle of Shrewsbury, EDMOND Earle of Suffolke, EDWARD Earle of Devonshire, GEORGE Earle of Kent, the Earle of Essex, THOMAS Earle of Ormond, with a great number of *Barons*, *Knights*, and Principall *Gentlemen*; and amongst them, RICHARD THOMAS, much noted for the brave Troupes that he brought out of *Wales*; The Army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand *Foot*, and sixteene hundred *Horse*. Over which, the King (constant in his accustomed trust and employment) made JASPER Duke of Bedford, and JOHN Earle of Oxford Generals under his owne Person. The ninth of September, in the eighth yeere of his Reigne, he departed from Greenwich, towards the Sea, all men wondring, that he tooke that Season (being

so neere winter) to begin the Warre; and some thereupon gathering it was a Signe, that the Warre would not be long. Nevertheless, the King gave out the contrary, thus: That he intending not to make a Summer businesse of it, but a resolute Warre (without term prefixed) untill he recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it: especially having Calice at his back; where he might winter, if the reason of the Warre so required. The sixt of October, he imbarqued at Sandwich; and the same day tooke land at Calice: which was the Rendezvous, where all his Forces were assigned to meet. But in this his Journey towards the Sea side (wherein, for the cause that we shall now speake of, he hovered so much the longer) he had received Letters from the Lord Cordes: who the hotter he was against the English in time of Warre, had the more credit in a Negotiation of Peace; and besides was held a man open, and of good faith. In which Letters there was made an Overture of Peace from the French King, with such Conditions, as were somewhat to the Kings Taste: but this was carried at the first with wonderfull secrecy. The King was no sooner come to Calice, but the calme windes of Peace began to blow. For, first, the English Ambassadors returned out of Flanders from MAXIMILIAN; and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any ayde from MAXIMILIAN, for that he was altogether improvided. His will was good; but hee lacked money. And this was made knowne, and spread through the Army. And although the English were therewithall nothing dismayed; and that it be the manner of *Souldiers*, upon bad news to speake the more bravely: yet nevertheffe, it was a kind of Preparative to a Peace. Instantly in the neck of this (as the King had laid it) came news that FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, Kings of Spaine, had concluded a Peace with King CHARLES; and

and that CHARLES had restored unto them the Counties of *Russignon* and *Perpignian*, which formerly were *Morgaged* by JOHN King of *Arragon* (FERDINANDOS Father) unto *France*, for three hundred thousand Crownes: which debt was also, upon this Peace, by CHARLES clearly released. This came also handsomely to put on the Peace: both because so potent a *Confederate* was fallen off, and because it was a faire example of a Peace bought; so as the King should not bee the sole Merchant in this Peace. Upon these Aires of Peace, the King was content, that the Bishop of Excester, and the Lord DAUBIGNEY (Governour of *Calice*) should give a meeting unto the Lord CORDES, for the Treaty of a Peace. But himselfe neverthelesse, and his Army, the fifteenth of *October*, removed from *Calice*, and in foure dayes march sate him downe before *Bulloigne*.

During this Siege of *Bulloigne* (which continued neere a Moneth) there passed no memorable Action, nor Accident of Warre: onely Sir JOHN SAVAGE, a valiant Captaine, was slaine, riding about the Walls of the Towne, to take a View. The Towne was both well fortified, and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an Assault. Which if it had beene given (as was thought) would have cost much Bloud; but yet the Towne would have beene carried in the end. Meane while, a Peace was concluded by the Commissioners, to continue for both the Kings Lives. Where there was no Article of importance; being in effect, rather a Bargaine, than a Treaty. For, all things remained as they were: save that there should bee payed to the King seven hundred forty five thousand Duckats in present, for his Charges in that Journey; and five and twenty thousand Crownes yeerely, for his Charges sustained in

in the Aides of the *Britons*. For which *Annually*, though he had MAXIMILIAN bound before for those Charges; yet hee counted the alteration of the Hand, as much as the principall Debt. And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely; when it should determine or expire: which made the *English* esteem it as a *Tribute*, carried under faire Teames. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King, and to his Sonne King HENRY the Eight, longer than it could continue upon any computation of Charges. There were also assigned by the *French King*, unto all the Kings principall Counsellors, great *Pensions*, besides rich Gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his owne Purse from Rewards, or to communicate the Envy of a *Businesse*, that was displeasing to his People, was diversly interpreted; for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace. And therefore, a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best *Captaines*, and *Men of Warre*, to advise him to a Peace under their Hands, in an earnest manner, in the Nature of a *Supplication*. But, the truth is, this Peace was welcome to both Kings. To CHARLES, for that it assured unto him the possession of *Brittaine*, and freed the enterprize of *Naples*. To HENRY, for that it filled his Coffers; and that he foresaw at that time a storme of inward troubles coming upon him; which presently after brake forth. But it gave no lesse discontent to the *Nobility*, and principall persons of the *Armie*; who had many of them sold or engaged their estates, upon the hopes of the Warre. They stuck not to say, *That the King cared not to plume his Nobility and People, to feather himselfe*. And some made themselves merry with that the King had said in Parliament: *That after the War was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay it selfe*; saying hee had kept promise.

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Having risen from *Bulloigne*, he went to *Calice*, where he stayed some time. From whence also hee wrote Letters, (which was a Courtesie that he sometimes used) to the *Major of London*, and *Aldermen* his brethren; halfe bragging, what great summes he had obtained for the *Peace*; knowing well, that full *Coffers* of the King, is ever good *Newes* to *London*. And better *Newes* it would have beene, if their *Benevolence* had beene but a *Loane*. And upon the seventeenth of *December* following, he returned to *Westminster*, where he kept his *Christmasse*.

Soone after the Kings returne, he sent the *Order of the Garter*, to *ALPHONSO Duke of Calabria*, eldest sonne to *FERDINANDO King of Naples*; An honour sought by that *Prince*, to hold him up in the eyes of the *Italians*: Who, expecting the *Armes* of *CHARLES*, made great account of the *Amity of England*, for a *Bridle to France*. It was received by *ALPHONSO*, with all the *Ceremonie* and *Pompe* that could be devised; as things use to be carried that are intended for *Opinion*. It was sent by *URS-WICK*: upon whom the King bestowed this *Ambassage*, to helpe him, after many dry *Employments*.

AT this time the King began againe to be haunted with *Sprites*, by the *Magicke* and curious Arts of the *Lady MARGARET*: Who raised up the *Ghost* of *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke*, second Sonne to King *EDWARD* the Fourth, to walke and vex the King. This was a finer *Counterfeit Stone*, than *LAMBERT SYMNELL*, better done, and worne upon greater hands; being graced after, with the wearing of a King of *France*, and a King of *Scotland*, not of a *Duchesse of Burgundie* onely. And for *SIMNELL*, there was not much in him, more than that he

hee was a handsome *Boy*, and did not shame his *Robes*. But this *Youth* (of whom wee are now to speake) was such a *Mercuriall*, as the like hath seldom beene knowne, and could make his owne Part, if at any time hee chanced to bee out. Wherefore, this being one of the strangest Examples of a *Personation*, that ever was in *Elder* or *Latter* times; it deserveth to bee discovered, and related at the full: Although the Kings manner of shewing things, by *Peeces* and by *Darke Lights*, hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a *Mystery* to this day.

The *Lady MARGARET* (whom the Kings Friends called *JUNO*, because shee was to him as *JUNO* was to *ÆNEAS*, stirring both *Heaven* and *Hell*, to doe him mischief) for a foundation of her particular Practices against him, did continually, by all meanes possible, nourish, maintaine, and divulge the flying *Opinion*, That *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke* (second Sonne to *EDWARD* the Fourth) was not murdered in the *Tower* (as was given out) but saved alive; For that those, who were employed in that barbarous Fact, having destroyed the elder Brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty, to seeke his Fortune. This Lure shee cast abroad, thinking that this Fame and Beleeve (together with the fresh Example of *LAMBERT SIMNELL*) would draw at one time, or other, some *Birds* to strike upon it. Shee used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to *Chance*. For, she had some secret *Espials* (like to the *Turks Commissioners* for children of *Tribute*) to looke abroad for handsome and gracefull Youths to make *PLANTAGNETS*, and *Dukes of Yorke*. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish to serve her turne, for a *Counterfeit* of *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke*.

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This was PERKIN WARBECK, whose Adventures wee shall now describe. For, first, the yeares agreed well. Secondly, he was a *Youth* of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move *Pitty*, and to induce *Beleefe*, as was like a kind of *Fascination*, and *Inchantment* to those that saw him, or heard him. Thirdly, he had beene from his Child-hood such a *Wanderer*, or (as the King called him) such a *Land-loper*, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his *Nest* and *Parents*. Neither againe could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was; he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a *Circumstance* (which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time) that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter; which is, That King EDWARD the Fourth was his *God-father*. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a wanton *Prince* to become Gossip in so meane a House; and might make a man thinke, that he might indeed have in him some base Bloud of the House of YORKE: so at the least (though that were not) it might give the occasion to the *Boy*, in being called King EDWARDS *God-sonne*, or perhaps in sport, King EDWARDS *Sonne*, to entertaine such Thoughts into his Head. For, *Tutor* he had none (for ought that appears) as LAMBERT SIMNELL had, untill he came unto the Lady MARGARET, who instructed him.

Thus therefore it came to passe: There was a Townes-man of *Tourney*, that had borne office in that Towne, whose name was JOHN OSBECK, a *Convert-Jew*, married to CATHERINE DE FARO; whose businesse drew him, to live for a time with his wife at London, in King EDWARD the fourths daies. During which time he had a sonne by her: and being known in Court, the King either out of a religious Noble-

Noblenesse, because he was a *Convert*, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the Honor, as to be *God-father* to his child, and named him PETER. But, afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate *Youth*, he was commonly called by the *Diminutive* of his name; PETER-KIN, or PERKIN. For, as for the name of WARBECK, it was given him when they did but guesse at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name; as it stucke by him after his true name of OSBECK was known. While hee was a young child his Parents returned with him to *Tourney*. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called JOHN STENBECK, at *Antwerpe*: and so roved up and down betweene *Antwerpe* and *Tourney*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, for a good time; living much in *English Company*, and having the *English Tongue* perfect. In which time, being growne a comely *Youth*, he was brought by some of the espials of the Lady MARGARET unto her Presence. Who viewing him well, and seeing that hee had a Face and personage, that would beare a noble fortune, And finding him otherwise of a fine spirit, and winning behaviour; thought she had now found a curious *Peecce of Marble*, to carve out an *Image* of a *Duke of Yorke*. Shee kept him by her a great while; but with extreme secrecy. The while, she instructed him, by many *Cabinet Conferences*. First, in *Princely* behaviour and gesture; teaching him how he should keepe *State*, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars, that concerned the Person of RICHARD Duke of Yorke, which he was to act: Describing unto him the *Personages*, *Lineaments*, and *Features* of the King and Queen, his pretended Parents; and of his Brother, and Sisters, and divers others, that were neerest him in his Child-

hood; together with all passages, some secret, some common, that were fit for a Childs memory, untill the death of King EDWARD. Then she added the particulars of the time, from the Kings death, untill he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in *Sanctuary*. As for the times while hee was in the Tower, and the manner of his Brothers death, and his owne escape; she knew they were things that a very few could controule. And therefore she taught him, onely to tell a smooth and likely *Tale* of those matters; warning him not to vary from it. It was agreed likewise betweene them, what account he should give of his *Peregrination* abroad; intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testifie, for the credit of the rest: but, still making them to hang together, with the *Part* he was to play. She taught him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions which were like to bee asked of him. But, in this shee found him of himselfe so nimble and shifting, as shee trusted much to his owne wit and readinesse; and therefore laboured the lesse in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and further promises; setting before him chiefly the glory, and fortune of a Crowne, if things went well; and a sure refuge to her Court, if the worst should fall. After such time as shee thought hee was perfect in his *Lesson*, shee began to cast with her selfe from what coast this *Blazing starre* should first appeare, and at what time it must be upon the *Horizon* of *Ireland*; for, there had the like *Meteor* strong influence before: The time of the *Apparition* to be, when the King should be engaged into a Warre with *France*. But well shee knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should goe out of *Flanders* immediately into *Ireland*,

land, she might bee thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe; for that the two Kings were then upon tearmes of *Peace*. Therefore shee wheel'd about; and to put all suspicion a far off, and loth to keep him any longer by her (for that shee knew *Secrets* are not long lived) shee sent him unknown into *Portugall*, with the Lady BRAMPTON, an *English Lady*, that imbarqued for *Portugall* at that time; with some *Privado* of her owne, to have an eye upon him: and there he was to remaine, and to expect her further directions. In the meane time, she omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome, and accepting, not onely in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, but in the Court of *France*. He continued in *Portugall* about a yeere; and, by that time, the King of *England* called his *Parliament* (as hath beene said) and declared open Warre against *France*. Now did the *Signe* reigne, and the *Constellation* was come, under which PERKIN should appeare. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the *Duchesse*, to go for *Ireland*, according to the first designement. In *Ireland* he did arrive at the Towne of *Corke*. When he was thither come, his owne *Tale* was (when he made his *Confession* afterwards) That the *Irish-men*, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him downe, that he was the *Duke of Clarence*, that had beene there before, And after, that he was RICHARD the Thirds base sonne; And lastly, that he was RICHARD Duke of *Torke*, second sonne to EDWARD the Fourth: But that he (for his part) renounced all these things and offered to sweare upon the holy *Evangalists*, that he was no such man; till, at last, they forced it upon him, and bad him feare nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into *Ireland*, he tooke upon him the said *Person* of the Duke

Duke of Yorke, and drew unto him *Complices*, and *Partakers*, by all the meanes he could devise: Insomuch, as he wrote his Letters unto the *Earle of Denfmond* and *Kildare*, to come in to his *Aide*, and be of his *Party*: the *Originalls* of which Letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the *Duchesse* had also gained unto her a neere servant of King *HENRY*'s owne, one *STEPHEN FRION*, his *Secretary* for the *French Tongue*; an active man, but turbulent, and discontented. This *FRION* had fled over to *CHARLES* the *French King*, and put himselfe into his service, at such time as hee began to bee in open enmity with the King. Now King *CHARLES*, when he understood of the Person and Attempts of *PERKIN* (ready of himselfe to embrace all advantages against the King of *England*; instigated by *FRION*, and formerly prepared by the Lady *MARGARET*) forthwith dispatched one *LUCAS*, and this *FRION*, in the nature of *Ambassadors* to *PERKIN*; to advertise him of the Kings good inclination to him, and that hee was resolved to ayde him, to recover his right against King *HENRY*, an *Usurper* of *England*, and an Enemy of *France*; and wished him, to come over unto him at *Paris*. *PERKIN* thought himselfe in heaven now, that he was invited by so great a King, in so honourable a manner; And imparting unto his Friends in *Ireland* for their encouragement; how fortune called him, and what great hopes hee had, sayled presently into *France*. When hee was come to the *Court* of *France*, the King received him with great honour; saluted, and stiled him by the name of the *Duke* of *Yorke*; lodged him, and accommodated him in great State; And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a *Prince*, assigned him a *Guard* for his Person, whereof the Lord *CONGRESALL* was Captaine. The *Courtiers*

tiers likewise (though it bee ill mocking with the *French*) applyed themselves to their Kings Bent, seeing there was reason of *State* for it. At the same time there repaired unto *PERKIN* divers *Englishmen* of Quality; Sir *GEORGE NEVILLE*, Sir *JOHN TAYLOR*, and about one hundred more: and amongst the rest, this *STEPHEN FRION*, of whom we spake; who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principall *Counsellor* and *Instrument* in all his Proceedings. But all this, on the *French Kings* part, was but a *Trick*, the better to bow King *HENRY* to Peace. And therefore upon the first Graine of *Incense*, that was sacrificed upon the *Altar* of *Peace*, at *Bulloigne*, *PERKIN* was smoaked away. Yet would not the *French King* deliver him up to King *HENRY* (as he was laboured to doe) for his Honors sake, but warned him away, and dismissed him. And *PERKIN* on his part was as ready to be gone, doubting hee might bee caught up under-hand. He therefore tooke his way into *Flanders*, unto the *Duchesse* of *Burgundie*; pretending, that having beene variously tossed by *Fortune*, he directed his course thither, as to a safe *Harbour*: No waies taking knowledge, that he had ever beene there before, but as if that had beene his first addresse. The *Duchesse*, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him: pretending (at the first) that she was taught and made wise by the example of *LAMBERT SIMNELL*, how she did admit of any *Counterfeit* stuffe; though even in that (she said) she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first (and that was ever in the presence of others) to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very *Duke* of *Yorke*, or no. But, seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, shee then fained her selfe to be transported with a kinde of a stonishment,

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mixt of *Joy* and *Wonder*, at his miraculous delivrance; receiving him, as he were risen from *Death* to *Life*: and inferring, that *GOD*, who had in such wonderfull manner preserved him from *Death*, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous *Fortune*. As for his dismissal out of *France*, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a *Counterfeit Deceiver*; but contrariwise, that it did shew manifestly unto the *World*, that hee was some *Great matter*; for that it was his abandoning, that (in effect) made the *Peace*: being no more but the sacrificing of a poore distressed *Prince* unto the utility and *Ambition* of two *Mighty Monarchs*. Neither was *PERKIN* for his part wanting to himselfe, either in gracious and princely behaviour or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did applie themselves unto him, or in pretty scorne and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himselfe: Insomuch as it was generally beleevd (aswell amongst great Persons, as amongst the *Vulgar*) that he was indeed *Duke RICHARD*. Nay, himselfe, with long and continuall counterfeiting, and with oft telling a *Lye*, was turned by habit almost into the thing hee seemed to be; and from a *Lyer*, to a *Beleever*. The *Duchesse* therefore (as in a case out of doubt) did him all princely honour, calling him alwayes by the name of her *Nephew*, and giving him the *Delicate Title* of the *White-rose of England*; and appointed him a *Guard* of thirty Persons, *Halberdiers*, clad in a *Parti-coloured Livery* of *Murrey* and *Blue*, to attend his Person. Her *Court* likewise, and generally the *Dutch* and *Strangers* in their usage towards him, expressed no lesse respect.

The News hereof came blazing and thundering over into *England*, that the *Duke of Yorke* was sure alive.

alive. As for the name of *PERKIN WARBECK*, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ranne upon the *Duke of Yorke*; that he had been entertained in *Ireland*, bought and sold in *France*, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in *Flanders*. These *Fames* took hold of divers; in some upon discontent, in some upon ambition, in some upon levity and desire of change, and in some few upon conscience and beleefe, but in most upon simplicity; and in divers out of dependance upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long, ere these rumors of *Novelty*, had begotten others of *Scandall* and *Murmur* against the King, and his government; taxing him for a great *Taxer* of his *People*, and discountenancer of his *Nobility*, The losse of *Brittaine*, and the *Peace* with *France* were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that hee did his *Queene*, in that he did not reigne in her *Right*. Wherefore they said, that *GOD* had now brought to light a *Masculine-Branch* of the *House of Yorke*, that would not bee at his *Curtesie*, howsoever he did depreesse his poore *Lady*. And yet (as it fareth in things which are current with the *Multitude*, and which they affect) these *Fames* grew so generall, as the *Authors* were lost in the generality of *Speakers*. They being like running *Weedes*, that have no certaine root; or like *Footings* up and downe, impossible to bee traced. But after a while, these ill *Humors* drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent *Persons*; which were *Sir WILLIAM STANLEY* Lord *Chamberlaine* of the *Kings Household*, The Lord *FITZ-WATER*, *Sir SIMON MOUNTFORT*, *Sir THOMAS THWAITES*. These entred into a secret *Conspiracy* to favor *Duke RICHARDS* Title. Neverthelesse none engaged their fortunes in this businesse openly, but two; *Sir*

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ROBERT CLIFFORD, and Master WILLIAM BARLEY, who sailed over into *Flanders*, sent indeed from the *Party* of the Conspiratours here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some helpe of monies from hence; *Provisionally* to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied, that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (being a Gentleman of *Fame* and *Family*) was extremely welcome to the Lady MARGARET. Who after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of PERKIN, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end wonne either by the *Duchesse*, to affect, or by PERKIN to beleeve, he wrote back into *England*, that he knew the Person of RICHARD Duke of *Yorke*, as well as he knew his owne; and that this *Young-man* was undoubtedly he. By this meanes all things grew prepared to Revolt and Sedition here, and the *Conspiracy* came to have a *Correspondence* between *Flanders* and *England*.

The King on his part was not asleep; but to Arme or levie *Forces* yet, he thought would but shew feare, and doe this *Idoll* too much worship. Nevertheless the *Ports* he dit shut up, or at least kept a *Watch* on them, that none should passe to or fro that was suspected. But for the rest, he chose to worke by *Counter-mine*. His purposes were two; the one, to lay open the Abuse: The other, to breake the knot of the *Conspirators*. To detect the *Abuse*, there were but two wayes; The first, to make it manifest to the world, that the Duke of *Yorke* was indeed murdered: The other, to prove, that were he dead or alive, yet PERKIN was a *Counterfeit*. For the first, thus it stood. There was but foure *Persons* that could speake upon knowledge, to the murder of the Duke of *Yorke*: Sir JAMES TIRRELL (the employed-man from King RICHARD

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CHARD) JOHN DIGHTON, and MILES FOREST, his servants (the two Butchers or Tormentors) and the *Priest* of the *Tower*, that buried them. Of which foure, MILES FOREST, and the *Priest* were dead, and there remained alive only Sir JAMES TIRRELL, and JOHN DIGHTON. These two the King caused to be committed to the *Tower*, and examined touching the manner of the Death of the two Innocent *Princes*. They agreed both in a Tale, (as the King gave out) to this effect: That King RICHARD having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death to BRACKENBURIE the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his Warrant to Sir JAMES TIRRELL, to receive the keyes of the *Tower* from the *Lieutenant* (for the space of a night) for the Kings speciall service. That Sir JAMES TIRRELL accordingly repaired to the *Tower* by night, attended by his two *Servants* afore-named, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himselfe stood at the staire-foot, and sent these two *Villaines* to execute the murther. That they smothered them in their bed; & that done, called up their Master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the *Staires*, and some stones cast upon them. That when the report was made to King RICHARD, that his will was done, he gave Sir JAMES TIRRELL great thankes, but tooke exception to the place of their buriall, being too base for them that were Kings children. Where upon another night by the Kings warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the *Priest* of the *Tower*, and buried by him in some place, which (by meanes of the *Priests* death soone after) could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those *Examinations*. But the King nevertheles made no use of them in any of his *Declarations*; whereby (as

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it seems) those *Examinations* left the businesse somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir JAMES TIRRELL, he was soone after beheaded in the *Tower-yard*, for other matters of *Treason*. But JOHN DIGHTON (who it seemeth spake best for the King) was forthwith set at liberty, and was the principall meanes of divulging this Tradition. Therefore this kind of prooffe being left so naked, the King used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of PERKIN. To this purpose, he sent abroad into severall parts, and especially into *Flanders*, divers secret and nimble Scouts and *Spies*; some faining themselves to flie over unto PERKIN, and to adhere unto him; and some under other pretences, to learne, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of PERKIN'S Parents, Birth, Person, Travailes up and downe; and in brieve, to have a *Journall* (as it were) of his life and doings. Hee furnished these his imployed-men liberally with Money, to draw on and reward intelligences: giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and neverthelesse still to goe on. And ever as one Advertisement and Discovery called up another, hee employed other new Men, where the Businesse did require it. Others he employed in a more speciall nature and trust, to be his *Pioners* in the maine *Counter-mine*. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principall *Persons* of the Party in *Flanders*, and so to learne what *Associates* they had, and *Correspondents*, either here in *England*, or abroad; and how farre every one ingaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try, or board. And as this for the *Persons*; so for the *ACTIONS* themselves, to discover to the Bottome (as they could) the utmost of PERKIN'S and the *Conspiratours* their Intentions, Hopes, and Practices. These latter *Best-be-trust-Spies* had

had some of them further instructions, to practise and draw off the best Friends and Servants of PERKIN, by making remonstrance to them, how weakely his enterprize and Hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deale; and to reconcile them to the King, with promise of *Pardon*, and good Conditions of *Reward*. And (above the rest) to assayle, sappe, and worke into the constancy of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD; and to win him (if they could) being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being wonne away, would most appall and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the Knot.

