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(3 of 6): England (7 of 9), by Raphael Holinshed**

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*** START OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND
AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (7 OF 9) ***

HENRIE THE SEAUENTH,
sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond, which Edmund was
brother by the moothers side to Henrie the sixt.

King Henrie hauing thus got the victorie at Bosworth, and slaine his mortall enimie there in the field, did send before his departure from Leicester, sir Robert Willoughbie knight, to the manour of Sheriffehuton in the countie of Yorke, for Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike, sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence then being of the age of fiftéene yeares; whome king Richard had kept there as prisoner during the time of his vsurped reigne. Sir Robert Willoughbie receiuing the yoong earle of the constable of that castle conueied him to London where he was shut vp in the Tower, for doubt least some vnquiet and euill disposed persons might inuent some occasion of new trouble by this yoong gentleman: and therefore king Henrie thought good to haue him sure.

An. Reg. 1.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarence committed to the tower.

There was beside him in the castell of Sheriffehuton the ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to king Edward the fourth, whome king Richard (as ye haue heard) meant to haue married: but God otherwise ordeined for hir, and perserued hir from that vnlawfull copulation and incestuous bed. Shortlie after, she being accompanied with a great number as well of noblemen, as honourable matrons, was with good spéed conueied to London, and brought to hir moother. In the meane season king Henrie remooued forward by soft iournies towards London, the people comming in from all sides to behold him, and excéedinglie reioising at his presence, as by their voices and gestures it well appeared.

King Henrie commeth to London.

At his approaching néere to the citie, the maior and his brethren, with other worshipfull citzens, being clothed in violet, met him at Shordich, and reuerentlie saluted him: and so with great pompe and triumph he rode thorough the citie to the cathedrall church of S. Paule, where he offered thrée standards. In the one was the image of saint George, in an other was a red fierie dragon beaten vpon white and gréene sarcenet, and in the third was painted a dun cow vpon yellow tarterne. After his praiers said, and Te deum soong, he departed to the bishops palace, and there soiourned a season. Anon after, he assembled together the sage councillors of the realme, in which councill like a prince of iust faith, and true of promise, to auoid all ciuill discord, he appointed a daie to ioine in marriage with the ladie Elizabeth, heire of the house of Yorke; with his noble personage, heire to the line of Lancaster. Which thing not onelie reioised the hearts of the nobles and gentlemen of the realme, but also gained the fauours and good wils of all the commons.

After this, with great pompe he rowed vnto Westminster, & there the thirtieth daie of October he was with all ceremonies accustomed, annointed, & crowned king, by the whole assent as well of the commons as of the nobilitie, & called Henrie the seauenth of that name: which was in the yeare of the world 5452, and after the birth of our Lord 1485, in the fortie and sixt yeare of Frederike the third then emperour of Almaine, Maximilian his sonne being newlie elected king of the Romans, in the second yeare of Charles the eight then king of France, and in the fiue and twentieth of king Iames then ruling the realme of Scotland. For the establishing of all things as well touching the preseruacion of his owne estate, as the commendable administration of iustice and preferment of the common wealth of his realme, he called his high court of parlement at Westminster the seauenth daie of Nouember, wherein was atteinted Richard late duke of Glocester, calling and naming himselfe by vsurpation, king Richard the third.

Henrie the seuenth crowned king.

1485.

A parlement at Westminster, with an atteindor and a pardon generall.

Likewise there was atteinted as chéefe aiders and assistants to him in the battell at Bosworth, aduanced against the present king, Iohn late duke of Norffolke, Thomas earle of Surrie, Francis Louell knight vicount Louell, Walter Deuereux knight late lord Ferrers, Iohn lord Zouch, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeleie of Weleie, Robert Middleton, Iames Harrington, Robert Brakenberie, Thomas Pilkington, Walter Hopton, William Catesbie, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the countie of Huntington, Humfrie Stafford, William Clerke of Wenlocke, Geffrie saint Germaine, Richard Watkins herald of armes, Richard Reuell of Derbishire, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, Iohn Welsh otherwise called Hastings, Iohn Kendall late secretaire to the said Richard late duke of Glocester, Iohn Bucke, Andrew Rat, and William Brampton of Burford.