There is a strange *Tradition*; That the King being lost in a *Wood* of Suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the *Confessors* and *Chaplines* of divers great men, and for the better *Credit* of his *Espials* abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at PAULS (by Name) amongst the *Bead-roll* of the Kings Enemies, according to the *Custom* of those Times. These *Espials* plyed their Charge so roundly; as the King had an *Anatomy* of PERKIN alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent *Conspirators* in *England*, and many other Mysteries were revealed; and Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD in especiall wonne to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his service. The King therefore (receiving a rich *Retur*ne of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of Particulars) first divulged and spred abroad the *Imposture* and juggling of PERKIN'S Person and Travailes, with the Circumstances thereof, throughout the *Realme*. Not by *Proclamation* (because things were yet in Examination, and so might receive the more or the lesse) but by *Court-fames*, which commonly print better than printed *Proclamations*. Then thought hee it also time to send an *Ambassage* unto Arch-

Archduke PHILIP, into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of PERKIN. Herein hee employed SIR EDWARD POYNINGS, and SIR WILLIAM WARHAM, Doctor of the Canon Law. The Archduke was then young, and governed by his Counsell: before whom the Ambassadors had audience, and Doctor WARHAM spake in this manner.

MY Lords, the King Our Master is very sorry, that England and your Countrey here of Flanders having beene counted as Man and Wife for so long time, now this Countrey of all others should be the Stage, where a base Counterfeit should play the part of a King of England; not only to his Graces disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorne and reproach of all Soveraigne Princes. To counterfeit the dead Image of a King in his Coyne, is an high Offence by all Lawes: But to counterfeit the living Image of a King in his Person, exceedeth all Falsifications, except it should be that of a MAHOMET, or an ANTI-CHRIST, that counterfeit Divine Honour. The King hath too great an Opinion of this sage Counsell, to thinke that any of you is caught with this Fable (though way may be given by you to the passion of some the thing in it selfe is so improbable. To set Testimonies aside of the Death of Duke RICHARD, which the King hath upon Record,

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plaine and infallible (because they may be thought to bee in the Kings owne Power) let the thing testifie for it selfe. Sense and Reason no Power can command. Is it possible (trow you) that King RICHARD should damne his soule, and soule his Name with so abominable a Murther, and yet not mend his Case? Or doe you thinke, that Men of Bloud (that were his Instruments) did turne to Pitty in the middest of their Execution? Whereas in cruell and savage Beasts, and Men also, the first Draught of Bloud doth yet make them more fierce, and enraged. Doe you not know, that the Blondie Executioners of Tyrants doe goe to such Errants, with an Halter about their necke: So that if they performe not, they are sure to die for it? And doe you thinke, that these men would hazard their owne lives, for sparing anothers? Admit they should have saved him: What should they have done with him? Turne him into London Streets, that the Watch-men or any Passenger that should light upon him, might carry him before a Justice, and so all come to light? Or should they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would have required a great deale of Care, Charge, and continuall Feares. But (My Lords) I labour too much in a cleare busi-

Businesse. The King is so wise, and hath so good Friends abroad, as now hee knoweth Duke PERKIN from his Cradle. And because hee is a great Prince, if you have any good Poet here, hee can helpe him with Notes to write his Life; and to parallel him with LAMBERT SIMNELL, now the Kings Faulconer. And therefore (to speake plainly to your Lordships) it is the strangest thing in the World, that the Ladie MARGARET (excuse us, if wee name her, whose Malice to the King is both causelesse and endlesse) should now when shee is old, at the time when other Women give over Childe-bearing, bring forth two such Monsters; being not the Births of nine or tenne Moneths, but of many yeares. And whereas other naturall Mothers bring forth Children weake, and not able to helpe themselves; Shee bringeth forth tall Striplings, able soone after their comming into the World, to bid Battaille to mighty Kings. My Lords, wee stay unwillingly upon this Part. Wee would to GOD, that Lady would once taste the Joyes, which GOD Almighty doth serve up unto her, in beholding her Neece to Reigne in such Honour, and with so much Royall Issue, which shee might hee pleased to

to accompt as her owne. The Kings Request unto the Archduke, and your Lordships, might be; That, according to the Example of King CHARLES, who hath already discarded him, you would banish this unworthy Fellow out of your Dominions. But because the King may justly expect more from an ancient Confederate, then from a new reconciled Enemy; hee maketh his Request unto you, to deliver him up into his hands. Pirates and Impostures of this sort, being fit to be accounted the Common Enemies of Mankind, and no waies to be protected by the Law of Nations.

After some time of Deliberation, the Ambassadors received this short Answer:

That the Archduke, for the love of King HENRY, would in no sort aide or assist the pretended Duke, but in all things conserve the Amitie he had with the King. But for the Duchesse Dowager, she was absolute in the Lands of her Dowrie, and that hee could not let her to dispose of her owne.

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THE King, upon the returne of the *Ambassadors*, was nothing satisfied with this Answer. For well he knew, that a *Patrimoniall Dowry* carried no part of *Soveraignty*, or *Command of Forces*. Besides, the *Ambassadors* told him plainly, that they saw the *Duchesse* had a great *Party* in the *Arch-Dukes* Counsell; & that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivence, yet the *Arch-Duke* under hand gave aid and furtherance to *PERKIN*. Wherefore (partly out of *Courage*, and partly out of *Policie*) the King forthwith banished all *Flemmings* (as well their *Persons*, as their *Wares*) out of his *Kingdome*; Commanding his Subjects likewise (and by name his *Merchants-Adventurers*) which had a *Resiance* in *Antwerp*, to return; translating the *Mart* (which commonly followed the *English Cloth*) unto *Calice*, and embarred also all further trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a *Pretender* to the *Crowne of England*, to affront him so neare at hand, and he to keep termes of friendship with the *Countrie* where he did set up. But he had also a further reach: for that hee knew well, that the Subjects of *Flanders* drew so great commoditie from the trade of *England*, as by this *Embargo* they would soon waxe weary of *PERKIN*, and that the Tumults of *Flanders* had bin so late & fresh, as it was no time for the *Prince* to displease the *People*. Neverthelesse for formes sake, by way of requitall, the *Arch-Duke* did likewise banish the *English* out of *Flanders*, which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well advertised, that *PERKIN* did more trust upon Friends and Partakers within the Realme, than upon forraine Armes, thought it behooved him to apply the *Remedy*, where the *Disease* lay; & to proceed with severity against some of the

the principall *Conspirators* here within the Realme; Thereby to purge the ill Humours in *England*, & to coole the hopes in *Flanders*. Wherefore hee caused to bee apprehended (almost at an instant) *JOHN RAYCLIFFE* Lord *Fitz-water*, *SIR SIMON MOUNTFORD*, *SIR THOMAS THWAITES*, *WILLIAM DAWBIGNEY*, *ROBERT RAYCLIFFE*, *THOMAS CHRESSEBOR*, and *THOMAS ASTWOOD*. All these were arraigned, convicted and condemned for *High-Treason*, in adhering, and promising aide to *PERKIN*. Of these, the Lord *FITZWATER* was conveighed to *Calice*, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, untill soone after (either impatient, or betrayed) he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, & thereupon was beheaded. But *SIR SIMON MOUNTFORD*, *ROBERT RAYCLIFFE*, and *WILLIAM DAWBIGNEY* were beheaded immediately after their *Condemnation*. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, *Clerkes* and *Laiques*; amongst which were two *Dominican Friars*, and *WILLIAM WORSELEY*, *Deane of Pauls*: which latter sort passed Examination, but came not to publicke triall.

The Lord *Chamberlaine* at that time was not touched, whether it were, that the King would not stir too many humours at once, but (after the maner of good *Physicians*) purge the head last; or that *CLIFFORD* (from whom most of these *Discoveries* came) reserved that Piece for his own coming over; signifying only to the King in the meane time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the *businessse*, whereof he would give the King further account, when he came to his presence.

Upon *Al-ballowes-day* even being now the tenth year of the Kings Reigne, the Kings second Sonne

HENRY was created Duke of Yorke; and as well the Duke, as divers others, Noblemen, Knights-Bachelours, & Gentlemen of Quality were made Knights of the Bath, according to the Ceremony. Upon the morrow after Twelfth-Day, The King removed from Westminster (where he had kept his Christmas) to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement, that Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (in whose Bosom or Budget most of PERKINS secrets were layed up) was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if CLIFFORD should accuse any of the Great-ones, they might without suspition, or noise, or sending abroad of Warrants, be presently attached; the Court & Prison being within the cincture of one Wall. After a day or two, the King drew unto him a selected Council, and admitted CLIFFORD to his presence; who first fell downe at his feete, and in all humble manner craved the Kings Pardon, which the King then granted, though hee were indeed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others (of himself, not interrogated) appeach Sir WILLIAM STANLEY; the Lord Chamberlaine of the Kings Household.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming of this Lord, as if he had heard the Newes of some strange and fearfull Prodigie. To heare a Man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his life, & set the Crown upon his head; a Man, that enioyed by his favor & advancement so great a fortune, both in Honour & Riches; a Man, that was tied unto him in so near a Band of alliance, his Brother having married the Kings Mother, and lastly a Man, to whom he had committed the trust of his Person, in making him his Chamberlaine. That this Man, no waies disgraced, no waies discontent, no waies
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put in feare, should be false unto him. CLIFFORD was required to say over again, & againe, the Particulars of his accusation; being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, & that concerned so great a Servant of the Kings, he should not in any wise goe too far. But the King finding that he did sadly, & constantly (without hesitation or varying, & with those civill Protestations that were fit) stand to that that he had said, offering to justifie it upon his soule and life, he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his Council there present, gave order that Sir WILLIAM STANLEY should be restrained in his owne Chamber, where he lay before, in the Square Tower. And the next day he was examined by the Lords. Upon his Examination, he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault. So that (not very wisely) thinking to make his Offence lesse by Confession, hee made it enough for Condemnation. It was conceived, that hee trusted much to his former Merits, and the interest that his Brother had in the King. But those helps were overweighed by divers things that made against him, & were predominant in the Kings nature and mind. First, an Over-merit; for convenient Merit, unto whereward may easily reach, doth best with Kings. Next the sense of his Power; for the King thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pul him down. Thirdly, the glimmering of a Confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom: There being found in his Castle of Holt forty thousand Markes in ready Mony, and Plate, besides Jewels, Household-stuffe, Stockes upon his grounds, and other Personall Estate, exceeding great. And for his Revenue in Land and Fee, it was three thousand pounds a yeare of old Rent, a great matter in those times.

times. Lastly, the Nature of the *Time*, for if the King had been out of feare of his owne Estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the Cloud of so great a *Rebellion* hanging over his head, made him worke sure. Wherefore after some six weekes distance of time, which the King did honorably interpose, both to give space to his Brothers Intercession, & to shew to the world, that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of *Hight-Treason*, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memorie both what the *Case* of this *Noble Person* was, for w^{ch} hee suffred, and what likewise was the ground & cause of his defection, & the alienation of his heart from the King. His *Case* was said to be this: That in discourse between Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD & him, he had said, *That if he were sure, that that young man were King EDWARDS Some, he would never beare Armes against him.* This *Case* seemes somewhat an hard *Case*, both in respect of the *Conditionall*, and in respect of the other words. But for the *Conditional*, it seems the *Judges* of that time (who were learned men, & the three chief of them of the *Privy Councell*) thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *Is* and *Ands*, to qualifie words of *Treason*; whereby every man might expresse his malice, and blanch his danger. And it was like to the *Case* (in the following times) of ELIZABETH BARTON, the *Holy-maid* of Kent: who had said, *That if King HENRY the eighth did not take KATHERINE his Wife againe, he should be deprived of his Crown, and dye the death of a Dogge.* And infinite *Cases* may be put of like nature. Which (it seemeth) the grave *Judges* taking into Consideration, would not admit of *treasons* upon condition. And as for the *Positive* words, *That he would not bear arms against*

against King EDWARDS Son, though the words seem calme, yet it was a plain and direct *Over-ruling* of the Kings Title, either by the *Line* of LANCASTER, or by *Act* of Parliament. Which (no doubt) pierced the King more, than if STANLEY had charged his *Lance* upon him in the field. For if STANLEY would hold that opinion, that a sonne of King EDWARD had still the better right, he being so principall a *Person* of authoritie, and favour about the King; it was to teach all *England* to say as much. And therefore (as those times were) that speech touched the *Quicke*. But some Writers doe put this out of doubt; for they say, That STANLEY did expressly promise to aide PERKIN, and sent him some help of *Treasure*.

Now for the *Motive* of his falling off from the King, It is true, that at *Bosworth Field* the King was beset, and in a manner inclosed round about by the Troupes of King RICHARD, & in manifest danger of his life; When this STANLEY was sent by his brother, with three thousand men to his Rescue, which he performed so, that King RICHARD was slaine upon the Place. So as the condition of Mortal men is not capable of a greater benefit, then the King received by the hands of STANLEY; being like the benefit of CHRIST, at once to *Save*, and *Crowne*. For which service the King gave him great gifts, made him his *Counsellor* & *Chamberlain*; and (somewhat contrary to his nature) had winked at the great spoiles of *Bosworth Field*, which came almost wholly to this mans hands, to his infinite enriching. Yet nevertheless blown up with the conceit of his *Merit*, he did not think he had received good *Measure* from the King, at least not *Pressing-downe*; and *Running-over*, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant, and unbounded, as he became *Sutour* to the

the King for the *Earldome of Chester*. Which ever being a kind of *Appemage* to the *Principalitie of Wales*, and using to goe to the Kings Sonne, his suit did not only end in a *Deniall*, but in a *Distaste*. The King perceiving thereby, that his *Desires* were intemperate, and his *Cogitations* vaste, and irregular, and that his former *Benefits* were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him wel. And as a little *Leaven* of new *Distaste* doth commonly sowre the whole *Lump* of former Merits, the Kings *Wit* began now to suggest unto his *Passion*, that STANLEY, at *Bosworth Field*, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his *Places*, untill this his *Fall*.

After him was made Lord *Chamberlain*, GILES Lord *Dawbeny*, a man of great sufficiencie and valour; the more, because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common Opinion, That Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD (who now was become the *State-Informer*) was from the beginning an *Emisfary*, and *Spie* of the Kings; and that he fled over into *Flanders* with his consent and privitie. But this is not probable; both because hee never recovered that Degree of Grace, which he had with the King before his going over: and chiefly, for that the *Discoverie* which hee had made touching the Lord *Chamberlaine* (which was his great Service) grew not from any thing he learn'd abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These *Executions* (and especially that of the Lord *Chamberlaine*, which was the chiefe strength of the *Party*, and by meanes of Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD, who was the most inward man of Trust amongst them)

them) did extremely quail the Designe of PERKIN, and his complices, as wel through Discouragement, as Distrust. So that they were now (like *Sand* without *Lyme*) ill bound together; especially as many as were *English*: who were at a gaze, looking strange, one upon another, not knowing who was faithfull to their *Side*, but thinking, that the King (what with his *Baits*, and what with his *Nets*) would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to passe, that divers came away by the *Thred*, sometimes one, and sometimes another. BARLEY (that was *Joynt-Commissioner* with CLIFFORD) did hold out one of the longest, till PERKIN was farre worne; yet made his Peace at the length. But, the Fall of this *Great man*, beeing in so high Authoritie and Favour (as was thought) with the King; and the manner of Carriage of the *Businesse*, as if there had beene secret Inquisition upon him, for a great time before, and the Cause for which he suffered, which was little more, than for saying in effect, *That the Title of YORKE was better than the Title of LANCASTER*; which was the Cause almost of every man (at the least in Opinion;) was matter of great Terrour amongst all the Kings Servants and Subjects: Insomuch, as noe man almost thought himselfe secure; and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another: but there was a generall Diffidence every where. Which neverthelesse made the King rather more *Absolute*, then more *Safe*. For, *Bleeding Inwards and shut Vapours strangle soonest, and oppresse most.*

Hereupon presently came forth *Swarmes* and *Volies* of *Libels* (which are the *Gusts* of Libertie of Speech restrayned, and the *Females* of Sedition) containning bitter *Invectives*, and *Slanders* against the King, and some of the *Councell*. For the contriving and dispersing whereof (after great Diligence of Inquirie)

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five meane Persons were caught, and executed.

Meane while, the King did not neglect Ireland, being the Soyle where the *Mushromes* and *Upstart-Weeds* (that spring up in a Night) did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence (for the better settling of his affaires there) *Commissioners* of both *Robes*: The *Prior of Lanthony*, to bee his *Chancellor* in that *Kingdome*; and *Sir EDWARD POYNINGS*, with a Power of Men, and a *Marshall Commission*, together with a Civill Power of his *Lieutenant*, with a Clause, That the *Earle of Kildare*, then *Deputie*, should obey him. But, the *Wilde-Irish* (who were the principall Offenders) fled into the *Woods* and *Bogges*, after their manner: and those, that knew themselves guiltie, in the *Pale*, fled to them. So that *Sir EDWARD POYNINGS* was enforced to make a *Wilde-Chase* upon the *Wilde-Irish*: Where (in respect of the *Mountaines* and *Fastnesses*) hee did little good. Which (either out of a suspicious Melancholy upon his bad *Successe*, or the better to save his service from *Disgrace*) hee would needs impute unto the *Comfort*, that the *Rebels* should receive under-hand from the *Earle of Kildare*; every light suspicion growing upon the *Earle*, in respect of the *KILDARE* that was in the *Action* of *LAMBERT SIMNELL*, and slain at *Stoke-field*. Wherefore hee caused the *Earle* to bee apprehended, and sent into *England*; where, upon Examination, he cleared himselfe so well, as he was re-placed in his *Government*. But, *POYNINGS* (the better to make compensation of the Meagerness of his Service in the *Warres*, by *Acts of Peace*) called a *Parliament*; where was made that memorable *Act*, which at this day is called *POYNINGS Law*, whereby all the *Statutes* of *England* were made to bee of force in *Ireland*. For, before they were not: neither

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are any now in force in *Ireland*, which were made in *England* since that time; which was the tenth yeare of the King.

About this time, beganne to be discovered in the King that Disposition, which, afterward nourished and whet-on by bad *Counsellors* and *Ministers*, proved the *Blot* of his times; which was, the course he took, to crush *Treasure* out of his Subjects Purfes, by forfeitures upon *Penall Lawes*. At this, men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to bee in the *King's Nature*, and not out of his *Necessity*, hee being now in *Float* for *Treasure*; For that hee had newly received the *Peace-mony* from *France*, the *Benevolence-mony* from his Subjects, and great *Casualties* upon the *Confiscations* of the *Lord Chamberlaine*, and divers others. The first-noted *Case* of this kind, was that of *Sir WILLIAM CAPEL*, Alderman of *London*: Who, upon sundry *Penall Lawes*, was condemned in the summe of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the *King* for sixteen hundred: And yet after, *EMPSON* would have cut another *Chop* out of him, if the King had not died in the Instant.

The Summer following, the King, to comfort his *Mother* (whom hee did alwaies tenderly love and revere) and to make *Demonstration* to the World, that the proceedings against *Sir WILLIAM STANLEY* (which was imposed upon him by necessity of *State*) had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to *THOMAS*, his Brother; went in *Progressse* to *Latham*, to make merry with his *Mother*, and the *Earle*, and lay there divers daies.

During this *Progressse*, *PERKIN WARBECK* finding, that time and *Temporizing*, which (whilest his practices were covert and wrought well in *England*) made for him, did now, when they were disco-

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vered and defeated, rather make against him (for that when matters once goe downe the *Hill*, they stay not without a new force) resolved to trie his adventure in some exploit upon *England*; hoping still upon the affections of the Common-People towards the House of *YORKE*. Which body of Common-People he thought was not to be practised upon, as Persons of *Qualitie* are; But, that the only practice upon their affections, was, To set up a *Standard* in the field. The Place where he should make his Attempt, he chose to be the Coast of *Kent*.

The King by this time was growne to such an height of *Reputation* for cunning and *Policie*, that every Accident and Event, that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: As, in this Particular of *PERKINS* *Designe* upon *Kent*. For, the world would not beleve afterwards, but the King, having secret Intelligence of *PERKINS* intention for *Kent* (the better to draw it on) went of purpose into the *North*, a farre off, laying an open side unto *PERKIN*, to make him come to the *Clofe*, and so to trip up his heeles, having made sure in *Kent* before hand.

But so it was, that *PERKIN* had gathered together a Power of all Nations, neither in number, nor in the hardinesse and courage of the Persons, contemptible; but, in their nature and fortunes, to be feared as well of *Friends* as *Enemies*; being *Bankrupts*, and many of them *Felons*, and such as lived by *Rapine*. These he put to Sea, and arrived upon the Coast of *Sandwich* and *Deale* in *Kent*, about *July*.

There he cast Anchor, and to prove the affections of the People, sent some of his men to land, making great boast of the Power that was to follow. The *Kentish-men* (perceiving that *PERKIN* was not followed by any *English* of name or accompt, & that his forces

forces consisted but of strangers borne, and most of them base People, and *Free-booters*, fitter to spoile a Coast, then to recover a *Kingdome*) resorting unto the principall *Gentlemen* of the Countrey, professed their loyalty to the King, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the Kings service. The *Gentlemen*, entring into Consultation, directed some forces in good number, to shew themselves upon the Coast; and some of them to make signes, to entice *PERKINS* *Souldiers* to land, as if they would joyne with them: and some others to appeare from some other Places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them; the better to encourage them to land. But, *PERKIN* (who, by playing the *Prince*, or else taught by *Secretarie* *FRION*, had learned thus much, That People under Command, doe use to consult, and after to march in order; and *Rebells* contrariwise run upon an *Head* together in confusion) considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly, and not tumultuary Arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily *Youth* would not set one foot out of his Ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the Kings *Forces*, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them, and cut them in pieces, ere they could flie backe to their ships. In which *Skirmish* (besides those that fled, and were slaine) there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the King thought, that to punish a few for example was *Gentlemans-play*, but for *Rascall-People*, they were to bee cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an Enterprize; and likewise for that he saw, that *PERKINS* Forces would now consist chiefly of such *Rabble* and scumme of desperate People; he therefore hanged them all, for the greater terrour. They were brought to *London*, all rail'd in Ropes,

Ropes, like a Teame of Horses in a Cart; and were executed some of them at *London*, and *Wapping*, and the rest at divers places upon the Sea-Coast of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Norfolke*, for *Sea-markes*, or *Light-houses*, to teach PERKINS People to avoid the Coast. The King, being advertised of the landing of the *Rebels*, thought to leave his *Progresse*: But, being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated, and partly fled, he continued his *Progresse*, & sent Sir RICHARD GUILFORD into *Kent* in message. Who, calling the Countrie together, did much commend (from the King) their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and (in private) promised Reward to some particulars.

Upon the sixteenth of *November* (this being the eleventh yeere of the King) was holden the *Serjeants-Feast*, at *Ely-Place*; there being nine *Serjeants* of that *Call*. The King, to honour the *Feast*, was present with his *Queene* at the *Dinner*; being a *Prince*, that was ever ready to grace and countenance the Professours of the *Law*; having a little of that, *That as he governed his Subjects by his Lawes, so hee governed his Lawes by his Lawyers*.

This yeere also the King entred into League with the *Italian Potentates*, for the defence of *Italy*, against *France*. For, King CHARLES had conquered the *Realme of Naples*, and lost it againe, in a kind of *Felicitee* of a *Dream*. Hee passed the whole length of *Italy* without resistance: so that it was true which *Pope ALEXANDER* was wont to say, *That the Frenchmen came into Italy, with Chalke in their hands, to marke up their lodgings, rather then with swords to fight*. Hee likewise entred and wonne, in effect, the whole *Kingdome of Naples* it selfe, without striking stroke. But, presently thereupon, he did commit & multiply so many Errors, as was too great a taske for the best fortune

to overcome. Hee gave no contentment to the *Barons of Naples*, of the *Faction* of the *Angeovines*; but, scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. Hee put all *Italy* upon their *Guard*, by the seizing and holding of *Ostia*, and the protecting of the *Liberty of Pisa*: which made all men suspect that his purposes looked further, then his title of *Naples*. He fell too soon at difference with *LUDOVICO SFORTIA*, who was the Man that carried the *Keyes* which brought him in, & shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some reliques of the *War*. And lastly, in regard of his easie passage through *Italy* without resistance, he entred into an over much despising of the *Armes* of the *Italians*: Whereby he left the *Realme of Naples*, at his departure, so much the lesse provided. So that not long after his returne, the whole *Kingdome* revolted to *FERDINANDO* the younger, and the *French* were quite driven out. Nevertheless, *CHARLES* did make both great threats, and great preparations, to re-enter *Italy* once againe. Wherefore, at the instance of divers of the *States of Italie* (and especially of *Pope ALEXANDER*) there was a League concluded, between the said *Pope*, *MAXIMILIAN* King of *Romanes*, *HENRY* King of *England*, *FERDINANDO* and *ISABELLA*, King and *Queen* of *Spaine* (for so they are constantly placed in the originall *Treaty* throughout,) *AUGUSTISSIMO BARBADICO*, *Duke of Venice*, and *LUDOVICO SFORTIA*, *Duke of Millan*, for the common defence of their estates. Wherein though *FERDINANDO* of *Naples* was not named as principall; yet, no doubt, the *Kingdome of Naples* was tacitly included, as a *Fee* of the *Church*.

There dyed also this yeere *CECILE*, *Duchesse* of *Yorke*, mother to King *EDWARD* the Fourth, at her *Castle of Barkhamsted*, being of extreame yeares; and

and who had lived to see three Princes of her bodie crowned, and foure murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This yeare also the King called his Parliament: where many Lawes were made, of a more private and vulgar nature, then ought to detain the Reader of an *Historie*. And it may be justly suspected, by the proceedings following, that as the King did excell in good Common-wealth Lawes; so neverthelesse hee had, in secret, a designe to make use of them, as well for collecting of *Treasure*, as for correcting of *Manners*; and so, meaning thereby to harrow his People, did accumulate them the rather.

The principall Law, that was made this Parliament, was a Law of a strange nature: rather *Just*, then *Legall*; and more magnanimous than provident. This Law did ordaine, That no person, that did asist in Armes, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the Law, or by *Act* of Parliament: But, if any such *Act* of *Attainder* did happen to bee made, it should bee void, and of none effect. For that it was agreeable to reason of *Estato*, that the *Subject* should not enquire of the justnesse of the Kings Title, or *Quarrell*; and it was agreeable to good *Conscience*, (that whatsoever the fortune of the Warre were) the *Subject* should not suffer for his Obedience. The spirit of this Law was wonderfull Pious & Noble: being like in matter of *Warre*, unto the spirit of *DAVID* in matter of *Plague*, who said, *If I have sinned, strike mee, but what have these sheepe done?* Neither wanted this Law parts of prudent & deep fore-sight. For, it did the better take away occasion, for the people to busie themselves, to prie into the Kings Title; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw

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unto him, the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more carefull for them, then for himselfe. But yet neverthelesse, it did take off from his *Partie*, that great *Tie* and *Spurre* of necessity, to fight and goe *Victors* out of the field; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety, and protected, whether they stood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this Law was in it selfe *Illusory*, as to the latter part of it; by a *precedent Act* of Parliament, to bind or frustrate a *future*. For a supreme and absolute Power cannot conclude it self, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made fixed, no more then if a man should appoint or declare by his Will, that if hee made any Latter Will, it should bee void. And for the *Cafe* of the *Act* of Parliament, there is a notable President of it in King HENRY the Eight's time: Who, doubting hee might die in the minority of his Sonne, procured an *Act* to passe, That no Statute made during the minority of the King, should bind him or his Successours, except it were confirmed by the King under his great Seale, at his full age. But the first *Act* that passed in King EDWARD the Sixth his time, was an *Act* of Repeale of that former *Act*; at which time neverthelesse the King was *Minor*. But things that doe not bind, may satisfie for the time.

There was also made a shoaring or underpropping *Act* for the *Benevolence*, to make the sums which any person had agreed to pay, and neverthelesse were not brought in, to bee leviabie by course of Law. Which *Act* did not onely bring in the *Aeres*, but did indeed countenance the whole businesse, and was pretended to bee made at the desire of those, that had been forward to pay.

This Parliament also was made that good Law, which gave the *Attaint* upon a false *Verdict* between *Partie* and *Partie*, which before was a kind of *Evan-gile*,

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gile, irremediable. It extends not to causes *Capitall*, as well because they are for the most part at the Kings Suit; as because in them (if they be followed in Course of *Indictment*) there passeth a double *Jury*, the *Indictors*, and the *Triers*; and so not Twelve Men, but Foure and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the onely reason; for this reason holdeth not in the *Appeale*. But the great reason was, lest it should tend to the discouragement of *Jurors* in Cases of *Life* and *Death*; if they should be subject to Suit and Penaltie, where the favour of *Life* maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any Suit, where the *Demand* is under the value of forty pounds; for that in such Cases of petty value, it would not quit the Charge, to goe about againe.

There was another *Law* made against a branch of *Ingratitude* in Women, who having been advanced by their *Husbands*, or their *Husbands Ancestors*, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the *Heires*, or those in *Remainder*, of the Lands, whereunto they had bin so advanced. The remedie was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture.

There was also enacted that *Charitable Law*, for the admission of poore Suiters *In Forma Pauperis*, without Fee to *Counsellor*, *Attorney*, or *Clerke*, whereby poore men became rather able to *vexe*, then unable to *sue*. There were divers other good *Lawes* made that *Parliament*, as wee said before: but wee still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a *Vulgar* nature.

The King this while, though he sate in *Parliament*, as in full *Peace*, and seemed to account of the designes of PERKIN (who was now returned into *Flanders*) but as a *May-game*; yet having the composition of a wise King (*Stout* without, and *Apprehensive* within) had given order for the watching of *Beacons* upon the
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Coasts, & erecting more where they stood too thin; and had a carefull eye where this wandering *Cloud* would break. But PERKIN advised to keep his fire (which hitherto burned as it were upon green Wood) alive, with continuall blowing; Sailed again into *Ireland*, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of *France*, then upon any unreadiness or discouragement hee found in that People. But in the space of time between the Kings *Diligence* and POYNINGS *Commission*, had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for PERKIN, but the blustering affection of wild & naked people. Wherefore hee was advised by his *Councell*, to seeke aide of the King of *Scotland*; a *Prince* yong, and valourous, and in good terms with his *Nobles* and *People*, and ill affected to King HENRY. At this time also both MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES of *France* began to beare no good will to the King. The one being displeased with the Kings *Prohibition* of Commerce with *Flanders*: The other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the *Italians*. Wherefore besides the open *Aides* of the *Duchesse* of *Burgundy*, which did with *Sailes* and *Oares* put on and advance PERKINS designes, there wanted not some secret *Tides* from MAXIMILIAN and CHARLES, which did further his fortunes. In so much as they, both by their secret Letters, and *Messages*, recommended him to the King of *Scotland*.

PERKIN therefore coming into *Scotland* upon those hopes, with a wel appointed company, was by the King of *Scots* (being formerly well prepared) honourably welcomed, and soone after his arrivall admitted to his *Presence*, in a solemne manner. For the King received him in *State* in his *Chamber of Presence*, accompanied with divers of his *Nobles*. And PERKIN well attended, as well with those that the King
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had sent before him, as with his own *Traine*, entered the roome where the King was, and coming neer to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces backe, and with a loud voice (that all that were present might heare him) made his *Declaration* in this manner:

High and Mighty King, your Grace, and these your Nobles here present, may be pleased benignely to bow your Eares, to heare the Tragedie of a young Man, that by Right ought to hold in his hand the Ball of a Kingdome; but by Fortune is made Himselfe a Ball, tossed from Misery to Misery, and from Place to Place. You see here before you the Spectacle of a *PLANTAGENET*, who hath been carried from the Nurserie to the Sanctuary; from the Sanctuary, to the direfull Prison; from the Prison, to the Hand of the cruell Tormentor; and from that Hand, to the wide *VVildernesse* (as I may truly call it) for so the World hath been to mee. So that hee that is borne to a great Kingdome, hath not Ground to set his foot upon, more then this where hee now standeth, by your Princely Favour. *EDWARD* the Fourth, late King of England, (as your Grace cannot but have heard) left two Sonnes; *EDWARD*, and *RICHARD*, Duke of Yorke, both very young.

young. *EDWARD*, the eldest succeeded their Father in the Crowne, by the name of King *EDWARD* the Fifth. But *RICHARD*, Duke of Glocester, their unnaturall Uncle, first thirsting after the Kingdome, through Ambition, and afterwards thirsting for their Bloud, out of desire to secure himselfe; employed an Instrument of his (confident to him, as hee thought) to murther them both. But this Man that was employed to execute that execrable Tragedie, having cruelly slaine King *EDWARD*, the eldest of the two, was moved partly by Remorse, and partly by some other meane, to save *RICHARD* his Brother; making a Report neverthelesse to the Tyrant, that he had performed his Commandement for both Brethren. This Report was accordingly beleaved, and published generally. So that the World hath been possessed of an Opinion, that they both were barbarously made away, though ever Truth hath some sparks that flie abroad, untill it appeare in due time, as this hath had. But Almighty *GOD*, that stopped the Mouth of the Lion, and saved little *JOAS* from the Tyrannie of *ATHALIAH*, when shee massacred the Kings Children; and did save *ISAAC*, when the hand was stretched forth to sacrifice him, preserved the
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second Brother. For I my selfe, that stand here in your presence, am that very RICHARD, Duke of Yorke, Brother of that infortunate Prince, King EDWARD the Fifth, now the most rightfull surviving Heire-Male to that Victorious and most Noble EDWARD, of that Name the Fourth, late King of England. For the manner of my Escape, it is fit it should passe in silence, or (at least) in a more secret Relation: for that it may concerne some alive, and the memorie of some that are dead. Let it suffice to thinke, that I had then a Mother living, a Queene, and one that expected daily such a Commandement from the Tyrant, for the murdering of her Children. Thus in my tender age escaping by GODS Mercy out of London, I was secretly conveyed over Sea. Where, after a time, the Party that had me in Charge, (upon what new Feares, change of Mind, or Practice, GOD knoweth) suddenly forsooke mee. Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seeke meane Conditions for the sustaining of my Life. Wherefore distracted between severall Passions, the one of Feare to be knowne, lest the Tyrant should have a new Attempt upon mee, the other of Griefe and Dildaine to be unknowne, and to live in that
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base and servile manner that I did; I resolved with my selfe, to expect the Tyrants Death, and then to put my selfe into my Sisters hands, who was next Heire to the Crowne. But in this Season, it happened one HENRY TIDDER, son to EDMOND TIDDER Earle of Richmond, to come from France, and enter into the Realme, and by subtile and foule meanes to obtaine the Crowne of the same, which to mee rightfully appertained. So that it was but a Change, from Tyrant to Tyrant. This HENRY, my extreme and mortall Enemy, so soone as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined and wrought all the subtile waies and meanes hee could, to procure my finall Destruction. For my mortall Enemy hath not onely falsly surmised mee to be a fained Person, giving me Nick-names, so abusing the World; but also, to deferre and put mee from entry into England, hath offered large Summes of Money, to corrupt the Princes and their Ministers, with whom I have been retained; and made importune Labours to certaine Servants about my Person, to murther or poyson mee, and others to forsake & leave my Righteous Quarrell, and to depart from my Service, as Sir ROBERT CLIFFORD, and others. So that every
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Man of Reason may well perceive, that HENRY, calling himself King of England, needed not to have bestowed such great Summes of Treasure, nor so to have busied himselfe with importune and incessant Labour and Industry, to compasse my Death and Ruine, if I had been such a fained Person. But the truth of my Cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King CHARLES, and the Lady Duchesse Dowager of Burgundy, my most Deare Aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof, but lovingly to assist mee. But it seemeth that GOD above (for the good of this whole Island, and the knitting of these two Kingdomes of England and Scotland in a strait Concord and Amitie, by so great an Obligation) had reserved the placing of me in the Imperiall Throne of England, for the Arms & Succours of your Grace. Neither is it the first time that a King of Scotland hath supported them, that were bereft and spoiled of the Kingdome of England; as of late (in fresh memory) it was done in the Person of HENRY the Sixth. Wherefore for that your Grace hath given cleare Signes, that you are in no Noble qualitie inferiour to your Royall Ancestors, I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby moved to come and put my Selfe into your

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Royall Hands, desiring your Assistance to recover my Kingdome of England; promising faithfully to beare my Selfe towards your Grace no otherwise, then if I were your owne Naturall Brother, and will upon the Recoverie of mine Inheritance, gratefully doe you all the Pleasure that is in my utmost Power.

AFTER PERKIN had told his Tale, King JAMES answered bravely and wisely; That whatsoever hee were, hee should not repent him of putting himselfe into his hands. And from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have perswaded him, that all was but an Illusion, yet notwithstanding, either taken by PERKIN'S amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a Warre against King HENRY, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of RICHARD Duke of Yorke; embraced his Quarrell; and (the more to put it out of doubt, that hee tooke him to be a great Prince, and not a Representation onely) hee gave consent, that this Duke should take to wife the Lady KATHERINE GORDON, daughter to the Earle Huntley, being a neare Kinswoman to the King himselfe, and a young Virgin of excellent beautie and vertue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with PERKIN in his company, entred with a great Armie (though it consisted chiefly of Borderers, being raised somewhat suddenly) into Northumberland. And PERKIN, for a Perfume before him as hee went,

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caused to be published a Proclamation of this tenour following, in the name of RICHARD Duke of Yorke, true Inheritor of the Crowne of England.

The Originall of this Proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy Preserver and Treasurer of rare Antiquities: from whose Manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this Worke.

IT hath pleased GOD, Who putteth downe the Mightie from their Seat, and exalteth the Humble, and suffereth not the Hopes of the Just to perish in the end, to give Us means at the length, to shew Our Selves armed unto Our Lieges and People of England, But far be it from Us, to intend their hurt & damage, or to make Warre upon them, otherwisethen to deliver Our Selfe and them from Tyrannie and Oppression. For, Our mortall Enemy HENRY TIDDER, a false Usurper of the Crowne of England, (which to Us by Naturall & Lineall Right appertaineth) knowing in his owne Heart Our undoubted Right, (We being the very RICHARD, Duke of Yorke, younger Sonne, and now surviving Heire-male of the Noble and Victorious EDWARD the Fourth, late king of England) hath not only deprived Us of Our Kingdom, but likewise by all foule and wicked meanes, sought to betray Us, and bereave Us of Our Life. Yet if his Tyrannie onely extended it selfe to Our Person (although Our Royall Bloud teacheth Us to be sensible of Injuries) it should bee lesse to Our Griefe. But this

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TIDDER, who boasteth himselfe to have overthrowne a Tyrant, hath ever since his first entrance into his Usurped Reigne, put little in practice, but Tyrannie and the feats thereof.

For King RICHARD Our unnaturall Uncle, although desire of Rule did blind him, yet in his other actions (like a true PLANTAGENET) was Noble, and loved the Honour of the Realme, and the Contentment and Comfort of his Nobles and People. But this Our Mortall Enemy (agreeable to the meannesse of his Birth) hath trod under foot the Honour of this Nation; selling Our best Confederates for Money, and making Merchandize of the Bloud, Estates, and Fortunes of Our Peeres and Subjects, by fained VVars, and dishonourable Peace, onely to enrich his Coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hatefull Mis-government, and evill Departments at home. First, hee hath (to fortifie his false Quarrell) caused divers Nobles of this Our Realme (whom he held Suspect, and stood in dread of) to be cruelly murtbred; as Our Cousin Sir WILLIAM STANLEY Lord Chamberlain, Sir SIMON MOUNTFORT, Sir ROBERT RATCLIFFE, WILLIAM DAWBENEY, HUMPHREY STAFFORD, and many others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives with intolerable Ransomes.

Some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in Prison, Our right entirely welbeloved Cosen EDWARD, Son and Heire to Our Uncle Duke of Clarence, and others; withholding from them their rightfull Inheritance, to the intent they should never bee of might and power, to aide and assist Us at Our need, after the duty of their Liegeances. He also married by compulsion certaine of Our Sisters, & also the Sister of Our said Cosen the Earle of VVarwick, & diuers other Ladies of the Royal Bloud, unto certain of his Kinsmen & Friends of simple & low Degree, & putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, hee hath none in favour & trust about his Person, but Bishop FOX, SMITH, BRAY, LOVEL, OLIVER KING, DAVID OWEN, RISELEY, TURBERVILLE, TILER, CHOLMLEY, EMPSON, JAMES HOBART, JOHN CUT, GARTH, HENRY VVYAT, and such other Caitifes and Villaines of Birth, which by subtile Inventions and Pilling of the People, have been the principall Finders, Occasioners, and Counsellors of the Mis-rule and Mischiefe now reigning in England.

Wee remembering these Premisses, with the great & execrable Offences daily committed and done by Our foresaid great Enemy, and his

his Adherents, in breaking the Liberties and Franchises of Our Mother the Holy Church, upon pretences of Wicked and Heathenish Policie, to the high displeasure of Almighty GOD; besides the manifold Treasons, abominable Murthers, Manslaughters, Robberies, Extortions, the daily Pilling of the People, by Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, & other unlawful Impositions, and grievous Exactions, with many other hainous Effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole Realme; shall by Gods Grace, and the help and assistance of the great Lords of our Bloud, with the counsell of other sad Persons, see that the Commodities of Our Realme be employed to the most advantage of the same; the intercourse of Merchandise betwixt Realm and Realm, to be ministred and handled, as shall more bee to the Common weale and prosperity of Our Subjects; and all such Dismes, Taxes, Tallages, Benevolences, unlawfull Impositions, and grievous Exactions, as be above rehearsed to be fore-done and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as Our noble Progenitors, Kings of England, have of old time bin accustomed to have the aide, succour, and help of their Subjects & true Liege-men.

And further, We doe out of Our Grace and Clem-

Clemency, hereby as well publish & promise to all Our Subjects Remission and free Pardon of all By-past Offences whatsoever, against Our Person, or Estate, in adhering to Our said Enemy, by whom (Wee know well) they have bin mis-led, if they shall within time convenient submit themselves unto Us. And for such as shall come with the foremost, to assist Our Righteous Quarrell, We shall make them so far partakers of Our Princely Favour and Bounty, as shall be highly for the Comfort of them and theirs, both during their Life, and after their death. As also Wee shall by all means, which GOD shall put into Our hands, demeane Our selves to give Royall contentment to all Degrees and Estates of Our People, maintaining the Liberties of Holy Church in their Entire, preserving the Honours, Priviledges, and Preheminences of Our Nobles, from contempt or disparagement, according to the dignity of their Bloud. We shall also unyoke Our People from all hea-vie Burthens and Endurances, and confirm Our Cities, Boroughs, and Towns in their Charters and Freedoms, with enlargement, where it shalbe deserved; & in all points give our Subjects cause to thinke, that the blessed & debonaire Government of our noble Father K. EDWARD (in his last times) is in Us revived.

And

And for as much as the putting to death, or taking alive of Our said Mortal Enemy, may bee a meane to stay much effusion of Bloud, which otherwise may ensue, if by Compulsion or faire Promises, he shall draw after him any number of Our Subjects to resist Us, which We desire to avoid (though We be certainly informed, that Our said Enemy is purposed & prepared to flye the Land, having already made over great Masses of the Treasure of Our Crown, the better to support him in Forrain Parts) We do hereby declare, That whosoever shall take or distress Our said Enemy (though the Party be of never so mean a Condition) hee shall be by Us rewarded with a Thousand Pound in Mony, forthwith to bee laid downe to him, and an Hundred Markes by the yeare of Inheritance; besides that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all good People, for the destruction of such a Tyrant.

Lastly, Wee doe all men to wit, and herein We take also God to witnesse, That whereas GOD hath moved the Heart of Our Dearest Cousin, the King of Scotland, to aide Us in Person, in this Our righteous Quarrell; it is altogether without any Pact or Promise, or so much as demand of any thing, that may prejudice Our Crown, or Subjects: But contrari-

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wise with promise on our said Cousins part, that whensoever hee shall find us in sufficient strength to get the upper hand of our Enemy, (which we hope will be very suddenly) he will forthwith peaceably return into his own Kingdome; contenting himselfe onely with the glorie of so Honourable an Enterprise, and our true and faithfull Love and Amitie, which wee shall ever (by the Grace of Almighty God) so order, as shall be to the great comfort of both Kingdomes.

BUT PERKINS Proclamation did little edifie with the people of England; neither was hee the better welcome for the company hee came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to PERKIN, nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his enterprise into a Rode; and wasted and destroyed the Countrie of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were Forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his Men heave and laden with booty, hee returned into Scotland with great Spoiles, deferring further prosecution, till another time. It is said, that PERKIN acting the part of a Prince handsomely, when hee saw the Scottish fell to waste the Countrie, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, That that might not be the manner of making the Warre; for that no Crowne was so deare to his mind, as that hee desired to purchase it with the bloud and ruine of his COUNTRY. Whereunto the King answered half in sport, that he doubted much, hee was carefull for that that was none of his, and that

that he should be too good a Steward for his Enemy, to save the Countrie to his use.

By this time, beeing the Eleventh yeare of the King, the Interruption of Trade betweene the English and the Flemish, began to pinch the Merchants of both Nations very sore. Which moved them, by all meanes they could devise, to affect and dispose their Sovereignes respectively, to open the Intercourse againe. Wherein, time favoured them. For the Arch-Duke and his Councell began to see, that PERKIN would prove but a Rumagate, and Citizen of the World; and that it was the part of children to fall out about Babies. And the King on his part, after the Attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, beganne to have the businesse of PERKIN in lesse estimation; so as he did not put it to accompt, in any Consultation of State. But that that moved him most, was, that beeing a King that loved Wealth and Treasure, he could not endure to have Trade sicke, nor any Obstruction to continue in the Gate-veine, which disperseth that bloud. And yet he kept State so farre, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the Merchant-Adventurers likewise, (beeing a strong Companie at that time, and well underfet with rich Men, and good order) did hold out bravely, taking off the Commodities of the Kingdome, though they lay dead upon their hands for want of Vent. At the last, Commissioners met at London, to Treat. On the Kings part; Bishop FOXE Lord Privy Seale, Viscount Wells, KENDAL Prior of Saint J OHNS, WARHAM Master of the Rolles, who began to gaine much upon the Kings opinion; URSWICK, who was almost ever one; and RISELY. On the Arch-Dukes part, the Lord BEVERS his Admirall, the Lord VERUNSEL President of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect Treatie, both of Amitie and Intercourse,

course, betweene the King and the Arch-Duke; Contayning Articles both of State, Commerce, and Free-Fishing. This is that Treatie, which the Flemmings call at this day, *Intercursus Magnus*; both because it is more compleat, then the precedent Treaties, of the Third and Fourth yeares of the King: and chiefly to give it a difference, from the Treatie that followed in the One and twentieth yeare of the King: which they call *Intercursus Malus*. In this Treatie, there was an expresse Article against the Reception of the Rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, that if any such Rebell should be required by the Prince whose Rebell he was, of the Prince Confederate, that forthwith the Prince Confederate should by Proclamation command him to avoide the Countrey. Which if he did not within fifteen daies, the Rebell was to stand proscribed, and put out of Protection. But neverthelesse in this Article, PERKIN was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no Rebell. But by this meanes his wings were clipt off his Followers, that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the Treatie, that it should extend to the Territories of the Duchesse Dowager. After the Intercourse thus restored, The English Merchants came againe to their Mansion at Antwerpe, where they were received with Profession and great Joy.