In which atteindor neuerthelesse there were diuerse clauses and prouisos for the benefit of their wiues and other persons, that had or might claime anie right, title, or interest lawfullie vnto anie castels, manours, lordships, townes, townships, honours, lands, tenements, rents, seruices, fée farmes, annuities, knights fées, aduousons, reuersions, remainders, and other hereditaments; whereof the said persons atteinted were possessed or seized to the vses of such other persons: with a speciall prouiso also, that the said atteindor should not be preiudiciall to Iohn Catesbie knight, Thomas Reuell, and William Ashbie esquiers, in, of, & vpon the manour of Kirkebie vpon Wretheke in the countie of Leicester, nor in, of, and vpon anie other lands and tenements in Kirkebie aforesaid, Melton, Somerbie, Thropseghfield, and Godebie, which they had of the gift & feoffement of Thomas Dauers, & Iohn Lie. And further, notwithstanding this atteindor, diuerse of the said persons afterwards were not onelie by the king pardoned, but also restored to their lands and liuings.

Moreouer, in this present parlement, he caused proclamation to be made, that all men were pardoned and acquitted of their offenses, which would submit themselues to his mercie, and receiue an oth to be true and faithfull vnto him: wherevpon manie that came out of sanctuaries and

The king aduanceth his fréends.

other places were receiued to grace, and admitted for his subiects. After this, he began to remember his speciall fréends, of whome some he aduanced to honour and dignitie, and some he inriched with goods and possessions, euerie man according to his deserts and merits. And to begin, his vncler Iasper earle of Penbroke, he created duke of Bedford; Thomas lord Stanleie was created earle of Derby; and the lord Chendew of Britaine his especiall fréend, he made earle of Bath; sir Giles Daubeneie was made lord Daubeneie; sir Robert Willoughbie was made lord Brooke. And Edward Stafford eldest sonne to Henrie late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name, dignitie, & possessions, which by king Richard were confiscat and atteinted. Beside this, in this parlement was this notable act assented to and concluded as followeth; to the pleasure of almightie God, wealth, prosperitie, and suertie of this realme of England, and to the singular comfort of all the kings subiects of the same, in auoiding all ambiguities and questions.

An act for the establishing of the crowne in the line of Henrie the seauenth.

Be it ordeined, established, and enacted by this present parlement, that the inheritance of the crown of this realme of England, & also of France, with all the preheminance, and dignitie roiall to the same apperteining, all other seigniories to the king belonging beyond the sea, with the appurtenances thereto in anie wise due or apperteining, shall rest, remaine, and abide, in the most roiall person of our now souereigne lord king Henrie the seuenth, and in the heires of his bodie lawfullie comming, perpetuallie, with the grace of God so to indure, and in none other.

Beside this act, all atteindors of this king enacted by king Edward and king Richard were adnihilated, and the record of the same iudged to be defaced; and all persons atteinted for his cause and occasion were restored to their goods, lands, and possessions. Diuerse acts also made in the time of king Edward and king Richard were reuoked, and other adiudged more expedient for the common wealth were put in their places and concluded. After the dissolution of this parlement, the king remembring his fréends left in hostage beyond the seas, that is to wit, the marquesse Dorset, sir Iohn Bouchier, he with all conuenient spéed redéemed them, and sent also into Flanders for Iohn Morton bishop of Elie. These acts performed, he chose to be of his councill a conuenient number of right graue and wise councillors.

The king redéemeth his hostages.