The Winter following, being the Twelfth yeare of his reigne, The King called againe his Parliament: Where he did much exaggerate both the Malice, and the cruell Predatorie Warre lately made by the King of Scotland; That that King, being in Amitie with him, and no wayes provoked, should so burne in hatred towards him, as to drinke of the Lees and Dregges of PERKINS Intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded. And that when he perceived it was out of his reach, to doe the King any hurt, he

he had turned his Armes upon unarmed and unprovided People, to spoile only and depopulate, contrary to the Lawes both of War and Peace: Concluding, that he could neither with Honour, nor with the safety of his People, to whom he did owe Protection, let passe these wrongs unrevenged. The Parliament understood him well, and gave him a Subsidie, limited to the summe of one hundred and twentie thousand Pounds, besides two Fifteenes. For his Wars were alwaies to him as a Mine of Treasure, of a strange kind of Ore, Iron at the top, and Gold and Silver at the bottome. At this Parliament (for that there had been so much time spent in making Lawes the yeere before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish War) there were no Lawes made to be remembred. Onely there passed a Law, at the Sute of the Merchant-Adventurers of England, against the Merchant-Adventurers of London, for Monopolizing and exacting upon the Trade: Which it seemeth they did, a litle to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of Trade. But those Innovations were taken away by Parliament.

But it was fatall to the King, to fight for his money. And though he avoyded to fight with Enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with Rebels at home. For no sooner began the Subsidie to be levied in Cornewall, but the people there began to grudge and murmure. The Cornish being a Race of Men, stout of stomacke, mighty of body and limme, and that lived hardly in a barren Country, and many of them could (for a neede) live under ground, that were Tanners; they muttered extreemely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a litle stirre of the Scots, soon blowne over, they should be thus grinded to Powder with Payments: And said, it was for them to pay, that had too much, and lived idly. But they

they would eat the bread they got with the sweat of their brows, & no man should take it from them. And as in the *Tides* of *People* once up, there want not commonly stirring *Winds* to make them more rough: So this *People* did light upon two *King-leaders*, or *Captaines* of the *Rout*. The one was one MICHAEL JOSEPH, a *Black-smith* or *Farrier* of *Bodmin*; a notable talking Fellow, and no lesse desirous to be talked of. The other was THOMAS FLAMMOCKE, a *Lawyer*; who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion, that the *Law* was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, & as if he could tell how to make a *Rebellion*, and never breake the *Peace*. He told the *People*, that *Subsidies* were not to be granted nor levied in this case; that is, for *Warres* of *Scotland* (for that the *Law* had provided another course, by service of *Escuage*, for those *Journies*) much lesse when all was quiet, and *War* was made but a *Pretence* to poll and pill the *People*: And therefore that it was good, they should not stand now like *sheepe* before the *Shearers*, but put on *Harnesse*, and take weapons in their hands: Yet to doe no creature hurt, but goe and deliver the King a *Strong Petition*, for the laying downe of those grievous *Payments*, and for the punishment of those that had given him that *Counsel*, to make others beware how they did the like in time to come: And said, for his part he did not see how they could doe the duty of true *English-men*, and good *Liege-men*, except they did deliver the King from such wicked Ones that would destroy both Him and the *Countrey*. Their ayne was at *Arch-Bishop* MORTON, and Sir REGINALD BRAY, who were the Kings *Skreens* in this *Envy*.

After that these two, FLAMMOCKE and the *Black-smith*, had, by joynt and severall *Pratings*, found tokens

tokens of consent in the *Multitude*, they offered themselves to lead them, untill they should heare of better men to be their *Leaders*, which they said would be ere long: Telling them further, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger, but doubted not but to make both the *West-end* & the *East-end* of *England* to meete in so good a *Quarrell*; and that all (rightly understood) was but for the Kings service. The *People*, upon these seditious *Instigations*, did arme (most of them with *Bowes*, and *Arrowes*, and *Bills*, and such other Weapons of rude and *Countrey* *People*) and forthwith under the *Command* of their *Leaders* (which in such cases is ever at pleasure), marched out of *Cornwall*, through *Devonshire*, unto *Taunton* in *Somersetshire*, without any slaughter, violence, or spoyle of the *Countrey*. At *Taunton* they killed, in furie, an officious & eager *Commissioner* for the *Subsidie*, whom they called the *Provost* of *Perin*. Thence they marched to *Wells*: where the Lord AUDLEY (with whom their *Leaders* had, before, some secret *Intelligence*) a Noble-man of an ancient *Family*, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to Ruine, came in to them, and was by them (with great gladnesse and cries of Joy) accepted as their *Generall*; they beeing now proud, that they were led by a *Noble-man*. The Lord AUDLEY ledde them on from *Wells* to *Salisbury*, and from *Salisbury* to *Winchester*. Thence the foolish people, who (in effect) led their *Leaders*, had a mind to be led into *Kent*; fancying, that the people there would joyne with them, contrary to all reason or judgement; considering, the *Kentish-men* had shewed great *Loyaltie* and *Affection* to the King so lately before. But the rude *People* had heard FLAMMOCKE say, that *Kent* was never Conquered, and that they were the freest *People* of *England*. And, upon these vaine *Noises*, they looked for great matters at their hands, in

in a cause which they conceited to be for the libertie of the *Subject*. But when they were come into *Kent*, the Countrey was so well settled, both by the Kings late kinde usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the *Earle of Kent*, the *Lord ABERGAVENNIE*, and the *Lord COBHAM*, as neither *Gentleman* nor *Yeoman* came in to their aide; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort: Inſomuch, as divers of them did ſecretly fly from the *Army*, and went home. But the ſturdier ſort, and thoſe that were moſt engaged, ſtood by it, and rather waxed *Proud*, than failed in *Hopes* and *Courage*. For as it did ſomewhat appall them, that the people came not in to them; ſo it did no leſſe encourage them, that the Kings *Forces* had not ſet upon them, having marched from the *West* unto the *East* of *England*. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon *Blackebeth*, betweene *Greenwich* and *Eltham*; threatning either to bid *Battell* to the King (for now the Seas went higher then to *MORTON*, and *BRAIE*) or to take *London* within his view, imagining with themſelves, there to finde no leſſe *Feare*, then *Wealth*.

But to returne to the King. When firſt he heard of this *Commotion* of the *Cornish-men* occaſioned by the *Subſidie*, he was much troubled therewith: Not for it ſelfe, but in regard of the Concurrence of other *Dangers*, that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted leaſt a *Warre* from *Scotland*, a *Rebellion* from *Cornwall*, and the *Practices* and *Conſpiracies* of *PERKIN* and his *Partakers*, would come upon him at once; Knowing well, that it was a dangerous *Triplicitie* to a *Monarchie*, to have the *Armes* of a *Forreiner*, the *Discontents* of *Subjects*, and the *Title* of a *Pretender*, to meete. Nevertheleſſe, the *Occaſion* tooke him in ſome part well provided. For as ſoone as the *Parliament* had broken up, the King had preſently rayſed a
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puiſſant *Armie*, to *Warre* upon *Scotland*. And King *JAMES* of *Scotland* likewise, on his part, had made great preparations either for defence, or for new aſſayling of *England*. But as for the Kings *Forces*, they were not onely in preparation, but in readineſſe preſently to ſet forth, under the Conduct of *DABENEY*, the *Lord Chamberlaine*. But as ſoone as the King underſtood of the *Rebellion* of *Cornwall*, hee ſtayed thoſe *Forces*, retaining them for his owne ſervice and ſafetie. But therewithall hee diſpatched the *Earle of Surrey* into the *North*, for the defence and ſtrength of thoſe Parts, in caſe the *Scots* ſhould ſtirre. But for the courſe hee held towards the *Rebels*, it was utterly differing from his former cuſtome, and practice; which was ever full of forwardneſſe and celeritie, to make head againſt them, or to ſet upon them as ſoone as ever they were in *Action*. This hee was wont to doe. But now, beſides that he was attempered by *Yeeres*, and leſſe in love with *Dangers*, by the continued Fruition of a *Crowne*; it was a time when the various appearance to his *Thoughts* of *Perrils* of ſeverall *Nature*, and from divers *Parts*, did make him judge it his beſt and ſureſt way, to keepe his Strength together, in the *Seate* and *Centre* of his *Kingdome*. According to the ancient *Indian Embleme*; in ſuch a ſwelling *Seaſon*, To hold the hand upon the middle of the *Bladder*, that no ſide might riſe. Beſides, there was no neceſſitie put upon him, to alter this Counſell. For neither did the *Rebels* ſpoyle the *Countrey*; in which caſe it had beene diſhonour to abandon his *People*: Neither on the other ſide, did their *Forces* gather or encrease, which might haſten him to precipitate and aſſayle them, before they grew too ſtrong. And laſtly, both *Reason* of *Eſtate* and *Warre* ſeemed to agree with this courſe; For that *Inſurrections* of baſe *People* are commonly more furious
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in their Beginnings. And by this meanes also he had them the more at *Vantage*, being tyred and harrassed with a long march; and more at *Mercie*, being cut off farre from their *Countrie*, and therefore not able by any sudden flight to get to *Retrait*, and to renew the *Troubles*.

When therefore the *Rebels* were encamped on *Blacke-Heath*, upon the *Hill*, whence they might behold the *Citie of London*, and the faire *Valley* about it: the King knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to dispatch with them, that it might appeare to have bene no *Coldnesse* in foreflowing, but *Wisedome* in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assaile them, and yet with that *Providence*, and *Suretie*, as should leave little to *Venture* or *Fortune*. And having very great and puissant *Forces* about him, the better to master all *Events* and *Accidents*, hee divided them into three parts. The first was led by the *Earle of Oxford* in chiefe, assisted by the *Earles of Essex* and *Suffolke*. These *Noblemen* were appointed, with some *Cornets of Horse*, and *Bands of Foot*, and good store of *Artillerie* wheeling about to put themselves beyond the *Hill*, where the *Rebels* were encamped; and to beset all the *Skirts* and *Descents* thereof, except those that lay towards *London*, whereby to have these *Wilde Beasts* (as it were) in a *Toyle*. The second part of his *Forces* (which were those that were to bee most in *Action*, and upon which he relyed most for the *Fortune* of the *Day*) hee did assigne to bee ledde by the *Lord Chamberlaine*, who was appointed to set upon the *Rebels* in *Front*, from that side which is toward *London*. The third part of his *Forces* (being likewise great and brave *Forces*) he retained about himselfe, to be ready, upon all *Events*, to restore the *Fight*, or

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consummate the *Victorie*; and meane while, to secure the *Citie*. And for that purpose hee encamped in Person in *Saint GEORGES Fields*, putting himselfe betweene the *Citie* and the *Rebels*. But the *Citie of London* (specially at the first) upon the neare encamping of the *Rebels*, was in great *Tumult*: As it useth to bee with wealthy and populous *Cities* (especially those, which, for greatnesse and fortune, are *Queenes* of their *Regions*) who seldome see out of their *Windowes*, or from their *Towers*, an *Armie* of enemies. But that which troubled them most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a *Rout* of *People*, with whom there was no *Composition*, or *Condition*, or orderly *Treating*, if need were; but likely to be bent altogether upon *Rapine* and *Spoyle*. And although they had heard that the *Rebels* had behaved themselves quietly and modestly, by the way as they went; yet they doubted much, that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite, to fall upon spoyle in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of *People*, some to the *Gates*, some to the *Walles*, some to the *Water-side*; giving themselves *Alarmes*, and *Panick fears* continually. Neverthelesse, both *TATE* the *Lord Maior*, and *SHAW*, and *HADDON*, the *Sheriffs*, did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the *People*. And the King likewise did adjoyne some *Captains* of experience in the *Warres*, to advise and assist the *Citizens*. But soone after, when they understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the *Rebels* must winne three *Battells*, before they could approach the *Citie*, and that he had put his own *Person* betweene the *Rebels* and them, and that the great care was rather how to impound the *Rebels*, that none of them might escape, then that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of feare.

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The rather, for the confidence they reposed (which was not small) in the three Leaders, OXFORD, ESSEX, and DAWBENEY; All, men famed and loved amongst the People. As for JASPER Duke of Bedford, whom the King used to employ with the first in his Wars, he was then sick, and dyed soone after.

It was the two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday (which was the Day of the weeke the King fancied) when the Battaile was fought; though the King had, by all the Art he could devise, given out a false Day, as if he prepared to give the Rebels Battaile on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The Lords, that were appointed to circle the Hill, had some daies before planted themselves (as at the Receipt) in places convenient. In the afternoon towards the decline of the day (which was done, the better to keep the Rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day) the Lord DAWBENEY marched on towards them, & first beat some Troups of them from Detford-bridge, where they fought manfully: But being in no great number were soon driven back, and fled up to their maine Army upon the Hill. The Army, at that time hearing of the approach of the Kings Forces, were putting themselves in Array, not without much Confusion. But neither had they placed upon the first high-ground towards the Bridge, any Forces to second the Troupes below, that kept the Bridge; neither had they brought forwards their Main Battaile (which stood in array farre into the Heath) near to the ascent of the Hill. So that the Earle with his Forces mounted the Hill, and recovered the Plaine, without resistance. The Lord DAWBENEY charged them with great fury; Infomuch, as it had like (by accident) to have branded the Fortune of the Day. For, by inconsiderate Forwardnesse in fighting in the head of his Troupes, he

he was taken by the Rebels; but, immediately rescued, & delivered. The Rebels maintained the Fight for a small time, & for their Persons shewed no want of courage: but being ill armed, & ill led, and without Horse or Artillerie, they were with no great difficultie cut in peeces, and put to flight. And for their three Leaders; the Lord AUDLEY, the Black-smith, and FLAMMOCKE, (as, commonly the Captaines of Commotions are but halfe-couraged Men) suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slaine on the Rebels part, were some two thousand Men, their Arme amounting (as it is said) unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were (in effect) all taken; for that the Hill, as was said, was encompassed with the Kings Forces round about. On the Kings part there dyed about three hundred; most of them shot with Arrowes, which were reported to be of the length of a Taylors yard: So strong and mighty a Bow the Cornish-men were said to draw.

The Victorie thus obtained, the King created divers Bannerets, as well upon Black-beath, where his Lieutenent had wonne the Field (whither hee rode in Person to performe the said Creation) as in Saint GEORGES Fields, where his owne Person had bin encamped. And for matter of Liberalitie, he did (by open Edict) give the goods of all the Prisoners, unto those that had taken them; either to take them in Kinde, or compound for them as they could. After matter of Honour and Liberalitie, followed matter of Severitie and Execution. The Lord AUDLEY was led from New-gate to Tower-hill, in a Paper Coate painted with his owne Armes; the Armes reversed, the Coate torne, and he at Tower-hill beheaded. FLAMMOCKE, and the Black-smith were hanged, drawne, and quartered at Tiburne; The Black-smith taking pleasure upon the Hurdle (as it seemeth by words

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that hee uttered) to thinke that hee should be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent downe FLAMMOCKE, and the Blacksmith, to have beene executed in *Cornwall*, for the more terrour. But, being advertised, that the Country was yet unquiet and boyling, hee thought better not to irritate the People further. All the rest were pardoned by Proclamation, and to take out their Pardons under Seale, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the Field, the King did satisfie himselfe with the lives of onely three Offenders, for the expiation of this great Rebellion.

It was a strange thing, to observe the varietie and inequality of the Kings Executions and Pardons. And a man would think it, at the first, a kinde of Lottery or Chance. But, looking into it more nearely, one shall find there was reason for it; much more perhaps than (after so long a distance of time) wee can now discern. In the *Kentish Commotion* (which was but an handfull of men) there were executed to the number of one hundred and fiftie; and, in this so mighty a Rebellion, but three: Whether it were, that the King put to accompt the men that were slaine in the Field: or that he was not willing to be severe in a popular Cause; or that the harmelesse behaviour of this People (that came from the West of England, to the East, without mischief almost, or spoyle of the Country) did somewhat mollifie him, & move him to Compassion; or lastly, that he made a great difference betweene People, that did Rebell upon Wantonnesse, and them that did rebell upon Want.

After the *Cornish-men* were defeated, there came from *Calice* to the King, an honourable Ambassage from the *French King*, which had arrived at *Calice* a Moneth before, & there was stayed in respect of the troubles; but honourably entertained and defrayed.

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The King, at their first comming, sent unto them, & prayed them to have patience, till a little *Smoake*, that was raised in his Country, were over; which would soon be: Slighting (as his manner was) that openly, which neverthelesse he intended seriously.

This Ambassage concerned no great Affaire; but onely the Prolongation of Dayes for payment of Monies, & some other Particulars of the Frontiers. And it was (indeed) but a wooing Ambassage, with good respects to entertaine the King in good affection: but nothing was done, or handled, to the derogation of the Kings late Treatie with the *Italians*.

But, during the time that the *Cornish-men* were in their march towards *London*, the King of *Scotland* (well advertised of all that passed, & knowing himselfe sure of War from *England*, whensoever those Stirs were appeased) neglected not his opportunity; But, thinking the King had his hands full, entred the Frontiers of *England* againe with an Army, and besieged the Castle of *Norham* in Person, with part of his Forces, sending the rest to Forrage the Country. But *Fox*, Bishop of *Duresme* (a wise man, and one that could see through the Present, to the Future) doubting as much before, had caused his Castle of *Norham* to be strongly fortified, & furnished, with all kind of Munition: And had manned it likewise, with a very great number of tall Souldiers, more then for the proportion of the Castle; reckoning rather upon a sharpe Assault, than a long Siege. And for the Country likewise, hee had caused the People to withdraw their Cattell and Goods into Fast Places, that were not of easie approach; and sent in post to the Earle of *Surrey* (who was not farre off, in *Yorkshire*) to come in diligence to the Succour. So as the *Scottish King* both failed of doing good upon the Castle, and his men had but a Catching Harvest of their Spoyles. And when

when he understood, that the Earle of Surrey was comming on with great Forces, hee returned backe into Scotland. The Earle finding the Castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celeritie into Scotland; hoping to have over-taken the Scottish King, and to have given him Battaille; But not attaining him in time, sate down before the Castle of Aton (one of the strongest places, then esteemed, betweene Berwick and Edenburgh) which in a small time hee tooke. And soone after, the Scottish King retiring further into his Country, and the weather being extraordinary foule and stormie, the Earle returned into England. So that the Expeditions on both parts were (in effect) but a Castle taken, and a Castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the Forces, nor to the heat of the Quarrell, nor to the greatnesse of the Expectation.

Amongst these Troubles both Civill and Externall, came into England from Spaine PETER HIALAS, some call him ELIAS (surely he was the fore-runner of the good Hap, that wee enjoy at this day. For his Ambassage set the Truce betweene England and Scotland; the Truce drew on the Peace; the Peace the Marriage; and the Marriage the Union of the Kingdomes) a Man of great wisdome, and (as those times were) not unlearned; sent from FERDINANDO and ISABELLA Kings of Spaine unto the King, to treat a Marriage betweene KATHERINE their second daughter, and Prince ARTHUR. This Treatie was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some Conference which hee had with the King touching this businesse, the King (who had a great dexterity in getting sodainely into the bosome of Ambassadors of foreine Princes, if he liked the men; Inso much as he would many times communicate with them of his owne

owne affaires, yea and employ them in his service) fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the Debates and differences with Scotland. For the King naturally did not love the barren Wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the Noise of them. And he wanted not in the Counsell of Scotland those that would advise their King to meet him at the halfe way, & to give over the War with England, pretending to be good Patriots, but indeed favouring the affaires of the King. Onely his heart was too great to beginne with Scotland for the motion of Peace. On the other side, he had met with an Allie of FERDINANDO of Arragon, as fit for his turne as could be. For after that King FERDINANDO had, upon assured Confidence of the Marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a Fraternal Allie to the King, he would not let (in a Spanish gravitie) to counsell the King in his own affaires. And the King on his part not being wanting to himselfe, but making use of every mans humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the Counsell of FERDINANDO. Wherefore he was content that HIALAS (as in a matter moved and advised from HIALAS himselfe) should goe into Scotland, to treat of a Concord between the two Kings. HIALAS tooke it upon him: and comming to the Scottish King, after hee had with much Art brought King JAMES to hearken to the more safe and quiet Counsells, wrote unto the King, that hee hoped that Peace would with no great difficultie cement and close, if he would send some wise & temperate Counsellour of his own, that might treat of the Conditions. Whereupon the King directed Bishop FOX (who at that time was at his Castle of Norham) to conferre with HIALAS, and they both to treat with some

some Commissioners, deputed from the Scottish King. The Commissioners on both sides met. But after much dispute upon the Articles and Conditions of Peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a Peace. The chiefe Impediments thereof was the demand of the King, to have PERKIN delivered into his hands, as a Reproach to all Kings, and a Person not protected by the Law of Nations. The King of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to doe, saying, That he (for his part) was no Competent Judge of PERKIN'S Title: But that he had received him as a Suppliant, protected him as a Person fled for Refuge, espoused him with his Kinswoman, and aided him with his Armes, upon the believe that he was a Prince; And therefore that he could not now with his Honour so unrip, and (in a sort) put a Lye upon all that hee had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his Enemies. The Bishop likewise (who had certaine proud instructions from the King, at the least in the Front, though there were a pliant clause at the Foote, that remitted all to the Bishops discretion, and required him by no means to breake off in ill tearmes) after that hee had failed to obaine the deliverie of PERKIN, did move a second point of his Instructions; which was, that the Scottish King, would give the King an Enterview in Person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish King, his answer was; That hee meant to treat a Peace, and not to goe a begging for it. The Bishop also (according to another Article of his Instructions) demanded Restitution of the Spoyles taken by the Scottish, or Damages for the same. But the Scottish Commissioners answered; That that was but as Water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up againe; and that the Kings People were better able to beare the losse, than their Master to repaire it. But in the end (as Persons capable of reason)

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on both sides they made rather a kinde of Recess, then a Breach of Treaty, and concluded upon a Truce for some moneths following. But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgement of PERKIN, wherein he had engaged himselfe so farre, yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the English-men, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a Counterfeit. Wherefore in a Noble fashion he called him unto him, & recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him, in making him his Allie, and in provoking a Mighty and Opulent King by an Offensive Warre in his Quarrell, for the space of two yeeres together. Nay more, that he had refused an Honourable Peace, whereof he had a faire Offer, if he would have delivered him; and that to keepe his promise with him, hee had deeply offended both his Nobles and People, whom hee might not hold in any long discontent. And therefore required him to thinke of his owne Fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his Exile: Telling him withall, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that upon two severall Trials, none had declared themselves on his side. But neverthelesse he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was; That hee should not repent him, for putting himselfe into his hands; For that he would not cast him off, but helpe him with Shipping and meanes, to transport him where he should desire. PERKIN, not descending at all from his Stage-like Greatnesse, answered the King in few words; That hee saw his time was not yet come; But whatsoever his Fortunes were, hee should both thinke & speake Honour of the King. Taking his leave, he would not thinke on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him, since the Treatie of the Arch-Duke concluded the yeare before;

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but tooke his *Ladie*, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into *Ireland*.

This Twelfth yeere of the King, a little before this time, *Pope ALEXANDER* (who loved best those *Princes* that were furthest off, & with whom he had least to doe) taking very thankfully the Kings late entrance into *League*, for the defence of *Italy*, did remunerate him with an *Hallowed-Sword*, and *Cap-of-Maintenance* sent by his *Nuncio*. *Pope INNOCENT* had done the like, but it was not received in that *Glory*. For the King appointed the *Maio*r and his *Brethren* to meet the *Popes Orator* at *London-Bridge*, and all the *Streets* between the *Bridge-foote* and the *Palace of Paules* (where the King then lay) were garnished with the *Citizens*, standing in their *Liveries*. And the *Morrow* after (being *All-hallowes day*) the King, attended with many of his *Prelates*, *Nobles*, and *Principall Courtiers*, went in *Proceffion* to *Paules*, and the *Cap and Sword* were borne before him. And after the *Proceffion*, the King himselfe remaining seated in the *Quire*, the *Lord Archbishop* upon the greece of the *Quire*, made a long *Oration*, setting forth the greatness and *Eminency* of that *Honour*, which the *Pope* (in these *Ornaments* and *Ensignes of Benediction*) had done the King, and how rarely, and upon what high deserts they used to be bestowed. And then recited the Kings principall *Acts & Merits*, which had made him appeare worthy in the eyes of his *Holinesse* of this great *Honour*.

All this while the *Rebellion* of *Cornewall* (whereof wee have spoken) seemed to have no relation to *PERKIN*; save that perhaps *PERKINS Proclamation* had stricken upon the right *Veine*, in promising to lay downe *Exactions & Payments*, & so had made them now and then have a *Kind-thought* on *PERKIN*. But now these *Bubbles* by much stirring began to meet, as they

they use to doe upon the top of *Water*. The Kings lenitie (by that time the *Cornish Rebels*, who were taken and pardoned, and (as it was said) many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a peece, were come downe into their *Country*) had rather imboldened them, then reclaymed them: Insomuch, as they stucke not to say to their *Neighbours* and *Country-men*, that *The King did well to pardon them, for that he knew hee should leave few Subjects in England, if hee hanged all that were of their minde*: And began whetting and inciting one another to renew the *Commotion*. Some of the subtillest of them, hearing of *PERKINS* being in *Ireland*, found meanes to send to him, to let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When *PERKIN* heard this *Newes*, hee began to take heart againe, and advised upon it with his *Councell*, which were principally three, *HERNE* a *Mercer*, that had fled for *Debt*; *SKELTON* a *Taylor*, and *ASTLEY* a *Scrivener*: for, *Secretarie FRION* was gone. These told him, that hee was mightily overseene, both when he went into *Kent*, and when hee went into *Scotland*. The one being a place so neare *London*, and under the Kings *Nose*; and the other a *Nation* so distastd with the *People of England*, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that *Company*. But if he had been so happy, as to have been in *Cornewall* at the first, when the *People* began to take *Armes* there, hee had beene crowned at *Westminster* before this time. For, these Kings (as he had now experience) would sell poore *Princes* for shoes: But he must rely wholly upon *People*; and therefore advised him to sayle over with all possible speede into *Cornewall*. Which, accordingly he did; having in his *Company*

four small *Barks*, with some six score or seven score fighting men. Hee arrived in September at *Whit sand-Bay*; and forthwith came to *Bochmin*, the *Black-smiths Towne*: Where there assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude People. There he set forth a new *Proclamation*, stroaking the People with faire Promises, and humouring them with *Invectives* against the King and his *Government*. And, as it fareth with *Smoak*, that never loseth it selfe till it be at the highest; hee did now before his end raise his *Stile*, intituling himself no more *RICHARD, Duke of Yorke*; but *RICHARD the Fourth, King of England*. His *Councell* advised him, by all meanes, to make himselfe *Master* of some good walled *Towne*; as well to make his Men find the sweetnesse of rich *Spoiles*, and to allure to him all loose and lost *People*, by like hopes of *Bootie*; as to be a sure *Retrait* to his *Forces*, in case they should have any ill *Day*, or unluckie *Chance* in the *Field*. Wherefore they tooke heart to them, and went on, and besieged the *Citie of Excester*, the principall *Towne* for *Strength* and *Wealth* in those *Parts*.

When they were comne before *Excester*, they forbare to use any *Force* at the first; but made continuall *Shouts* and *Out-cries*, to terrifie the *Inhabitants*. They did likewise in divers places call and talke to them from under the *Walls*, to joyne with them, and be of their *Partie*, telling them, that the King would make them another *London*, if they would bee the first *Towne* that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, *Agents* or *chosen Men*, to tempt them, and to treat with them. The *Citizens* on their part shewed themselves stout and loyall *Subjects*. Neither was there so much as any *Tumult* or *Division* amongst them: but all prepared themselves for a valiant *Defence*, and making good

good the *Towne*. For, well they saw, that the *Rebells* were of no such *Number* or *Power*, that they needed to feare them as yet: and well they hoped, that before their *Numbers* encreased, the Kings *Succours* would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extreamest of *Evils*, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and disorderly *People*. Wherefore, setting all things in good order within the *Towne*, they nevertheless let down with *Cords*, from severall parts of the *Walls* privily, severall *Messengers* (that, if one came to mischance, another might passe on) which should advertise the King of the State of the *Towne*, and implore his aide. *PERKIN* also doubted, that *Succours* would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use his utmost *Force* to assault the *Towne*: And for that purpose, having mounted *Scaling-Ladders* in diverse places upon the *Walls*, made at the same instant an *Attempt* to force one of the *Gates*. But, having no *Artillery* nor *Engines*, and finding that he could doe no good by ramming with *Logges* of *Timber*, nor by the use of *Iron Barres* and *Iron Crowes*, and such other meanes at hand, he had no way left him, but to set one of the *Gates* on fire: which he did. But the *Citizens*, well perceiving the *Danger*, before the *Gate* could be fully consumed, blocked up the *Gate*, and some space about it on the inside, with *Fagots* and other *Fuell*: which they likewise set on fire, and so repulsed fire with fire. And, in the meane time, raised up *Rampiers* of earth, and cast up deep *Trenches*, to serve in stead of *Wall* and *Gate*. And for the *Escaladaes*, they had so bad successe, as the *Rebels* were driven from the *Walls*, with the losse of two hundred men.

The King, when he heard of *PERKIN*'s *Siege* of *Excester*, made sport with it, and said to them that were about him, that *The King of Rake-hells* was landed in the *West*, and that hee hoped now to have the honour

to see him, which he could never yet doe. And it appeared plainly to those that were about the King, that hee was indeed much joyed with the news of PERKINS being in *English Ground*, where he could have no retreat by Land; thinking now, that he should be cured of those privy *Stitches*, which he had long had about his *Heart*, and had sometimes broken his *Sleeps* in the middest of all his felicity. And, to set all mens hearts on fire, he did by all possible meanes let it appear, that those, who should now doe him service to make an end of these troubles, should be no lesse accepted of him, then he that came upon the *Eleventh Houre*, and had the whole *Wages* of the *Day*. Therefore now (like the end of a *Play*) a great number came upon the *Stage* at once. He sent the *Lord Chamberlaine*, and the *Lord BROOK*, and *Sir RICE AP THOMAS*, with expedite Forces to speed to *Excester*, to the Rescue of the *Towne*, and to spread the Fame of his owne following in Person with a *Royall Army*. The *Earle of Devonshire*, and his Son, with the *CAROES*, and the *FULFORDES*, and other principall Persons of *Devonshire* (uncalled from the *Court*, but hearing that the Kings heart was so much bent upon this Service) made haste with *Troupes*, that they had raysted, to be the first that should succour the City of *Excester*, and prevent the Kings succours. The *Duke of Buckingham* likewise, with many brave *Gentlemen*, put themselves in *Arms*, not staying eyther the Kings, or the *Lord Chamberlaines* comming on, but making a Body of Forces of themselves, the more to indeare their merit, signifying to the King their readinesse, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the Proverbe, *In the comming downe, every Saint did helpe.*

PERKIN, hearing this Thunder of *Armes*, and Preparations against him from so many Parts, raised his

his *Siege*, and marched to *Taunton*; beginning already to squint one eye upon the *Crowne*, and another upon the *Sanctuary*: Though the *Cornish-men* were become, like *Metall* often fired and quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break then bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from *Excester* between six and seven thousand strong, many having come unto him, after he was set before *Excester*, upon fame of so great an *Enterprise*, and to partake of the *Spoyle*; Though upon the rayling of his *Siege*, some did slippe away. When he was come neere *Taunton*, he dissembled all feare, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight. But about Midnight, hee fled with threescore Horse to *Bewley* in the *New-Forrest*, where he and divers of his *Company* registered themselves *Sanctuary-men*, leaving his *Cornish-men* to the *Foure Windes*; But yet thereby easing them of their *Vow*, and using his wonted Compassion, *Not to bee by when his Subjects blond should be spilt.* The King, as soone as he heard of PERKINS Flight, sent presently five hundred Horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should get either to the *Sea*, or to that same little *Island*, called a *Sanctuary*. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could doe, was to beset the *Sanctuary*, and to maintaine a strong *Watch* about it, till the Kings pleasure were further knowne. As for the rest of the *Rebels*, they (being destituted of their head) without stroke stricken, submitted themselves unto the Kings Mercy. And the King, who commonly drew *Bloud* (as *Physicians* doe) rather to save life then to spill it, and was never *Cruell* when he was *Secure*; now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the end, except some few desperate persons which hee reserved

reserved to be executed, the better to set off his *Mercie* towards the rest. There were also sent with all speede some horse to Saint MICHAELS Mount in Cornwall, where the Ladie KATHERINE GORDON was left by her Husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved; adding the vertues of a *Wife*, to the vertues of her *Sexe*. The King sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with *Childe*; whereby the businesse would not have ended in PERKINS person. When she was brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King received her not onely with *Compassion*, but with *Affection*; *Pitie* giving more *Impression* to her excellent *Beautie*. Wherefore comforting her (to serve as well his *Eye*, as his *Fame*) he sent her to his *Queen*, to remain with her, giving her very honourable *Allowance* for the support of her *Estate*: which she enjoyed both during the Kings life, and many yeeres after. The name of the *White-Rose* (which had been given to her Husbands *False-Title*) was continued in common speech to her true *Beautie*.

The King went forward on his Journey, and made a joyfull entrance into *Excester*, where he gave the *Citizens* great commendations and thanks: and taking the *Sword* he wore, from his side, he gave it to the Maior, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he caused to be executed some of the *Ring-leaders* of the *Cornish-men*, in sacrifice to the *Citizens*, whom they had put in feare, and trouble. At *Excester* the King consulted with his *Councell*, whether he should offer life to PERKIN, if he would quit the *Sanctuarie*, and voluntarily submit himselfe. The *Councell* were divided in opinion. Some advised the King to take him out of *Sanctuarie* perforce, and to put him to death, as in a case of *Necessity*, which in it selfe dispenseth with *Consecrated Places* & things.

things. Wherein they doubted not also, but the King should finde the *Pope* tractable to ratifie his *Deed*, either by *Declaration*, or (at least) by *Indulgence*. Others were of opinion (since all was now safe, & no further hurt could be done) that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new *Scandall* and *Envy*. A third sort fell upon the opinion that it was not possible for the King ever, either to satisfie the world wel touching the *Imposure*, or to learn out the bottome of the *Conspiracy*, except by promise of *Life* and *Pardon*, and other faire meanes, he should get PERKIN into his hands. But they did all in their *Preambles* much bemoane the Kings Case, with a kind of *Indignation* at his *Fortune*; That a *Prince* of his high *Wisdom*e and *Vertue*, should have bin so long, and so oft exercised and vexed with *Idols*. But the King said, that it was the *Vexation* of *God Almighty* himselfe, to be vexed with *Idols*, and therefore that that was not to trouble any of his Friends. And that for himselfe, he alwayes despised them; but was grieved that they had put his *People* to such trouble and misery. But (in *Conclusion*) he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deale with PERKIN. Who seing himselfe Prisoner, and destitute of all hopes, having tried *Princes* and *People*, *Great* and *Small*, and found all either false, faint or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the *Condition*. The King did also (while he was at *Excester*) appoint the Lord DARCIE, and others, *Commissioners*, for the fining of all such, as were of any value, or had any hand or partaking in the aide or comfort of PERKIN or the *Cornish-men*, either in the *Field* or in the *Flight*.

These *Commissioners* proceeded with such strictnes & severity, as did much obscure the Kings mercy in sparing of *Bloud*, with the bleeding of so much *Treasure*. PERKIN was brought unto the Kings Court,

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but not to the Kings presence; though the King (to satisfy his *Curiosity*) saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in shew at libertie, but guarded with all care and watch that was possible, & willed to follow the King to *London*. But from his first appearance upon the *Stage*, in his new person of a *Sycophant* or *Jugler*, in stead of his former person of a *Prince*, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision, not only of the *Courtiers*, but also of the *Common-People* who flocked about him as he went a long, that one might know a farr off, where the *Owle* was by the *Flight* of *Birdes*. Some mocking, some wondring, some cursing, some prying and picking matter out of his Countenance and Gesture, to talke of. So that the false *Honour* and *Respects* which hee had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repayed in *Scorn* and *Contempt*. As soone as hee was come to *London*, the King gave also the *City* the solace of this *May-Game*. For he was conveighed leasurly on Horsebacke (but not in any ignominious fashion) through *Cheape-side*, & *Cornwall*, to the *Tower*; and from thence backe againe unto *Westminster*, with the *Churme* of a thousand taunts and reproches. But to amend the *Show*, there followed a little distance of *PERKIN*, an inward *Councillour* of his, One that had bin *Serjeant Farrier* to the King, This Fellow when *PERKIN* took *Sanctuary*, chose rather to take an *Holy-Habit*, than an *Holy Place*, and clad himselfe like an *Hermite*, and in that weede wandred about the *Country*, till he was discovered, and taken. But this Man was bound hand and foot upon the Horse, & came not backe with *PERKIN*, but was left at the *Tower*, and within few dayes after Executed. Soon after, now that *PERKIN* could tell better what himselfe was, he was diligently examined, & after his *Confession* taken, an *Extract* was made of such parts of them

as were thought fit to be divulged, which was Printed and dispersed abroad. Wherein the King did himselfe no Right. For as there was a laboured *Tale* of particulars, of *PERKIN* *Father*, and *Mother*, and *Grandfire*, and *Grand-mother*, and *Uncles*, and *Cosens*, by *Names* and *Sirnames*, & from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of any thing concerning his *Designes*, or any *Practises* that had bin held with him; nor the *Duchesse* of *Burgundy* herselfe (that all the World did take knowledge of, as the *Person* that had put *Life* & *Being* into the whole *Business*) so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, & were in more doubt then before. But the King chose rather not to satisfy, then to kindle *Coales*. At that time also it did not appeare by any new *Examinations* or *Commitments*, that any other *Person* of quality was discovered or appeached, though the Kings closeness made that a *Doubt-Dormant*.

About this time, a great *Fire* in the night time suddenly began at the Kings *Palace* of *Shyne*, neare unto the Kings own *Lodgings*, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly *Houhold-stuffe*; which gave the King occasion of Building from the ground that fine *Pile* of *Richmond*, which is now standing.

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable *Accident*. There was one *SEBASTIAN GABATO*, a *Venetian*, dwelling in *Bristow*, a man seene and expert in *Cosmography* and *Navigation*. This man seeing the successe, and emulating Perhaps the enterprise of *CHRISTOPHERUS COLUMBUS* in that fortunate discovery towards the *South-west*, which had been by him made some six yeares before; conceited with himselfe, that *Lands*

might likewise be discovered towards the *Northwest*. And surely it may be he had more firme and pregnant Conjectures of it, than COLUMBUS had of this at the first. For the two great *Islands* of the *Old* and *New world*, being (in the shape and making of them broad towards the *North*, & pointed towards the *South*; it is likely, that the discovery first beganne where the *Lands* did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discoverie of some *Lands*, which they tooke to be *Islands*, and were indeed the *Continent of America*, towards the *Northwest*. And it may bee, that some Relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of COLUMBUS, and by him suppressed, (desirous rather to make his Enterprise the *Childe* of his *Science* and *Fortune*, then the *Follower* of a former *Discoverie*) did give him better assurance that all was not *Sea*, from the *West* of *Europe* and *Affricke* unto *Asia*, then either *SENECA'S* *Prophecie*, or *PLATO'S* *Antiquities*, or the Nature of the *Tides*, and *Land-winds*, & the like, which were the *Conjectures* that were given out, whereupon hee should have relyed. Though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casuall and *wind-beaten Discoverie* (a little before) of a *Spanish Pilot*, who dyed in the house of COLUMBUS. But this *GABATO* bearing the King in hand, that he would find out an *Island* endued with rich *Commodities*, procured him to man and victuall a Ship at *Bristow*, for the discovery of that *Island*; With whom ventured also three small *Shippes* of *London-Merchants*, fraught with some grosse and sleight *Wares*, fit for Commerce with barbarous people. Hee sayled (as he affirmed at his Returne, and made a *Card* thereof) very farre *Westwards*, with a *Quarter* of the *North*, on the *North-side* of *Tierra de Labrador*, untill hee came to the *Latitude* of sixtie seven Degrees and an halfe, finding

finding the *Seas* still open. It is certaine also, that the *Kings Fortune* had a tender of that great *Empire* of the *West-Indies*. Neither was it a *Refusall* on the *Kings* part, but a *Delay* by accident, that put by so great an *Acquest*. For CHRISTOPHERUS COLUMBUS refused by the King of *Portugall* (who would not embrace at once both *East* and *West*) imploied his Brother BARTHOLOMEUS COLUMBUS unto King HENRY, to negotiate for his *Discovery*. And it so fortun'd, that he was taken by *Pirats* at *Sea*, by which accidentall impediment he was long ere he came to the King. So long, that before he had obtained a *Capitulation* with the King for his Brother, the Enterprise by him was atcheived, & so the *West-Indies* by *Providence* were then reserved for the *Crown* of *Castilia*. Yet this sharpened the King so, that not onely in this Voyage, but again in the Sixteenth year of his Raigne, and likewise in the Eighteenth thereof, he granted forth new *Commissions*, for the *Discovery* and investing of unknowne *Lands*.

In this Fourteenth yeare also (by *Gods* wonderfull providence that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great *Weights* upon small *Wyers*) there fell out a trifling and untoward Accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During the *Truce* with *Scotland*, there were certaine *Scottish young Gentlemen*, that came into *Norham Town*, and there made merrie with some of the *English* of the *Towne*. And having little to doe, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking upon the *Castle*. Some of the *Garrison* of the *Castle*, oblierving this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their mindes purged of the late ill blood of *Hostility*, either suspected them, or quarrelled them for *Spies*. Whereupon they fell at ill *Words*, and from *Words* to *Blowes*, so that many were wounded of either side, and the *Scottish-men* (beeing stran-

strangers in the *Town* had the worst. In so much as some of them were slaine, and the rest made haste home. The matter being complained on, and often debated before the *Wardens* of the *Marches* of both sides, and noe good order taken, the *King* of *Scotland* tooke it to himselfe, and being much kindled, sent a *Herald* to the king to make protestation, That if Reparation were not done, according to the Conditions of the *Truce*, his king did denounce *Warre*. The king (who had often tryed *Fortune*, and was inclined to *Peace*) made answer; That what had bin done, was utterly against his will, and without his *Privity*. But if the *Garrison-Souldiers* had bin in fault, he would see them punished, and the *Truce* in all poynts to be preserved. But this answer seemed to the *Scottish king* but a delay, to make the complaint breathe out with time, & therefore it did rather exasperate him, then satisfie him. *Bishop Fox*, understanding from the king, that the *Scottish king* was still discontent and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the *Truce* should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory Letters to the *Scottish King* to appease him. Whereupon King *JAMES*, mollified by the *Bishops* submisse and eloquent Letters, wrote back unto him; That though he were in part moved by his Letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him, as wel about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both *Kingdoms*. The *Bishop* advising first with the king, took his Journey for *Scotland*. The meeting was at *Melrosse*, an *Abbey* of the *Cestersians*, where the king then abode. The king first roundly uttered unto the *Bishop* his offence conceived for the insolent Breach of *Truce*, by his men of *Norham Castle*. Whereunto *Bishop Fox* made such an humble and smooth answer, as it was like *Oyle* into the

the wound, whereby it began to heale. And this was done in the presence of the King and his *Councell*. After, the King spake with the *Bishop* apart, and opened himselfe unto him, saying; That these temporary *Truces* and *Peaces* were soone made, and soone broken: But that he desired a straiter Amity with the King of *England*, discovering his mind; that if the King would give him in *Marriage*, the *Lady MARGARET*, his eldest *Daughter*, That indeed might bee a *Knot* indissoluble. That he knew well what Place and Authority the *Bishop* deservedly had with his *Master*. Therefore, if he would take the businesse to heart, and deale in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The *Bishop* answered soberly, that he thought himselfe rather happy, then Worthy, to be an instrument in such a matter; but would doe his best endeavour. Wherefore the *Bishop* returning to the King, and giving account what had passed, & finding the King more then well disposed in it, gave the King advice, first to proceed to a Conclusion of *Peace*, and then to goe on with the Treaty of *Marriage*, by degrees. Hereupon a *Peace* was concluded, which was published a little before *Christmas* in the Fourteenth yeare of the Kings *Raign* to continue for both the Kings lives, and the over-liver of them, & a yeare after. In this *Peace* there was an *Article* contained, that no *English-man* should enter into *Scotland*, and no *Scottish-man* into *England*, without Letters *Commendatory* from the Kings of eyther *Nation*. This at the first sight might seem a meanes to continue a strangeness betweene the *Nations*; but it was done, to locke in the *Borderers*.

This yeare there was also born to the King a third *Son*, who was christned by the name of *EDMUND*, and shortly after dyed. And much about the same time came newes of the death of *Charles* the *French King*;

King, For whom there were celebrated Solemne and Princely Obsequies.

It was not long, but PERKIN (who was made of Quick-silver, which is hard to hold or imprison) began to stirre. For deceiving his Keepers, hee tooke him to his heeles, and made speede to the Sea-coasts. But presently all Corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was faine to turn backe, and get him to the house of *Bethleem*, called the *Priory of Shyne*, (which had the priviledge of *Sanctuary*) and put himselfe into the hands of the *Prior* of that *Monastery*. The *Prior* was thought an *Holy Man*, and much revered in those dayes. He came to the King, and besought the King for PERKINs life only, leaving him otherwise to the Kings discretion. Many about the King were againe more hot then ever, to have the King to take him forth, and hang him. But the King (that had an high stomacke, and could not hate any that hee despised) bid, *Take him forth, and set the Knaue in the stocks*. And so promising the *Prior* his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And within two or three dayes after, upon a *Scaffold*, set up in the *Palace-Court at Westminster*, he was fettered and set in the *Stockes*, for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the *Crosse* in *Cheape-side*, and in both places he read his *Confession*, of which we made mention before, and was from *Cheape-side* conveighed and layed up in the *Tower*. Notwithstanding all this, the King was (as was partly touched before) grown to be such a *Partner* with *Fortune*, as no body could tell what *Actions* the *One*, and what the *Other* owned. For it was beleevd generally that PERKIN was betrayed, and that this Escape was not without the Kings privity, who had him all the time of his Flight in a *Line*, and that the King did this, to picke a *Quarrell* to him to put him to death, & to be ridde

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of him at once. But this is not probable. For that the same *Instruments* who observed him in his *Flight*, might have kept him from getting into *Sanctuary*.

But it was ordained, that this *Winding-Ivie* of a *PLANTAGENET*, should kill the true *Tree* it selfe. For PERKIN, after hee had beene a while in the *Tower*, began to insinuate himselfe into the favour and kindenesse of his *Keepers*, Servants to the *Lieutenant* of the *Tower*, Sir JOHN DIGBIE, being foure in number; STRANGWAIES, BLEWET, ASTWOOD, and LONG-ROGER. These *Varlets*, with mountaines of *promises*, he sought to corrupt, to obtaine his *Escape*. But knowing well, that his owne *Fortunes* were made so contemptible, as hee could feede no mans *Hopes* (and by *Hopes* hee must worke, for *Rewards* he had none) he had contrived with himselfe a vast and tragicall *Plot*, which was, to draw into his *Companie* EDWARD PLANTAGENET *Earle of Warwicke*, then *Prisoner* in the *Tower*, whom the wearie life of a long *Inprisonment*, and the often and renewing Feares of being put to *Death*, had softened to take any *impresion* of *Councell* for his *Libertie*. This young *Prince* he thought these *Servants* would looke upon, though not upon himselfe. And therefore after that by some *Message* by one or two of them, hee had tasted of the *Earles* Consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their *Master* the *Lieutenant*, secretly in the night, and make their best of such *Money* and portable *Goods* of his, as they should finde ready at hand, and get the *Keyes* of the *Tower*, and presently let forth PERKIN and the *Earle*. But this *Conspiracie* was revealed in time, before it could bee executed. And in this againe the *Opinion* of the Kings great *Wisdom*e did surcharge him with a *finister Faine*, that PERKIN was but his *Bait*, to entrap the *Earle of Warwicke*. And in the very *Instant* while

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this *Conspiracy* was in working (as if that also had been the Kings industry) it was fatall, that there should breake forth a *Counterfeit Earle of Warwicke*, a *Cordwainers Sonne*, whose name was RALPH WILFORD; a young man, taught and set on by an *Augustine Friar*, called PATRICKE. They both from the parts of *Suffolke*, came forwards into *Kent*, where they did not onely privily and underhand give out, that this WILFORD was the true *Earle of Warwicke*, but also the *Friar* finding some light *Credence* in the People, took the boldnesse in the *Pulpit* to declare as much, & to incite the People to come in to his Aide. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young *Fellow* executed, and the *Friar* condemned to perpetuall *Imprisonment*. This also hapning so opportunely, to represent the danger to the Kings Estate, from the *Earle of Warwicke*, and thereby to colour the Kings severity that followed; together with the madnesse of the *Friar*, so vainly and desperately to divulge a *Treason*, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the *Friars* life, which neverthelesse was (indeed) but the priviledge of his *Order*; and the *Pity* in the common People (which if it runne in a strong *Streame*, doth ever cast up *Scandal* and *Envy*) made it generally rather talked, than believed, that all was but the Kings device. But howsoever it were, hereupon PERKIN (that had offended against *Grace* now the third time) was at the last proceeded with, and by *Commissioners of Oyer and Determiner*, arraigned at *Westminster*, upon divers *Treasons* committed & perpetrated after his comming on land within this Kingdome (for so the *Judges* advised, for that he was a *Foreiner*) & condemned, and a few dayes after executed at *Tiburne*. Where he did againe openly read his *Confession*, & take it upon his *Death* to be true. This was the end of this little *Cockatrice*
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of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espie him first. It was one of the longest *Playes* of that kinde, that hath been in memorie; and might perhaps have had another end, if hee had not met with a King both wise, stout and fortunate.