¶ This did he, that he might the more roiallie gouerne his kingdome, which he obtained and inioied as a thing by God elected and prouided, and by his especial fauour and gracious aspect compassed and atchiued. Insomuch that men commonlie report that seauen hundred nintie & seauen yéeres passed, it was by a heauenlie voice reuealed to Cadwalader last of king Britains, that his stocke & progenie should reigne in this land & beare dominion againe. Wherevpon most men were persuaded in their owne opinion, that by this heauenlie voice he was prouided & ordeined long before to inioy & obteine this kingdome. Which thing K. Henrie the sixt did also shew before, as it were by propheticall inspiration, at such time as the earle of Penbroke presented the said Henrie (at that time a proper child) vnto Henrie the sixt, whome after he had beheld, and a good while viewed the comlinessse of his countenance, and orderlie lineaments of his bodie, he said to such péeres as stood about him: Lo, suerlie this is he, to whome both we and our aduersaries, leauing the possession of all things, shall hereafter giue roome and place: & so it came to passe by the appointment of God, to whose gouernement, gift, and disposing, all realmes and all dominions are subiect, as king Dauid confesseth, saieing:

Abr. Flem. ex subsequentib.

Sée the historie of Englād pag. 124.

Sée also D. *Powels* historie of Wales, pag. 2. and 376, 377, &c.

Sée before in Edward the fourth, pag. 302.

Omnia sunt regno subdita regna Dei.

Now although by this meanes all things séemed to be brought in good and perfect order, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe, to set all the strings in a monocord and perfect tune, which was the matrimonie to be finished betwéene the king and the ladie Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward. Which like a good prince, according to his oth, & promise, he did both solemnize & consummate shortlie after, that is to saie, on the eighteenth daie of Ianuarie. By reason of which marriage, peace was thought to descend out of heauen into England, considering that the lines of Lancaster and Yorke were now brought into one knot, and connexed together, of whose two bodies one heire might succéed to rule and inioie the whole monarchie and realme of England, which before was rent and diuided into factions & partakings, whereby manie a mans life was lost, great spoiles made of peoples goods, wast of wealth, worship, and honor, all which ended in this blessed and gracious connexion, authorised by God, as our Anglorum prælia saith:

Gu. Ha. in psal. 103.

King Henrie the seuenth taketh to wife Elizabeth eldest daughter of Edward the fourth.

1486.

In Hen. 7.

*Hoc Deus omnipotens pacis confecerat author,
Ciuilisque habuit tandem contentio finem.*

Shortlie after, for the better preseruacion of his roiall person, he constituted and ordeined a certeine number, as well of archers, as of diuerse other persons, hardie, strong, and actiue to giue dailie attendance on his person, whom he named yeomen of his gard, which president men thought that he learned of the French king when he was in France. For it is not remembered, that anie king of England before that daie vsed anie such furniture of dailie souldiers. ¶ In this same yéere a new kind of sickenes inuaded suddenlie the people of this land, passing through the same from the one end to the other. It began about the one and twentieth of September, and continued vntill the latter end of October, being so sharpe and deadlie, that the like was neuer heard of to anie mans remembrance before that time.

Yeomen of the gard first brought in.

For suddenlie a deadlie burning sweat so assailed their bodies and

distempered their bloud with a most ardent heat, that scarce one amongst an hundred that sickened did escape with life: for all in maner as soone as the sweat tooke them, or within a short time after yéelded the ghost. Beside the great number which deceased within the citie of London, two maiors successiuelie died within eight daies and six Aldermen. At length, by the diligent obseruation of those that escaped (which marking what things had doone them good, and holpen to their deliuerance, vsed the like againe.) When they fell into the same disease, the second or third time, as to diuerse it chanced, a remedie was found for that mortall maladie, which was this. If a man on the day time were taken with the sweat, then should he streight lie downe with all his clothes and garments, and continue in his sweat foure and twentie houres, after so moderate a sort as might be.

The sweating sicknesse.

A remedie for the sweating sicknesse.