As for PERKINs three *Councillors*, they had regiftred themselves *Sanctuary-men* when their *Master* did. And whether upon pardon obtained, or continuance within the *Priviledge*, they came not to bee proceeded with.

There was executed with PERKIN the *Maio*r of *Corke*, and his Sonne, who had beene principall *Abettors* of his *Treasons*. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other Persons, about the *Tower-Conspiracy*, whereof foure were the *Lieutenants* men. But of those eight but two were executed. And immediatly after was arraigned before the *Earle of Oxford* (then for the time *High-Steward* of *England*) the poore *Prince* the *Earle of Warwicke*, not for the *Attempt* to escape simply (for that was not acted; And besides, the *Imprisonment* not being for *Treason*, the *Escape* by Law could not be *Treason*) but for conspiring with PERKIN to raise *sedition*, and to destroy the King. And the *Earle* confessing the *Inditement* had *Judgement*, and was shortly after beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

This was also the end not onely of this Noble and Commiserable Person EDVVARD the *Earle of Warwicke*, eldest Sonne to the *Duke of Clarence*, but likewise of the *Line-Male* of the PLANTAGENETS, which had flourished in great *Royalty* & *Renowne*, from the time of the famous King of *England* King HENRIE the Second. Howbeit it was a *Race* often dipped in their owne *Bloud*. It hath remained since onely transplanted into other *Names*, as well of the *Imperiall Line*, as of other *Noble Houses*. But it was
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neither guilt of *Crime*, nor reason of *State*, that could quench the *Envy* that was upon the King for this *Execution*. So that hee thought good to export it out of the Land, and to lay it upon his new *Allie FERDINANDO* King of *Spaine*. For these two Kings understanding one another at halfe a word, so it was, that there were Letters shewed out of *Spaine*, whereby in the passages concerning the *Treatie of the Marriage*, *FERDINANDO* had written to the King in plaine termes, that hee saw no assurance of his *Succeſſion*, as long as the *Earle of Warwicke* lived; and that he was loth to send his *Daughter* to Troubles and Dangers. But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the *Envy* from himselfe; so he did not observe, that hee did withall bring a kind of *Malediction* & *Infauſting* upon the *Marriage*, as an ill *Prognosticke*. Which in event so farre proved true, as both *Prince ARTHUR* enjoyed a verie small time after the *Marriage*, and the *Lady KATAERINE*, her selfe (a sad and a religious woman) long after, when King *HENRY* the Eighth his resolution of a *Divorce* from her was first made knowne to her, used some words; *That shee had not offended: but it was a Judgement of GOD, for that her former Marriage was made in bloud*; meaning that of the *Earle of Warwicke*.

This fifteenth yeare of the King there was a great *Plague*, both in *London* & in diverse parts of the *Kingdome*. Wherefore the King after often change of *Places* (whether to avoyde the danger of the *Sicknesse* or to give occasion of an *Entervew* with the *Arch-Duke*, or both) sayled over with his *Queene* to *Calice*. Upon his coming thither, the *Arch-Duke* sent an honourable *Ambassage* unto him, as well to welcom him into those parts, as to let him know, that (if it pleased him) he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withall; That the King might be pleased to

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appoint some place, that were out of any *Walled Towne* or *Fortresse*, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the *French King*. And though he said, he made a great difference betweene the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a *President*, that might make it after to bee expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted lesse. The King accepted of the *Courtesie*, and admitted of his *Excuse*, and appointed the place to be at *Saint PETERS Church* without *Calice*. But withall hee did visite the *Arch-Duke* with *Ambassadors* sent from himselfe, which were the *Lord Saint JOHN*, and the *Secretarie*; unto whom the *Arch-Duke* did the honour, as (going to *Massé* at *Saint Omers*) to set the *Lord Saint JOHN* on his right hand, and the *Secretarie* on his left, and so to ride betweene them to Church. The day appointed for the *Entervew*, the King went on *Horse-backe* some distance from *Saint PETERS Church*, to receive the *Arch-Duke*. And upon their approaching, the *Arch-Duke* made hast to light, and offered to hold the Kings *Stirrope* at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from *Horse back*, they embraced with great affection, & withdrawing into the Church to a place prepared, they had long *Conference*, not onely upon the *Confirmation* of former *Treaties*, and the freeing of *Commerce*, but upon *Crosse Marriages*, to be had betweene the *Duke of Yorke* the Kings second Sonne, and the *Arch-Dukes Daughter*; And againe betweene *CHARLES* the *Arch-Dukes Sonne* & *Heire*, & *MARIE* the Kings second Daughter. But these *Blossomes* of unripe *Marriages*, were but friendly wishes, and the *Aires* of loving *Entertainment*; though one of them came afterwards to *Conclusion* in *Treaty*, though not in *Effect*. But during the time that the two *Princes* conversed and commoned together in the *Suburbs* of *Calice*, the *Demonstrations*

tions on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the *Arch-Duke*. Who (besides that hee was a Prince of an excellent good nature) being conscious to himselfe, how driely the King had beene used by his *Councell* in the matter of *PERKIN*, did strive by all meanes to recover it in the Kings affection. And having also his eares continually beaten with the Councels of his *Father & Father-in-law*, who (in respect of their jealous hatred against the *French King*) did alwayes advise the *Arch-Duke* to anchor himselfe upon the Amity of King *HENRY* of *England*; was glad upon this occasion, to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the King *Patron*, and *Father*, and *Protector*, (these very words the King repeates; when he certified of the loving behaviour of the *Arch-Duke* to the City) and what else he could devise, to expresse his love and observance to the King. There came also to the King the Governour of *Picardie*, and the Bailiffe of *Amiens*, sent from *Lewis* the *French King* to do him honour, and to give him knowledge of his victory & winning of the *Duchie* of *Millan*. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while hee was at *Calice*. For hee did himselfe certifie all the *Newes* and *Occurrents* of them in every particular, from *Calice* to the *Maior & Aldermen* of *London*, which (no doubt) made no small talke in the *Citie*. For the King, though hee could not entertaine the good will of the *Citizens*, as *EDVVARD* the fourth did; yet by affabilitie & other Princely Graces, did ever make very much of them, and apply himselfe to them.

This yeare also died *JOHN MORTON*, *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, *Chancellor* of *England*, and *Cardinall*. He was a wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh, and haughtie; much accepted by the King, but envied by the *Nobility*, and hated of the

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People. Neither was his name left out of *PERKIN'S* *Proclamation* for any goodwill, but they would not bring him in amongst the Kings *Casting-Counters*, because he had the *Image & Supercription* upon him of the *Pope*, in his *Honour* of *Cardinall*. He wanne the King with *Secrecie* and *Diligence*, but chiefly because he was his old Servant in his lesse *Fortunes*: And also for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice against the House of *YORKE*, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take *Envy* from the King, more then the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for *Subterfuges*, but would stand *Envy*, & appeare in any thing that was to his mind; which made *Envy* still grow upon him more universall, but less daring. But in the matter of *Exactions*, time did after shew, that the *Bishop* in feeding the Kings humour, did rather temper it. He had been by *RICHARD* the third committed (as in custody) to the *Duke* of *Buckingham*, whom hee did secretly incite to revolt from King *RICHARD*. But after the *Duke* was engaged, and thought the *Bishop* should have been his chiefe *Pilot* in the *Tempest*, the *Bishop* was gotten into the *Cocke-boat*, and fled over beyond *Seas*. But whatsoever else was in the Man, he deserveth a most happie *Memorie*, in that hee was the principall *Meane* of joyning the two *Roses*. He dyed of great yeares, but of strong health and *Powers*.

The next yeare, which was the Sixteenth yeare of the King, and the yeare of our *Lord* one thousand five hundred, was the yeare of *Jubile* at *Rome*. But *Pope ALEXANDER*, to save the Hazzard and Charges of mens *Journeyes* to *Rome*, thought good to make over those *Graces* by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient *Rate*, seeing they could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into *England*

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JASPER PONS, a Spaniard, the Popes Commissioner, better chosen then were the Commissioners of Pope LEO, afterwards employed for Germanie; for hee carried the Businesse with great wisdome, and semblance of Holinesse. In so much as hee levied great summes of Money within this Land to the Popes use, with little or no Scandall. It was thought the King shared in the Money. But it appeareth by a Letter which Cardinall ADRIAN, the Kings Pensioner, wrote to the King from Rome some few yeares after, that this was not so. For this Cardinall, being to perswade Pope JULIUS on the Kings behalfe, to expedite the Bull of Dispensation for the Marriage betweene Prince HENRIE and the Ladie KATHERINE, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a principall Argument concerning the Kings merit towards that Sea, that hee had touched none of those Deniers, which had beene levied by PONS in England. But that it might the better appeare (for the satisfaction of the Common people) that this was Consecrate Money, the same Nuntio brought unto the King a Briefe from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in Person against the Turke. For that the Pope (out of the care of an Universall Father) seeing almost under his eyes the Successes and Progresses of that great Enemy of the Faith, had had in the Conclave, and with the Assistance of the Ambassadors of foreigne Princes, divers Consultations about an Holy Warre, and a Generall Expedition of Christian Princes against the Turke. Wherein it was agreed, and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians should make a Warre upon Thracia; The French and Spaniards upon Grecia; and that the Pope (willing to sacrifice himselfe in so good a Cause) in Person and in Companie of the King of England, the Venetians, and such other States as were great in maritime

ritime Power, would faile with a puissant Navie through the Mediterrane unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his Holinesse had sent Nuncio's to all Christian Princes; Aswell for a Cessation of all Quarrels & Differences amongst themselves, as for speedy Preparations and Contributions of Forces and Treasure for this Sacred Enterprise.

To this the King, (who understood well the Court of Rome) made an Answer rather Solenne, than Serious. Signifying;

THat no Prince on Earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his Person, and by all his possible Forces, and Fortunes, to enter into this sacred VVarre, then himselfe. But that the distance of Place was such, as no Forces that he should raise for the Seas, could be levied or prepared, but with double the charge, and double the time (at the least) that they might be from the other Princes, that had their Territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the manner of his Ships (having no Gallies) nor the Experience of his Pilots and Mariners could be so apt for those Seas, as theirs. And therefore that his Holinesse might doe well, to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the purpose, to accompany him by Sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readinesse, & with lesse Charge, and the Emulation and Division

Division of Command, which might growe betweene those Kings of France and Spaine, if they should both joyne in the VVar by land upon Grecia, might be wisely avoyded. And that for his part, he would not be wanting in Aydes & Contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather then his Holinesse should goe alone, he would waite upon him, as sone as he could be readie. Alwayes provided, that he might first see all Differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves, fully laid down and appeased (as for his owne part hee was in none.) And that hee might have some good Townes upon the Coast in Italie put into his hands, for the Retrait and Safeguard of his Men.

With this Answer JASPER PONS returned, nothing at all discontented. And yet this Declaration of the King (as superficiall as it was) gave him that Reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the Knights of the Rhodes, Protector of their Order; All things multiplying to Honour in a Prince, that had gotten such high Estimation for his Wisedome and Sufficiencie.

There were these two last yeares some proceedings against Heretiques, which was rare in this Kings Reigne, and rather by Penances, then by Fire. The King had (though he were no good Schooleman) the Honour to convert one of them by Dispute at Canterburie.

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This yeere also, though the King were no more haunted with Sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of Bloud, and partly of Water, he had chased them away; yet neverthelesse he had certain Apparitions that troubled him, stil shewing themselves from one Region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the Earle of Suffolke, Son to ELIZABETH, eldest Sister to King EDVVARD the fourth, by JOHN Duke of Suffolke, her second Husband, and Brother to JOHN Earle of Lincolne, that was slaine at Stockfield, being of an hastie and Cholerick Disposition, had killed a man in his fury; whereupon the King gave him his Pardon. But either willing to leave a Cloud upon him, or the better to make him feele his Grace, produced him openly to plead his Pardon. This wrought in the Earle, as in a haughtie stomach it useth to do; for the Ignominie printed deeper than the Grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders, unto his Aunt the Duchesse of Burgundie. The King startled at it. But being taught by Troubles, to use faire and timely Remedies, wrought so with him by Messages, (the Ladie MARGARET also growing by often failing in her Alchymie, weary of her Experiments, and partly being a little sweetned, for that the King had not touched her name in the Confession of PERKIN) that hee came over againe upon good termes, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next yeare, being the seventeenth of the King, the Ladie KATHERINE fourth Daughter of FERDINANDO and ISABELLA, King and Queene of Spaine, arrived in England, at Plimouth, the second of October and was married to Prince ARTHUR in PAULES the fourteenth of November following. The Prince being then about fiftene yeares of age, and the Lady about eightene. The manner of her receiving, the manner

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of her Entrie into London, and the Celebritie of the Marriage were performed with great and true Magnificence, in regard of Cost, Shew, and Order. The chiefe man that took the care was Bishop Fox; who was not onely a grave Councillour for War or Peace, but also a good Surveyour of Workes, and a good Master of Ceremonies, & any thing else that was fit for the Active part, belonging to the service of Court, or State of a great King. This Marriage was almost seven yeares in Treaty, which was in part caused by the tender yeares of the Marriage-couple, especially of the Prince. But the true reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great Policie and profound Judgement, stood a great time looking one upon anothers Fortunes, how they would goe; knowing well that in the meane time, the verie Treatie it selfe gave abroad in the World a Reputation of a strait Conjunction, and Amity betweene them; which served on both sides to many purposes, that their severall Affaires required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end when the Fortunes of both the Princes did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better Conditions, they shut it up.

The Marriage Mony the Princeesse brought (which was turned over to the King by Act of Renunciation) was two hundred thousand Ducats. Whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten dayes after the Solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments Annuall, but part of it to be in Jewels and Plate, and a due course set downe to have them justly and indifferently prized. The Joynture or Advancement of the Lady, was the third part of the Principality of Wales, and of the Dukedome of Cornewall, & of the Earledome of Chester, to be after set forth in severallie. And in case she came to be Queene of England, her

her Advancement was left indefinite, but thus; That it should be as great, as ever any former Queene of England had.

In all the Devices and Conceits of the Triumphs of this Marriage, there was a great deale of Astronomie. The Ladie being resembled to HESPERUS, and the Prince to ARCTURUS, and the old King ALPHONSUS (that was the greatest Astronomer of Kings, and was Ancestor to the Ladie) was brought in to bee the Fortune-teller of the Match. And whosoever had those Toyes in Compiling, they were not altogether Pedanticall. But you may be sure that King ARTHUR, the Britton, and the descent of the Ladie KATHERINE from the House of LANCASTER, was in no wise forgotten. But (as it should seeme) it is not good to fetch Fortunes from the Starrs. For this young Prince (that drew upon him at that time, not onely the Hopes and Affections of his Countrie, but the eyes and Expectation of Forreiners) after a few Moneths, in the beginning of Aprill, deceased at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his Residence and Court, as Prince of Wales. Of this Prince, in respect he dyed so young, and by reason of his Fathers maner of Education, that did cast no great Lustre upon his Children, there is little particular Memory. Onely thus much remaineth, that hee was very studious and learned, beyond his yeares, and beyond the Custome of great Princes.

There was a doubt ripped up in the times following, when the Divorce of King HENRY the Eighth from the Ladie KATHERINE did so much busie the world, whether ARTHUR was bedded with his Ladie or noe, whereby that matter in fact (of Carnall Knowledge) might be made part of the Case. And it is true, that the Ladie her selfe denied it, or at least her Counsell stood upon it, and would not blanch that

Ad-

Advantage, although the *Plenitude* of the *Popes* power of *Dispensing* was the maine *Question*. And this *Doubt* was kept long open, in respect of the two *Queenes* that succeeded, *MARIE* and *ELIZABETH*, whose *Legitimations* were incompatible one with another, though their *Succeſſion* was settled by *Act* of *Parliament*. And the times that favoured *Queene MARIES* *Legitimation* would have it beleev'd, that there was no *Carnall Knowledge* betweene *ARTHUR* and *KATHERINE*. Not that they would seeme to derogate from the *Popes* absolute power, to dispense even in that *Case*; but onely in point of honour, and to make the *Case* more favourable and smooth. And the *Times* that favoured *Queene ELIZABETHS* *Legitimation* (which were the longer, and the latter) maintained the contrarie. So much there remaineth in *Memorie*, that it was halfe a yeares time betweene the *Creation* of *HENRY* *Prince* of *Wales*, and *Prince ARTHURS* death, which was construed to bee, for to expect a full time, whereby it might appeare, whether the *Ladie KATHERINE* were with *Child* by *Prince ARTHUR*, or no. Againe, the *Ladie* her selfe procured a *Bull*, for the better *Corroboration* of the *Marriage*, with a *Clause* of (*vel forsan cognitam*) which was not in the first *Bull*. There was given in *Evidence* also, when the cause of the *Divorce* was handled, a pleasant passage, which was; That in a *Morning* *Prince ARTHUR*, upon his up-rising from *Bed* with her, called for drinke, which he was not accustomed to doe, and finding the *Gentleman* of his *Chamber* that brought him the drinke to smile at it and to note it, he said merrily to him, That he had been in the middest of *Spaine*, which was an hot *Region*, and his *Journey* had made him drie, and that if the other had beene in so hot a *Clime*, hee would have been drier then hee. Besides, the *Prince* was upon

upon the point of Sixteene yeares of Age when hee died, and forward, and able in *Body*.

The *February* following, *HENRY* *Duke* of *Yorke* was created *Prince* of *Wales*, and *Earle* of *Chester* and *Flint*. For the *Dukedome* of *Cornwall* devolved to him by *Statute*. The *King* also being fast handed, and loath to part with a second *Dowrie*, but chiefly being affectionate both by his *Nature*; and out of *Politicke* Considerations to continue the *Alliance* with *Spaine*, prevailed with the *Prince* (though not without some *Reluctation*, such as could be in those yeares, for hee was not twelve yeares of Age) to bee contracted with the *Princesse* *KATHERINE*. The secret *Providence* of *GOD* ordaining that *Marriage*, to bee the *Occasion* of great *Events* and *Changes*.

The same yeare were the *Espousals* of *JAMES* *King* of *Scotland*, with the *Ladie* *MARGARET*, the *Kings* eldest *Daughter*; which was done by *Proxie*, and published at *PAULES* *Crosse*, the five and twentieth of *Januarie*, and *Te Deum* solemnly sung. But certaine it is, that the *Joy* of the *Citie* thereupon shewed, by *Ringing* of *Bells*, and *Bon-fires*, and such other *Incence* of the *People*, was more then could be expected, in a *Case* of so great and fresh *Enmity* betweene the *Nations*; especially in *London*, which was farre enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the *Warre*. And therefore might be truly attributed to a *Secret Instinct* and *Inspiring* (which many times runneth not onely in the *Hearts* of *Princes*, but in the *Pulse* and *Veines* of *People*) touching the happineſſe thereby to ensue in time to come. This *Marriage* was in *August* following consummate at *Edenburgh*. The *King* bringing his *Daughter* as farre as *Colli-Weston* on the way, and then consigning her to the *Attendance* of the *Earle* of *Northumberland*; who with a great

a great Troup of Lords and Ladies of Honour, brought her into Scotland, to the King her Husband.

This Marriage had beene in Treaty by the space of almost three yeares, from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his mind to Bishop FOX. The Sum given in Marriage by the King, was ten thousand pounds. And the Jointure and Advancement assured by the King of Scotland, was two Thousand pounds a yeare, after King JAMES his Death, and one Thousand pounds a yeare in present, for the Ladies Allowance or Maintenance. This to be set forth in Lands, of the best and most certaine Revenue. During the Treaty, it is reported, that the King remitted the matter to his Counsell; And that some of the Table in the Freedome of Counsellours (the King being present) did put the Case; that if GOD should take the Kings two Sonnes without Issue, that then the Kingdome of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the Monarchie of England. Whereunto the King himselfe replied; That if that should bee, Scotland would bee but an Accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the Greater would draw the lesse: And that it was a safer Union for England, then that of France. This passed as an Oracle, and silenced those that moved the Question

The same yeare was fatall, as well for Deaths, as Marriages, and that with equall temper. For the Joyes and Feasts of the two Marriages, were compensated with the Mournings, and Funeralls of Prince ARTHUR (of whom we have spoken) and of Queene ELIZABETH, who died in Child-bed in the Tower, and the Child lived not long after. There dyed also that yeare Sir REGINOLD BRAY, who was noted to have had with the King the greatest Freedome of any Counsellour; but it was but a Freedome, the better to set off
Flattery

Flatterie. Yet he bare more then his just part of Envie, for the Exactions.

At this time the Kings Estate was verie prosperous, Secured by the Amitie of Scotland, strengthened by that of Spaine, cherished by that of Burgundie, all Domesticke Troubles quenched, and all Noyse of Warre (like a Thunder a farre off) going upon Italie. Wherefore Nature, which many times is happily contained, and refrained by some Bands of Fortune, beganne to take place in the King, carrying (as with a strong Tide) his Affections and Thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of Treasure. And as Kings doe more easily finde Instruments for their Will and Humour, than for their Service and Honour; He had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two Instruments, EMPSON and DUDLEY, (whom the people esteemed as his Horse-Leeches and Shearers) bold men, and carelesse of Fame, & that tooke Toll of their Masters Grist. DUDLEY was of a good Family, Eloquent, and one that could put Hatefull Businesse into good Language. But EMPSON, that was the Son of a Sieve-maker, triumphed alwaies upon the Deede done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two Persons beeing Lawyers in Science, and Privie Councillors in Authoritie (as the Corruption of the best things is the worst) turned Law and Justice into Worme-wood and Rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers Subjects to be indicted of sundry Crimes, and so farre forth to proceed in forme of Law; But when the Bills were found, then presently to commit them. And nevertheless not to produce them to any reasonable time to their Answer, but to suffer them to languish long in Prison; and by sundry artificiall Devices and Terrours, to extort from them great Fines and Ransomes, which they termed Compositions and Mitigations.

Neither did they (towards the end) observe so much as the *Halfe-face of Justice*, in proceeding by *Indictment*; but sent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves & some others, at their private Houses, in a *Court of Commission*, and there used to shuffle up a *Summarie Proceeding by Examination*, without tryall of *Jurie*; assuming to themselves there, to deal both in *Pleas of the Crowne*, and *Controversies Civill*.

Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the *Subjects Lands with Tenures in Capite*, by finding *False Offices*, and thereby to worke upon them for *Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seisines, and Alienations*, (being the fruites of those *Tenures*) refusing upon diverse *Pretexts and Delayes*, to admit men to traverse those *False Offices*, according to the *Law*. Nay, the *Kings Wards* after they had accomplished their full Age, could not bee suffered to have *Liverie* of their *Lands*, without paying excessive *Fines*, far exceeding all reasonable Rates. They did also vex men with *Informations of Intrusion* upon scarce colourable *Titles*.

When men were *Out-lawed* in *Personall Actions* they would not permit them to purchase their *Charters of Pardon*, except they paid great and intolerable summes; standing upon the strict Point of *Law*, which upon *Out-lawries* giveth *Forfeiture of Goods*. Nay, contrary to all *Law* and Colour, they maintained, the King ought to have the halfe of mens *Lands and Rents*, during the space of full two yeares, for a *Paine in Case of Out-lawrie*. They would also ruffle with *Jurors*, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) *Convent them, Imprison them, and Fine them*.

These and many other Courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of *Preying upon the People*; both like *Tame Hawkes* for their Master, & like *Wild*
Hawkes

Hawkes for themselves; in so much as they grew to great Riches and Substance. But their principal working was upon *Penall Lawes*, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the *Law* were possible, or impossible, in *Use* or *Obsolete*. But raked over all old and new *Statutes*, though many of them were made with intention rather of *Terror*, then of *Rigour*; having ever a Rabble of *Promoters, Questmongers, and leading Jurors* at their *Command*, so as they could have anything found either for *Fact*, or *Valuation*.

There remaineth to this Day a *Report*, that the King was on a time entertained by the *Earle of Oxford* (that was his principall *Servant*, both for *Warre and Peace*) nobly and sumptuously, at his *Castle at Henningham*. And at the Kings going away, the *Earles Servants* stood (in a seemely manner) in their *Liverie Coats*, with *Cognisances*, ranged on both sides, and made the King a *Lane*. The King called the *Earle* to him, and said; *My Lord, I have heard much of your Hospitality, but I see it is greater then the speech. These handsome Gentlemen and Yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your Meniall Servants.* The *Earle* smiled, and said; *It may please your Grace, that were not for mine ease. They are most of them my Retainers, they are come to doe me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your Grace.* The King started a little, and said; *By my faith (my Lord) I thanke you for my good Cheare, but I may not endure to have my Lawes broken in my sight. My Atturney must speake with you.* And it is part of the *Report*, that the *Earle* compounded for no lesse then *fifteene thousand Markes*. And to shew further the Kings extreme Diligence; I doe remember to have seene long since a *Booke of Accompt of EMPSONS*, that had the Kings hand almost to every *Leafe*, by way of *Signing*, and was in some places *Postilled* in the

Margent with the Kings hand likewise, where was this Remembrance:

Item, received of such a one, five Markes for the Pardon to be procured; and if the Pardon doe not passe, the Monie to be repaid; except the Partie bee some other wayes satisfied.

And over against this Memorandum (of the Kings owne hand)

Otherwise Satisfied.

Which I doe the rather mention, because it shewes in the King a Nearenesse, but yet with a kind of Justnesse. So these little Sands and Graines of Gold and Silver (as it seemeth) helped not a little to make up the great Heape and Banke.

But meane while (to keepe the King awake) the Earle of Suffolke having been too gay at Prince ARTHURS Marriage, and sunke himselfe deepe in Debt, had yet once more a mind to be a Knight-Errant, and to seeke Adventures in Forraine parts. And taking his Brother with him, fled againe into Flanders. That (no doubt) which gave him Confidence, was the great Murmur of the People against the Kings Governement. And being a Man of a light and rash Spirit, he thought everie Vapour would bee a Tempest. Neither wanted he some Partie within the Kingdome. For the Murmur of People awakes the Discontents of Nobles; and againe, that calleth up commonly some Head of Sedition. The King resorting to his wonted and tried Arts, caused Sir ROBERT CURSON, Captaine of the Castle at Hammes (beeing at that time beyond Sea, and therefore lesse likely to be wrought upon by the King) to flie from his Charge, & to faine himselfe a servant of the

the Earles. This Knight, having insinuated himselfe into the Secrets of the Earle, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had either Hope or Hold, advertised the King thereof in great secrecie. But nevertheless maintained his owne Credit and inward trust with the Earle. Upon whose Advertisements, the King attached WILLIAM COURTNEY, Earle of Devonshire, his Brother-in-Law, married to the Ladie KATHERINE, daughter to King EDWARD the Fourth, WILLIAM DE-LA-POLE, Brother to the Earle of Suffolke, Sir JAMES TIRREL, and Sir JOHN WINDHAM, and some other meaner Persons, and committed them to Custodie. GEORGE, Lord ABERGAVENNIE, and Sir THOMAS GREENE, were at the same time apprehended; but as upon lesse Suspition, so in a freer Restraint, and were soon after delivered. The Earle of Devonshire, being interested in the blood of Yorke, that was rather Feared then Nocent; yet as One, that might be the Object of others Plots and Designs, remained Prisoner in the Tower, during the Kings life. WILLIAM DE-LA-POLE, was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But for Sir JAMES TIRREL (against whom the Bloud of the Innocent Princes, EDWARD the Fifth, and his Brother did still crie from under the Altar) and Sir JOHN WINDHAM, and the other meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; The two Knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirme the Credit of CURSON (who belike had not yet done all his Feates of Activitie) there was published at PAULES Crosse, about the time of the said Executions, the Popes Bull of Excommunication and Curse, against the Earle of Suffolke, and Sir ROBERT CURSON, and some others by name, and likewise in generall against all the Abettors of the said Earle. Wherein it must be confessed, that Heaven was made too much to bow to Earth, & Religion

ligion to *Policie*. But soone after, CURSON (when he saw time) returned into *England*, and withall into wonted *Favour* with the King, but worse *Fame* with the *People*. Upon whose returne the Earle was much dismayed, and seeing himselfe destitute of hopes (the Ladie MARGARET also by tract of *Time*, and bad *Successes*, being now become coole in those attempts) after some wandering in *France*, and *Germanie*, and certaine litle *Projects*, no better then *Squibs* of an *Exiled man*, being tired out, retired againe into the Protection of the Arch-Duke PHILIP in *Flanders*, who by the death of ISABELLA was at that time King of *Castile*, in the right of JOAN his Wife.

This yeare (being the Nineteenth of his Raigne) the King called his *Parliament*. Wherein a man may easily ghesse, how absolute the King tooke himselfe to bee with his *Parliament*, when DUDLEY that was so hatefull, was made *Speaker* of the *House of Commons*. In this *Parliament*, there were not made any *Statutes* memorable, touching publike *Governement*. But those that were, had still the *Stampe* of the Kings *Wisedome* and *Policie*.

There was a *Statute* made for the disanulling of all *Patents* of *Lease*, or *Grant*, to such as came not upon lawfull *Summons*, to serve the King in his *Warres*, against the *Enemies* or *Rebels*, or that should depart without the Kings licence, With an exception of certaine Persons of the *Long-robe*. Providing neverthelesse, That they should have the Kings *Wages*, from their *House*, till their *Returne* home againe. There had bene the like made before for *Offices*, and by this *Statute* it was extended to *Lands*. But a man may easily see by many *Statutes* made in this Kings time, that the King thought it safest, to assist *Martiall Law* by *Law* of *Parliament*.

Another *Statute* was made, prohibiting the bringing

ing in of *Manufactures* of *Silke* wrought by it selfe, or mixt with any other *Thred*. But it was not of *Stuffes* of whole piece (for that the *Realme* had of them no *Manufacture* in use at that time) but of *Knit-Silke*, or *Texture* of *Silke*; as *Ribbands*, *Laces*, *Caules*, *Points*, and *Girdles*, &c. which the people of *England* could then well skill to make. This *Law* pointed at a true *Principle*; That where *forreine materials* are but *Superfluities*, *forreine Manufactures* should bee prohibited. For that will either banish the *Superfluitie*, or gaine the *Manufacture*.

There was a *Law* also of *Resumption* of *Patents* of *Gaoles*, and the *Re-annexing* of them to the *Sheriffswicks*; *Priviledged Officers* being no lesse an *Interruption* of *Justice*, than *Priviledged Places*.

There was likewise a *Law* to restrain the *By-lawes* or *Ordinances* of *Corporations*, which many times were against the *Prerogative* of the King, the *Common-law* of the *Realme*, and the *Libertie* of the *Subject*, being *Fraternities* in *Evill*. It was therefore *Provided*, that they should not bee put in *Execution*, without the Allowance of the *Chancellor*, *Treasurer*, and the two *Chiefe-Justices*, or three of them, or of the two *Justices* of *Circuit* where the *Corporation* was.

Another *Law* was (in effect) to bring in the *Silver* of the *Realme* to the *Mint*, in making all clipped, diminished, or impayred *Coines* of *Silver*, not to be current in payments; without giving any *Remedie* of weight, but with an exception onely of a reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the *incertaintie*; and so (upon the matter) to set the *Mint* on worke, and to give way to *New Coines* of *Silver*, which should be then minted.

There likewise was a long *Statute* against *Vagabonds*, wherein two things may be noted; The one the *Dislike* the *Parliament* had of *Gaoing* of them, as that

that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open Example. The other, That in the Statutes of this Kings time, (for this of the Nineteenth yeare is not the onely Statute of that kind) there are ever coupled, the punishment of Vagabonds, and the Forbidding of Dice, and Cards and unlawfull Games unto Servants and mean people, and the putting downe and suppressing of Ale-houses, as Strings of one Rote together, and as if the One were unprofitable, without the Other.

As for Riot and Retainers, there passed scarce any Parliament in this time without a Law against them, The King ever having an Eye to Might, and Multitude.

There was granted also that Parliament a Subsidie, both for the Temporaltie and the Clergie. And yet neverthelesse, ere the yeare expired, there went out Commissions for a generall Benevolence, though there were no Warres, no Feares. The same yeare the City gave five thousand Markes, for Confirmation of their Liberties; A thing fitter for the Beginnings of Kings Reignes, than the latter Ends. Neither was it a small matter, that the Mint gained upon the late Statute, by the Recoinage of Groates and Halfe-Groates, now Twelve-pences and Six-pences. As for EMPSON and DUDLEY'S Mills, they did grinde more than ever. So that it was a strange thing, to see what Golden Showres poured downe upon the Kings Treasurie at once. The last payments of the Marriage-money from Spaine; The Subsidie; The Benevolence; The Recoinage; The Redemption of the Cities Liberties; The Casualties. And this is the more to bee marveiled at, because the King had then no Occasions at all of Warres or Troubles. He had now but one Sonne, and one Daughter unbestowed. Hee was Wise; Hee was of an High Mind; He needed not to make Riches his Glorie. Hee did

did excell in so many things else; save that certainly Avarice doth ever finde in it selfe matter of Ambition. Belike he thought to leave his Some such a Kingdome, and such a Masse of Treasure, as he might choose his Greatnesse where he would.

This yeare was also kept the Serjeants Feast, which was the second Call in this Kings Dayes.

About this time ISABELLA, Queene of Castile, deceased; a right Noble Ladie, and an Honour to her Sexe, and Times, and the Corner-stone of the Greatnesse of Spaine, that hath followed. This Accident the King tooke not for Newes at large, but thought it had a great Relation to his owne Affaires; especially in two points: The one for Example; the other for Consequence. First, he conceived that the Case of FERDINANDO of Arragon, after the death of Queene ISABELLA, was his owne Case, after the death of his owne Queene: & the Case of JOAN the Heire unto Castile, was the Case of his owne Sonne Prince HENRY. For if both of the Kings had their Kingdomes in the right of their Wives, they descended to the Heires, and did not accrew to the Husbands. And although his owne Case had both Steele and Parchment, more then the other (that is to say, a Conquest in the Field, and an Act of Parliament) yet, notwithstanding, that Naturall Title of Descent in Bloud, did (in the imagination even of a Wise-man) breed a Doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderfull diligent to inquire and observe what became of the King of Arragon, in holding and continuing the Kingdome of Castile. And whether he did hold it in his owne Right, or as Administrator to his Daughter; & whether he were like to hold it in Fast, or to bee put out by his Some-in-Law. Secondly, he did revolve in his minde, that the State of Christendome might by this late Accident have a turne. For whereas before-time himself, with

the Conjunction of *Aragon* and *Castile* (which then was one) and the Amitie of *MAXIMILIAN* and *PHILIP* his Sonne the *Arch-Duke*, was farre too strong a *Partie* for *France*; he beganne to feare, that now the *French King* (who had great *Interest* in the Affections of *PHILIP* the young King of *Castile*) and *PHILIP* himselfe, now King of *Castile*, (who was in ill terms with his *Father-in-law* about the present Government of *Castile*) And thirdly *MAXIMILIAN*, *PHILIP*'s *Father* (who was ever variable, & upon whom the surest Aime that could be taken, was that he would not be long, as he had beene last before) would, all three being potent *Princes*, enter into some strait *League* and *Confederation* amongst themselves. Whereby though he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poore Amitie of *Aragon*. And whereas he had been heretofore a kinde of *Arbiter* of *Europe*, he should now go lesse, and be over-topped by so great a *Conjunction*. He had also (as it seemes) an inclination to marry, and bethought himselfe of som fit Conditions abroad. And amongst others hee had heard of the *Beautie* and vertuous *Behaviour* of the young *Queene* of *Naples*, the Widow of *FERDINANDO* the younger, being then of *Matronall* yeares of seven and twentie. By whose *Marriage* he thought that the Kingdome of *Naples* (having beene a *Goale* for a time betweene the King of *Aragon*, and the *French King*, and being but newly settled) might in som part be *Deposited* in his hands, who was so able to keepe the *Stakes*. Therefore hee sent in *Ambassage* or *Message* three *Confident* Persons; *FRANCIS MARSIN*, *JAMES BRAY-BROOKE*, and *JOHN STILE*, upon two severall *Inquisitions* rather then *Negotiations*. The One, touching the Person and Condition of the young *Queene* of *Naples*: The Other, touching all particulars of *Estate*, that concerned the

the *Fortunes* and *Intentions* of *FERDINANDO*. And because they may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under *Colourable Pretexts*, giving them Letters of Kindnesse and Complement from *KATHERINE* the *Princesse*, to her Aunt, and Neece, the Old and Young *Queene* of *Naples*, and delivering to them also a *Booke* of new *Articles* of *Peace*, which notwithstanding it had bin delivered unto *Doctour de PUEBLA*, the *Leigier Ambassadour* of *Spain* here in *England*, to be sent; yet for that the King had beene long without hearing from *Spain*; hee thought good those *Messengers*, when they had bin with the two *Queenes*, should likewise passe on to the *Court* of *FERDINANDO*, and take a Copie of the *Booke* with them. The *Instructions* touching the *Queene* of *Naples* were so curious and exquisite, being as *Articles* whereby to direct a *Survey*, or framing a *Particular* of her *Person*, for *Complexion*, *Favour*, *Feature*, *Stature*, *Health*, *Age*, *Customes*, *Behaviour*, *Conditions*, and *Estate*, as if the King had beene young, a Man would have judged him to bee *Amorous*; but being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was verie *Chaste*, for that he meant to finde all things in one Woman, and so to settle his *Affections*, without ranging. But in this *Match* hee was soone cooled, when he heard from his *Ambassadours*, that this young *Queene* had had a goodly *Joynture* in the *Realme* of *Naples*, well answered during the time of her Uncle *FREDERICKE*, yea, and during the time of *LEVVIS* the *French King*, in whose *Division* her *Revenue* fell; but since the time that the Kingdome was in *FERDINANDO*'s hands, all was assigned to the *Armie*, and *Garrisons* there, and shee received onely a *Pension* or *Exhibition* out of his *Coffers*.

The other part of the *Inquirie* had a grave and diligent

ligent Returne, informing the King at full of the present State of King FERDINANDO. By this report it appeared to the King, that FERDINANDO did continue the Government of *Castile* as *Administrator* unto his Daughter JOAN, by the Title of *Queene ISABELLA'S Will*, and partly by the Custome of the *Kingdome*, as he pretended. And that all *Mandates* and *Grants* were expedited in the name of JOAN his Daughter, and himselfe as *Administrator*, without mention of PHILIP, her husband. And that King FERDINANDO, howsoever he did dismisse himselfe of the name of King of *Castile*, yet meant to hold the *Kingdome*, without Accompt, and in absolute Command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himselfe with hopes, that King PHILIP would permit unto him the Governement of *Castile* during his life, which he had layed his plot to worke him unto, both by some *Councillors* of his about him, which FERDINANDO had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case PHILIP gave not way unto it, hee would marrie some young *Ladie*, whereby to put him by the *Succession* of *Aragon* and *Granada*, in case he should have a Sonne. And lastly by representing unto him that the Governement of the *Burgundians*, till PHILIP were by continuance in *Spaine* made as *Naturall* of *Spaine*, would not bee indured by the *Spaniards*. But in all those things (though wisely layed downe and considered) FERDINANDO failed; But that PLUTO was better to him, then PALLAS.

In the same Report also, the *Ambassadors* beeing meane men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a String which was somewhat dangerous. For they declared plainely, that the People of *Spaine*, both *Nobles* and *Commons*, were better affected unto the part of PHILIP (so hee brought his wife with him) than

than to FERDINANDO; and expressed the reason to bee, because he had imposed upon them many *Taxes*, and *Tallages*, which was the Kings owne Case betweene him and his Sonne.

There was also in this Report a Declaration of an *Overture of Marriage*, which AMASON the *Secretarie* of FERDINANDO had made unto the *Ambassadors* in great secret, between CHARLES Prince of *Castile* and MARIE the Kings second Daughter; assuring the King, that the *Treatie of Marriage* then on foot, for the said Prince and the Daughter of France, would breake, and that shee the said Daughter of France should be married to ANGOLESME, that was the *Heire apparant* of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of *Marriage* betweene FERDINANDO and *Madame de FOIS*, a *Ladie* of the *Bloud* of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in *Spaine*.

The King by the returne of this *Ambassage*, which gave great light unto his *Affaires*, was well instructed, and prepared how to carrie himselfe betweene FERDINANDO King of *Aragon*, and PHILIP his *Sonne-in-law*, King of *Castile*; resolving with himselfe, to doe all that in him lay to keepe them at one within themselves; But howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate Carriage and bearing the Person of a *Common-friend*, to lose neither of their Friendships; but yet to runne a *Course* more entire with the King of *Aragon*, but more laboured and officious with the King of *Castile*. But he was much taken with the *Overture of Marriage* with his Daughter MARIE; Both because it was the greatest *Marriage* of *Christendome*, and for that it tooke hold of both *Allies*.

But to corroborate his *Alliance* with PHILIP, the *Windes* gave him an Enter-view. For PHILIP choo-

choosing the *Winter-Season*, the better to surpris the King of *Aragon*, set forth with a great Navie out of *Flanders* for *Spaine* in the Moneth of *Januarie*, the one and Twentieth yeare of the Kings Raigne. But himselfe was surprisid with a cruell *Tempest*, that scattered his Ships upon the severall Coasts of *England*. And the Ship wherein the King and *Queene* were (with two other small *Barkes* onely) torne, and in great perill to escape the Furie of the weather, thrust into *Waymouth*. King *PHILIP* himselfe, having not beene used (as it seemes) to Sea, all wearied and extreame sicke, would needs land to refresh his Spirits, though it was against the Opinion of his Councell, doubting it might breed *Delay*, his Occasions requiring *Celeritie*.

The Rumour of the Arrivall of a puissant Navie upon the Coast, made the Countrie Arme. And Sir *THOMAS TRENCHARD* with Forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter might bee, came to *Waymouth*. Where understanding the Accident, he did in all Humbleness and Humanitie invite the King and *Queene* to his House; and forthwith dispatched Posts to the Court. Soone after came Sir *JOHN CAROE* likewise, with a great troupe of Men well armed; using the like Humbleness and Respect towards the King, when he knew the Case. King *PHILIP* doubting that they, being but *Subjects*, durst not let him passe away againe, without the Kings Notice and Leave, yeilded to their Entreaties, to stay till they heard from the Court. The King assoone as he heard the *News*, commanded presently the Earle of *Arundell*, to goe to visite the King of *Castile*, and let him understand; That as he was verie sorrie for his Mishap, so he was glad that hee had escaped the Danger of the Seas, and likewise of the Occasion himselfe had to doe him Honour, and desiring

desiring him, to think himselfe as in his own Land; and that the King made all haste possible to come & embrace him. The Earle came to him in great Magnificence, with a brave Troupe of three hundred Horse; and (for more State) came by Torch-Light. After hee had done the Kings Message, King *PHILIP* seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the King at *Windsore*, and his *Queene* followed by easie journeys. The two Kings at their meeting used all the *Careesses*, and loving Demonstrations, that were possible. And the King of *Castile* said presently to the King; That hee was now punished, for that hee would not come within his walled Towne of *Calice*, when they met last. But the King answered, That Walls and Seas were nothing, where Hearts were open; and that hee was here no otherwise, but to be served. After a day or two's refreshing, the Kings entred into speech of renewing the Treatie; The King saying, That though King *PHILIP*'s Person were the same, yet his Fortunes and State were raised. In which Case a Renovation of Treatie was used amongst *Princes*. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of *Castile* into a Roome, where they two onely were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arme, and changing his Countenance a little from a Countenance of Intertainment, said to him; Sir, you have beene saved upon my Coast, I hope you will not suffer mee to wracke upon yours. The King of *Castile* asked him, What he meant by that speech? I meane it (saith the King) by that same *Flare-braine wilde Fellow*, my subject, the Earle of *Suffolke*, who is protected in your Countrie, and begins to play the Foole, when all others are wearie of it. The King of *Castile* answered; I had thought (Sir) your Felicitie had beene above those thoughts. But if it trouble you, I will banish him. The King replied; Those
Hornets

Hornets were best in their Nests, and worst then when they did flie abroad, that his desire was, to have him delivered to him. The King of Castile herewith a little confused, and in a studie, said; That can I not doe with my honour, and lesse with yours; for you will be thought to have used mee as a Prisoner. The King presently said; Then the matter is at an end. For I will take that dishonour upon mee, and soe your honour is saved. The King of Castile, who had the King in great Estimation, and besides remembred where he was, and knew not what use he might have of the Kings Amitie, for that himselfe was new in his Estate of Spaine, and unsettled, both with his Father-in-Law, and with his People, composing his Countenance, said; Sir, you give Law to mee; but so will I to you. You shall have him, but (upon your honour) you shall not take his life. The King embracing him, said; Agreed. Saith the King of Castile, Neither shall it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as hee may partly come with his owne good will. The King said; It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, hee would joyne with him, in sending to the Earle a Message to that purpose. They both sent severally, and meane while they continued Feasting and Pastimes. The King being (on his part) willing to have the Earle sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile being as willing to seeme to bee enforced. The King also with many wise and excellent Perswasions, did advise the King of Castile, to be ruled by the Councell of his Father-in-Law FERDINANDO; a Prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile (who was in no verie good termes with his laid Father-in-Law) answered; That if his Father-in-Law would suffer him to governe his Kingdome, hee should governe him.

There were immediatly Messengers sent from both Kings to recall the Earle of Suffolke: Who upon

upon gentle wordes used to him was soone charmed, and willing enough to returne; assured of his Life, and hoping of his Libertie. Hee was brought through Flanders to Calice, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient Guard delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meane while King HENRIE (to draw out the time) continued his Feastings and Entertainments, and after hee had received the King of Castile into the Fraternitie of the Garter, and for a Reciprocall had his Sonne the Prince admitted to the Order of the Golden-fleece, hee accompanied King PHILIP and his Queene to the Citie of London; where they were enterrayned with the greatest Magnificence and Triumph, that could bee upon no greater warning. And as soone as the Earle of Suffolke had bene conveyed to the Tower (which was the serious part) the Jollities had an end, and the Kings tooke leave. Neverthelesse during their beeing here, they in Substance concluded that Treatie, which the Flemings terme *Intercursus malus*; and beares Date at Windfore; for that there bee some things in it, more to the Advantage of the English, than of them; especially, for that the Free-fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treatie of Undecimo, was not by this Treatie confirmed. All Articles that confirme former Treaties beeing precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of Commerce onely, and not otherwise.