If in the night he chanced to be taken, then should he not rise out of his bed for the space of foure and twentie houres, so casting the clothes that he might in no wise prouoke the sweat, but lie so temperatlie, that the water might distill out softlie of the owne accord, and to absteine from all meat if he might so long suffer hunger, and to take no more drinke neither hot nor cold, than, would moderatelie quench and asswage his thirstie appetite. Thus with lukewarme drinke, temperate heate, and measurable cloaths manie escaped: few which vsed this order (after it was found out) died of that sweat. Marie one point diligentlie about all other in this cure is to be obserued, that he neuer did put his hand or féet out of the bed to refresh or coole himselfe, which to doo is no lesse ieopardie than short and present death. Thus this disease comming in the first yeare of king Henries reigne, was iudged (of some) to be a token and signe of a troublous reigne of the same king, as the prooffe partlie afterwards shewed it selfe.

The king standing in néed of monie to discharge such debts, and to mainteine such port as was behouefull, sent the lord treasurer with maister Reginald Braie, and others, vnto the lord maior of London, requiring of the citie a prest of six thousand marks. Wherevpon the said lord maior and his brethren, with the commons of the citie, granted a prest of two thousand pounds, which was levied of the companies, and not of the wards; and in the yeare next insuing, it was well and trulie againe repaid euerie penie, to the good contentation and satisfieng of them that disbursed it. The king considering that the suertie of his roiall estate and defense of the realme consisted chéefelie in good lawes and ordinances to be had and obserued among his people summoned eftsoones his high court of parlement, therein to devise and establish some profitable acts and statutes, for the wealth and commoditie of his people.

The king requested a prest of six thousand markes.

A parlement summoned & new lawes for the common-wealth enacted.

After this, hauing set things in quiet about London, he tooke his iournie into the North parts, there to purge all the dregs of malicious treson that might rest in the hearts of vnquiet persons, and namelie in Yorkeshire, where the people bare more fauour vnto king Richard in his life time, than those of anie other part of the realme had commonlie doone. He kept the feast of Easter at Lincolne; where he was certified that the lord Louell and Humfrie Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, his brother, were departed out of the sanctuarie at Colchester, to what place or whither, no man as yet could tell. The king little regarding the matter, kept on his iournie, and came to Yorke, where as soone as he was once settled, it was openlie shewed and declared for a truth to the king himselfe, that Frances lord Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie power of men, and would with all diligence inuade the citie.

The king goeth into the North.

A rebellion made by the lord Louell and others.

It was also told him, that the forenamed Staffords were in Worsetershire, and had raised a great band of the countrie people and commons there, and had cast lots what part should assault the gates, what men should scale the wals of the citie of Worcester, and who should let the passages for letting of rescues and aiders. The king could not beléue this report to be true at the first, but after that, by letters of credence sent from his fréends, he was fullie persuaded that it was too true, he was put in no small feare, and not without great cause. For he wiselie considered, that he neither had anie competent armie readie, nor conuenient furniture to arme them that were present: and also he was in such place, where he could not assemble anie power, but of those whome he sore mistrusted, as fréends to them that were most his enimies; the memorie of king Richard as yet being not amongst them forgotten nor worne out of mind.

Humfrie Stafford.

Thomas Stafford.

But bicause the matter required quicke expedition, he appointed the duke of Bedford with thrée thousand men not altogether the best armed (for their brest plates for the most part were of tanned leather) to march fourth against the lord Louell, and to set vpon him without anie lingering of time. The duke hasting forward, approched to the campe of his enimies, & before he would assaile them, he caused the heralds to make proclamation, that all those that would depart from their armour, and submit themselues as subiects vnto their naturall prince and souereigne lord, should be pardoned of all former offenses. The lord Louell vpon this proclamation, either putting mistrust in his souldiers, or fearing himselfe in his owne behalfe, fled priuilie in a night from his companie, and left them as a flocke of shéepe without a shéepeheard.

The duke of Bedford against the lord Louell in armes.

Which departure of the lord when his armie vnderstood, it put the souldiers in such despaire of atchiuing anie further enterprise, that they immediatlie put off their armour, and came directlie vnto the duke, euerie

The lord Louell escapeth.

man humbly submitting himselfe, and desiring pardon of his offenses. So in this wise was that dangerous storme and cruell rage of those furious rebels appeased, which was doubted would haue growne to the destruction of manie a man. The lord Louell the procurer of this businesse, escaping awaie got him into Lancashire, and there for a certeine space lay lurking in secret with sir Thomas Broughton knight, which in those parties was a man of no small authoritie and power.