It was observed, that the great Tempest which drave PHILIP into England, blew downe the Golden Eagle, from the Spire of PAULES, and in the fall it fell upon a Signe of the Blacke Eagle, which was in PAULES Church-yard, in the

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place where the Schoole-House now standeth, and battered it, and brake it downe. Which was a strange *spooping* of a *Hawke* upon a *Fowle*. This the People interpreted to bee an *Ominous Prognosticke* upon the *Imperiall House*, which was (by *Interpretation* also) fulfilled upon *PHILIP* the *Emperours Sonne*, not onely in the Present Disaster of the *Tempest*, but in that that followed. For *PHILIP* arriving into *Spaine*, and attaining the Possession of the *Kingdome of Castile* without resistance, (insomuch as *FERDINANDO*, who had spoke so great before, was with difficultie admitted to the speech of his *Sonne-in-Law*) sickned soone after, and deceased. Yet after such time as there was an *Observation* by the wisest of that *Court*, That if hee had lived, his *Father* would have gained upon him in that sort, as hee would have governed his *Councells*, and *Designes*, if not his *Affections*. By this all *Spaine* returned into the power of *FERDINANDO* in state as it was before; the rather, in regard of the infirmitie of *JOAN* his Daughter, who loving her Husband (by whom shee had many Children) dearely well, and no lesse beloved of him (howsoever her *Father*, to make *PHILIP* ill beloved of the People of *Spaine*, gave out that *PHILIP* used her not well) was unable in strength of minde to beare the Griefe of his Decease, and fell distracted of her *Wits*. Of which *Maladie* her *Father* was thought noe wayes to endeavour the *Cure*, the better to hold his *Regall Power* in *Castile*. So that as the *Felicitie* of *CHARLES* the Eighth was said to bee a *Dream*; so the *Adversitie* of *FERDINANDO* was said likewise to bee a *Dream*, it passed over so soon.

About

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the House of LANCASTER *Celestiall Honour*, and became Suitor to Pope JULIUS, to Cononize King HENRIE the Sixt for a *Saint*; the rather, in respect of that his famous *Prediction* of the Kings owne Assumption to the *Crowne*. JULIUS referred the matter (as the manner is) to certaine *Cardinals*, to take the verification of his *Holy Acts* and *Miracles*. But it died under the Reference. The generall Opinion was, that Pope JULIUS was too deare, and that the King would not come to his *Rates*. But it is more probable, That that Pope (who was extremely jealous of the Dignitie of the *Sea of Rome*, and of the *Acts* thereof) knowing that King HENRY the Sixt was reputed in the World abroad but for a *Simple Man*, was affraid it would but diminish the Estimation of that kinde of *Honour*, if there were not a distance kept between *Imocents* and *Saints*.

The same yeare likewise there proceeded a *Treatie of Marriage* betweene the King and the *Ladie MARGARET Duchesse Dowager of Savoy*, onely Daughter to *MAXIMILIAN*, and Sister to the King of *Castile*; a *Ladie* wise, and of great good *Fame*. This Matter had beene in speech between the two Kings at their meeting, but was soone after resumed; and therein was imployed for his first piece the Kings then *Chaplaime*, and after the great *Prelate THOMAS WOLSEY*. It was in the end concluded, with great & ample Conditions for the King, but with promise *De Futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more & more of the *Marriage* to goe on betweene his great *Friend* and *Allie* *FERDINANDO* of *Arragon*, and *Madame de Foix*, whereby that King beganne to peece with the

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French King, from whom hee had bene alwayes before severed. So fatall a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest Amities of Kings, at one time or other to have a little of the *Wheele*. Nay there is a further *Tradition* (in *Spaine*, though not with us) That the King of *Arragon*, after hee knew that the *Marriage* between CHARLES, the young *Prince of Castile*, and MARRIE the Kings second Daughter went roundly on (which though it was first moved by the King of *Arragon*, yet it was afterwards wholly advanced and brought to perfection by MAXIMILIAN, and the Friends on that side) entred into jealousy, that the King did aspire to the Government of *Castilia*, as *Administrator* during the Minoritie of his *Some-in-Law*; as if there should have bene a Competition of Three for that Government; FERDINANDO, *Grand-father* on the Mothers side; MAXIMILIAN, *Grand-father* on the Fathers side; and King HENRIE, *Father-in-Law* to the young *Prince*. Certainly, it is not unlike, but the Kings Government (carrying the young *Prince* with him) would have bene perhaps more welcome to the *Spaniards*, than that of the other *Two*. For the Nobilitie of *Castilia*, that so lately put out the King *Arragon*, in favour of King PHILIP, and had discovered themselves so farre, could not bee but in a secret Distrust and Distaste of that King. And as for MAXIMILIAN, upon Twentie respects hee could not have bene the Man. But this purpose of the Kings seemeth to mee (considering the Kings safe Courses, never found to bee enterprizing or adventurous) not greatly probable, except hee should have had a Desire to breathe warmer, because hee had ill *Lungs*. This *Marriage* with MARGARET was protracted from time to time, in respect of the *Infirmite* of the King, who now in the two
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and Twentieth of his Reigne beganne to bee troubled with the *Goute*. But the *Defluxion* taking also into his *Brest*, wasted his *Lungs*, so that thrice in a Year (in a kinde of Returne, and especially in the *Spring*;) hee had great Fitts and Labours of the *Tissicke*. Neverthelesse hee continued to intend *Businesse* with as great diligence, as before in his Health. Yet so, as upon this warning, hee did likewise now more seriously thinke of the World to come, and of making himselfe a *Saint*, aswell as King HENRIE the Sixth, by *Treasure* better employed, than to bee given to Pope JULIUS. For this Year hee gave greater *Almes* than accustomed, and discharged all *Prisoners* about the *Citie*, that lay for *Fees* or *Debts*, under fortie shillings. Hee did also make haste with *Religious Foundations*; and in the Year following (which was the Three and Twentieth) finished that of the *Savoy*. And hearing also of the bitter *Cryes* of his *People* against the *Oppressions* of DUDLEY, and EMPSON, and their Complices; partly by *Devout Persons* about him, and partly by publique *Sermons* (the *Preachers* doing their *Dutie* therein) Hee was touched with great Remorse for the same. Neverthelesse, EMPSON and DUDLEY, though they could not but heare of these *Scruples* in the Kings *Conscience*; yet as if the Kings *Soule* and his *Money* were in severall *Offices*, that the One was not to intermeddle with the Other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same Three and Twentieth Year was there a sharpe *Prosecution* against Sir WILLIAM CAPEL now the second time; and this was for Matters of *Mis-government* in his *Maioraltie*. The great Matter beeing, that in some Payments hee had taken knowledge of *False Moneys*, and did
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not his diligence to examine, and beate it out, who were the Offendours. For this and some other things layed to his Charge, hee was condemned to pay Two Thousand Pounds; and being a Man of stomacke, and hardened by his former Troubles, refused to pay a Mite; and hee like used some untoward Speeches of the Proceedings, for which hee was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the Kings Death. KNESWORTH likewise, that had beene lately Maior of London, and both his Sheriffes, were, for Abuses in their Offices, questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered, upon one Thousand foure hundred pounds payed. HAWIS, an Alderman of London, was put in Trouble, and died with Thought and Anguish, before his Businesse came to an end. Sir LAWRENCE AILMER, who had likewise beene Maior of London, and his two Sheriffes, were put to the Fine of one Thousand Pounds. And Sir LAWRENCE, for refusing to make payment, was committed to Prison, where hee stayed till EMPSON himselfe was committed in his place.

It is no marvaile (if the Faults were so light, and the Rates so heavy) that the Kings Treasure of store, that hee left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his owne key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted (as by Tradition it is reported to have done) unto the Summe of neare Eighteen hundred thousand pounds Sterling; a huge Masse of Money, even for these times.

The last Act of State that concluded this Kings Temporall Felicitie, was the Conclusion of a Glorious Match betweene his Daughter MARIE, and CHARLES Prince of Castile, afterwards the
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great Emperour, both being of tender yeares which Treatie was perfected by Bishop FOXE, and other his Commissioners at Calice, the yeare before the Kings Death. In which Alliance, it seemeth hee himselfe tooke so high Contentment, as in a Letter which hee wrote thereupon to the Citie of London (Commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same) hee expresseth himselfe, as if hee thought hee had built a Wall of Brasse about his Kingdome. When hee had for his Sommes-in-Law a King of Scotland, and a Prince of Castile and Burgundie. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great Kings Felicitie, being at the top of all worldly Blisse, (in regard of the high Marriages of his Children, his great Renowne throughout Europe, and his scarce credible Riches, and the perpetuall Constancie, of his prosperous Successes) but an opportune Death, to withdraw him from any future blowe of Fortune. Which certainly (in regard of the great Hatred of his People and the Title of his Sonne, being then come to Eightene yeares of age, and being a bold Prince, and liberall, and that gained upon the People by his very Aspect and Presence) had not beene impossible to have come upon him.

To crowne also the last yeare of his Reigne, as well as his first, hee did an Act of Pietie, rare, and worthy to be taken into Imitation. For hee granted forth a Generall Pardon, as expecting a second Coronation in a better Kingdome. Hee did also declare in his Will, that his minde was, that Restitution should be made of those Summes, which had beene unjustly taken by his Officers.

And thus this SALOMON of England (for SALOMON also was too heaue upon his People
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in Exactions) having lived two and fiftie yeares, and thereof Reigned three and twentie yeares, and eight moneths, being in perfect *Memorie*, and in a most Blessed *Minde*, in a great *Calme* of a *Consuming Sicknesse* passed to a better World, the two and twentieth of *Aprill*, 1508. at his *Palace of Richmond*, which himselfe had built.

This

THis King (to speake of him in *Termes* equall to his *Deserving*) was one of the best sort of *VVonders*; a *VVonder* for *VVisemen*. Hee had parts (both in his *Vertues*, and his *Fortune*) not so fit for a *Common-place*, as for *Observation*. Certainly hee was *Religious*, both in his *Affection*, and *Observance*. But as hee could see clear (for those times) through *Superstition*, so hee would be blinded (now and then) by *Humane Policie*. He advanced *Church-men*; hee was tender in the *Priviledge* of *Sanctuaries*, though they wrought him much *mischiefe*. He built & endowed many *Religious Foundations*, besides his *Memorable Hospitall of the Savoy*. And yet was hee a great *Almes-giver in secret*; which shewed, that his *VVorkes* in *publique* were dedicated rather to *GODS Glorie*, than his own. Hee professed alwaies to love and seeke *Peace*; and it was his usuall *Preface* in his *Treaties*; That when *CHRIST* came into the *World*, *Peace* was sung; and when *H E E* went out of the *World*, *Peace* was bequeathed. And this *Vertue* could not proceede out of *Feare*, or *Softnesse*; for hee was *Valiant* and *Active*, and therefore (noe doubt) it was truly *Christian* and *Morall*. Yet hee knew the way to *Peace*, was not to seem

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to bee desirous to avoyde VVarres. Therefore would hee make Offers, and Fames of VVarres, till hee had mended the Conditions of Peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a Lover of Peace, should be so happie in VVarre. For his Armes (either in Foreine or Civill VVarres) were never Infortunate; neither did hee know what a Disaster meant. The VVarre of his Comming in, and the Rebellions of the Earle of Lincolne, and the Lord AVVDLEY were ended by Victory. The VVarres of France and Scotland, by Peaces sought at his hands. That of Brittain, by accident of the Dukes death. The Insurrection of the Lord LOVEL, and that of PERKIN at Excester, and in Kent, by flight of the Rebels, before they came to Blowes. So that his Fortune of Armes was still Inviolat. The rather sure, for that in the quenching of the Commotions of his Subjects, hee ever went in Person. Sometimes reserving himselfe to backe and second his Lievtenants, but ever in Action; and yet that was not meerely Forwardnesse, but partly Distrust of others. *He did much maintaine and countenance his Lawes. Which (neverthelesse) was noe Impediment to him to work his VVill. For it was so handled, that neither Prerogative, nor*

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Profit went to Diminution. And yet as hee would sometimes straine up his Lawes to his Prerogative, so would hee also let downe his Prerogative to his Parliament. For Minte, and VVarres, and Marshall Discipline, (things of absolute Power) hee would neverthelesse bring to Parliament. Justice was well administred in his time, save where the King was Partie: Save also, that the Councell-Table intermeddled too much with Meum and Tuum. For it was a very Court of Justice during his time, especially in the Beginning. But in that part both of Justice and Policie, which is the Durable Part, and cut (as it were) in Brasse or Marble (which is The making of good Lawes) hee did excell. And with his Justice, hee was also a Mercifull Prince. As in whose time, there were but three of the Nobilitie that suffered; the Earle of VVarwicke, the Lord Chamberlaine, and the Lord AVVDLEY. Though the first two were instead of Numbers, in the Dislike and Obloquie of the People. But there were never so great Rebellions, expiated with so little Bloud, drawne by the hand of Justice, as the two Rebellions of Black-heath & Excester. As for the Severity used upon those which were taken in Kent, it was but upon a Scum of

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People. His Pardons went ever both before, and after his Sword. But then hee had withall a strange kinde of Interchanging of large and unexpected Pardons, with severe Executions. Which (his Wisedome considered) could not be imputed to any Inconstancie, or Inequalitye; but either to some Reason which wee do not now know, or to a Principle he had set unto himselfe, That hee would vary, and try both wayes in turne. But the lesse Bloud he drew, the more hee tooke of Treasure, And (as some construed it) hee was the more sparing in the One, that he might bee the more pressing in the Other; for both would have beene intolerable. Of Nature assuredly hee coveted to accumulate Treasure, and was a little Poore in admiring Riches. The People (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, a naturall Desire to discharge their Princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their Councillours and Ministers) did impute this unto Cardinall MORTON, and Sir REGINALD BRAY, Who (as it after appeared) as Councillours of ancient Authoritie with him, did so second his Humours, as never thelesse they did temper them. Whereas EMPSON, and DUDLEY that followed, being Persons that had no Reputation with him (other-

therwise than by the servile following of his Bent) did not give way onely (as the first did) but shape him way to those Extremities, for which himselfe was touched with remorse at his Death, and which his Successour renounced, and sought to purge. This Excesse of his, had at that time many Glosses and Interpretations. Some thought the continuall Rebellions wherewith he had beene vexed, had made him grow to hate his People. Some thought it was done to pull downe their Stomackes, and to keep them low. Some, for that hee would leave his Son a Golden-fleece. Some suspected hee had some high Designe upon Foreine parts. But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off, but rather impute it to Nature, Age, Peace, and a Minde fixed upon noe other Ambition or Pursuit. Whereunto I should adde, that having every day Occasion to take notice of the Necessities and Shifts for Money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better (by Comparison) set off to him the Felicity of full Coffers. As to his expending of Treasure he never spared Charge which his Affaires required; & in his Buildings was Magnificent, but his Rewards were very limited. So that his Liberality was rather upon his own State and Memory, than upon the Deserts of others. Hee

Hee was of an High Minde, and loved his owne VVill, and his owne VVay; as One that revered himselfe, and would Reigne indeed. Had hee beene a Private-man, hee would have beene termed Proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of Distance, which indeed hee did towards all; not admitting any neare or full Approach, neither to his Power or to his Secrets. For he was governed by none. His Queene notwithstanding shee had presented him with divers Children, and with a Crowne also, (though hee would not acknowledge it) could doe nothing with him. His Mother he revered much, heard little. For any Person agreeable to him for Societie (such as was HASTINGS to King EDWARD the Fourth, or CHARLES BRANDON after to King HENRIE the Eight) hee had none: Except wee should account for such Persons, FOXE, and BRAY, and EMPSON, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the Instrument is much with the VVorke-man. Hee had nothing in him of Vain-glory, but yet kept State and Majesty to the height; Being sensible, That Majesty maketh the People bow, but Vain-glory boweth to them.

To his Confederates abroad he was Constant

stant and Just, but not Open. But rather such was his Inquirie, & such his Closenesse, as they stood in the Light towards him, and hee stood in the Darke to them. Yet without Strangenesse, but with a semblance of mutuall Communication of Affaires. As for little Envies or Emulations upon Foreine Princes (which are frequent with many Kings) hee had never any; but went substantially to his owne Businesse. Certaine it is, that though his Reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For Foreiners that could not see the Passages of Affaires, but made their Judgements upon the Issues of them, noted that hee was ever in Strife, and ever a Loft. It grew also from the Aires, which the Princes and States abroad received from their Ambassadors and Agents here; which were attending the Court in great number. Whom hee did not onely content with Courtesie, Reward, and Privatenesse; but (upon such Conferences as passed with them) put them in Admirati- on, to finde his Universall Insight into the Affaires of the World. Which though hee did sucke chiefly from themselves; yet that which hee had gathered from them all, seemed Admirable to every one: So that they did write ever to their Superiours, in high tearms, concerning

cerning his VVisedome and Art of Rule, Nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintaine Intelligence with him. Such a Dexterity hee had to impropriate to himselfe all Foreine Instruments.

Hee was carefull and liberall to obtaine good Intelligence from all parts abroad. Wherein hee did not onely use his Interest in the Leigers here, and his Pensioners which hee had both in the Court of Rome, and other the Courts of Christendome; but the Industrie and Vigilancie of his owne Ambassadors in Foreine parts. For which purpose, his Instructions were ever Extreame, Curious, and Articulate; and in them more Articles touching Inquisition, than touching Negotiation. Requiring likewise from his Ambassadors an Answer, in particular distinct Articles, respectively to his Questions.

As for his secret Spialls, which he did imploy both at home and abroad, by them to discover what Practices and Conspiracies were against him, surely his Case required it: Hee had such Moles perpetually working & casting to undermine him. Neither can it bee reprehended. For if Spialls be lawfull against lawfull Enemies, much more against Conspirators, and Traitors, But in deed to give them
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Credence by Oathes or Curses, that cannot bee well maintained; For those are too holy Vestments for a Disguise. Yet surely there was this further Good in his employing of these Flies and Familiars; That as the use of them was cause that many Conspiracies were revealed, so the Fame and Suspition of them kept (no doubt) many Conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queene hee was nothing Uxorious, nor scarce Indulgent; but Companiable, and Respective, and without Jealousie. Towards his Children hee was full of Paternall Affection, Carefull of their Education, aspiring to their High Advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due Honour and Respect, but not greatly willing to cast any Popular Lustre upon them.

To his Councell hee did referre much, and sate oft in Person; knowing it to bee the Way to assist his Power, and informe his Judgement. In which respect also hee was fairely patient of Libertie, both of Advice, and of Vote, till himselfe were declared. Hee kept a strait hand on his Nobilitie, and chose rather to advance Clergy. men & Lawyers, which were more Obsequious to him, but had lesse
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lesse Interest in the People; which made for his Absolutenesse, but not for his Safetie. In so much as (I am perswaded) it was one of the Causes of his troublesome Reigne: for that his Nobles, though they were Loyal and Obedient, yet did not Co-operate with him, but let every man goe his owne Way. Hee was not affraid of an Able Man, as LEWIS the Eleventh was. But contrariwise, hee was served by the Ablest Men that were to be found; without which his Affaires could not have prospered as they did. For VVarre, BEDFORD, OXFORD, SURREY, DAWBENEY, BROOKE, POYNINGS. For other Affaires, MORTON, FOXE, BRAY, the Prior of Lanthony, VVARHAM, URSWICKE, HUSSEY, FROWICKE, and others. Neither did hee care how Cunning they were, that hee did imploy; For hee thought himselfe to have the Master-Reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a Darke Prince, & infinitely Suspicious, and his Times full of Secret Conspiracies and Troubles; yet in Twentie foure yeares Reigne, hee never put downe, or discomposed Counsellor, or neare Servant, save onely STANLEY, the Lord Chamberlaine.

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As for the Disposition of his Subjects in Generall towards him, it stood thus with him; That of the Three Affections, which naturally tie the hearts of the Subjects to their Soveraignes, Love, Feare, and Reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other Two.

Hee was a Prince, Sad, Serious, and full of Thoughts, and secret Observations, and full of Notes and Memorials of his owne hand, especially touching Persons, As whom to Employ, whom to Reward, whom to Enquire of, whom to Beware of, what were the Dependencies, what were the Factions, and the like; keeping (as it were) a Journall of his Thoughts. There is to this day a merrie Tale; That his Monkey (set on as it was thought by one of his Chamber) tore his Principall Note-booke all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth. Whereat the Court (which liked not those Pensive Accompts) was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of Apprehensions and Suspitions. But as he did easily take them, so he did easily checke them, and master them: whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himselfe more than others. It is true, his Thoughts were so many, as they could not well

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alwayes stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither did hee at some times waigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that Rumour which did him so much mischief (That the Duke of Yorke should be saved, and alive) was (at the first) of his owne nourishing; because hee would have more Reason not to raigne in the Right of his VVife. Hee was Affable, and both VVell and Faire-spoken, and would use strange Sweetnesse and Blandishments of VVords, where hee desired to effect or perswade any thing that hee tooke to heart. He was rather Studious then Learned; reading most Bookes that were of any worth, in the French-tongue. Yet he understood the Latine, as appeareth in that Cardinall HADRIAN, and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latine.

For his Pleasures, there is no Newes of them. And yet by his Instructions to MAR-SIN and STILE, touching the Queen of Naples, it seemeth he could Interrogate well touching Beautie. Hee did by Pleasures, as great Princes doe by Banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turne away. For never Prince was more wholly given to his Affaires, nor in them more of himselfe. In so much, as
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in Triumphs of lusts, and Tourneyes, and Balles, and Masques (which they then called Disguises) he was rather a Princely and Gentle Spectator, then seemed much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men (and most of all in Kings) his fortune wrought upon his Nature, and his Nature upon his Fortune. Hee attained to the Crowne, not onely from a private Fortune, which might indow him with Moderation; but also from the Fortune of an Exiled Man, which had quickned in him all Seedes of Observation and Industrie. And his Times being rather Prosperous, then Calme, had raised his Confidence by Successe, but almost marred his Nature by Troubles. His VVisedome, by often evading from Perils, was turned rather into a Dexteritie to deliver himselfe from Dangers, when they pressed him, than into a Providence to prevent and remove them a farre off. And even in Nature, the Sight of his Minde was like some Sights of Eyes; rather strong at hand, then to carry a farre off. For his VVitt increased upon the Occasion; and so much the more, if the Occasion were sharpened by Danger. Againe, whether it were the shortnesse of his Foresight, or the strength of his VVill, or the dazeling
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of his Suspitions, or what it was; Certaine it is, that the perpetuall Troubles of his Fortunes (there being no more matter out of which they grew) could not have beene without some great Defects, and maine Errours in his Nature, Customes, and Proceedings, which hee had enough to doe to save and helpe, with a thousand little Industries and VVatches. But those doe best appeare in the Storie it selfe. Yet take him with all his Defects, if a Man should compare him with the Kings his Concurrents, in France and Spaine, he shall finde him more Politick than LEWIS the Twelfth of France, and more Entire and Sincere than FERDINANDO of Spaine. But if you shall change LEWIS the Twelfth, for LEWIS the Eleventh, who lived a little before; then the Consort is more perfect. For that LEWIS the Eleventh, FERDINANDO, and HENRY, may be esteemed for the Tres Magi of Kings of those Ages. To conclude, If this King did no greater Matters, it was long of himselfe; for what hee minded, hee compassed.

Hee was a Comely Personage, a little above Just Stature, well and straight limmed, but slender. His Countenance was Reverend, & a little like a Church-man: And as it was not strange or darke, so neither was it
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VVinning or Pleasing, but as the Face of one well disposed. But it was to the Disadvantage of the Painter; for it was best when hee spake.

His VVorth may beare a Tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seeme Divine. When the Ladie MARGARET his Mother had diverse great Sutors for Marriage, she dreamed one Night, That one in the likenesse of a Bishop, in Pontificall habit, did tender her EDMUND Earle of Richmond (the Kings Father) for her Husband. Neither had she ever any Child but the King, though shee had three Husbands. One day when King HENRY the Sixth (whose Innocencie gave him Holiness) was washing his hands at a great Feast, and cast his Eye upon King HENRY, then a young Youth, hee said; This is the Lad, that shall possesse quietly that that we now strive for. But that that was truly Divine in him, was, that hee had the Fortune of a True Christian, as well as of a Great King, in living Exercised, and dying Repentant. So as he had an happie VVarrefare in both Conflicts, both of Sin, and the Crosse.

Hee was borne at Pembroke Castle, and lyeth buried at VVestminster, in one of the Stateliest and Daintiest Monuments
of

The Historie of the Reigne of &c.

of Europe, both for the Chappell, and for the Sepulchre. So that hee dwelleth more richly Dead, in the Monument of his Tombe, than hee did Alive in Richmond, or any of his Palaces. I could wish he did the like, in this Monument of his Fame.

FINIS.

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