Sir Humfreie Stafford also, hearing what had happened to the lord Louell, in great displeasure and sorrowe, and for feare left his enterprise, and in like manner fled, and tooke sanctuarie at Colnham, a village not past two miles from Abindon. But bicause that sanctuarie was not a sufficient defense (as was proued before the iustices of the kings Bench) for traitours, he was taken from that place, & brought to the Tower, & after put to execution at Tiborne: but his brother Thomas that was with him, was pardoned, bicause he was thought not to haue attempted anie thing of himselfe otherwise than by the euill counsell and persuasion of his elder brother. After that the king had quieted all these commotions and tumults, and reformed the rude and brabling people of the North parts, he returned to London.

Sir Humfreie Stafford taken out of Colnham sanctuarie, and executed.

An. Reg. 2.

¶ In this yeare Iohn Persiuall, one of the maiors of Londons officers, and his caruer, was chosen one of the shiriffes of London. For when the maior (as the custome of London is) dooth elect one of the shiriffes of London for the yeare insuing, by taking and drinking a cup of wine to such a one as he lust to name shiriffe; the maior for the time being, whose name was sir Henrie Collet, tooke the cup of wine, and dranke vnto the aforesaid Iohn Persiuall his caruer standing bareheaded before him, and waiting vpon his boord, and called him shiriffe of London for the yeare insuing: and fourthwith the said maior caused the same Persiuall to sit downe at his owne table, and to couer his head. And the same Persiuall tooke vpon him the office of shiriualltie, and after was maior of London, and was made knight.

Abr. Fl. ex Epitome Rich. Grafton.

One of the maiors officers chosen shiriffe of London and lord maior.

In this meane time, of a small matter, and the same altogether false and fained, there was an open path made and beaten forth, for a greater inconuenience to insue. The which matter might séeme verie strange, how such trouble and mischéefe should grow thereof, if the time were not considered, in which it happened. For in those daies manie persons, either borne in the wombe of continuall dissention, or nourished with the milke of ciuill sedition, could not forbear their vsuall custome of moouing strife, and sowing debate, euer glad to haue anie occasion, though neuer so small, to stirre vprores of warre, and slaughter of people. Which men if they knew (a matter of weightie conceipt) the hurts thereof, they would be as earnest in séeking after peace as they are gréedie in pursuit of warre, speciallie ciuill warre: but the cause whie they are defectiue therein, is the want of méekenesse and humilitie, as the wiseman saith:

Mite cor horribili seditione vacat.

Amongst other such monsters and limmes of the diuell, there was one sir Richard Simond préest, a man of base birth, and yet well learned, but not so learned as wilie, nor so wilie as vngratious, delighting in fraud & deceit, euen from his youth. He had a scholer called Lambert Simenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnant wit, to be the organe and chéefe instrument, by the which he might conueie and bring to passe his mischéuous attempt. The diuell chéefe master of such practises, put in the venemous braine of this disloial and traitorous préest to devise how he might make his scholer the foresaid Lambert to be reputed as right inheritour to the crowne of this realme: namelie, for that the fame went that king Edwards children were not dead but fled secretlie into some strange place, and there to be liuing: and that Edward earle of Warwike, sonne and heire to the duke of Clarence, either was, or shortlie should be put to death.

Sir Richard Simond a fraudulent préest. Lambert Simenell the counterfeit earle of Warwike.

These rumors though they séemed not to be grounded of anie likelihood to the wiser sort of men, yet encouraged this péeuish priest to thinke the time come, that his scholer Lambert might take vpon him the person and name of one of king Edwards children. And herevpon at Oxford, where their abiding was, the said préest instructed his pupill both with princelie behauour, ciuill maners, and good literature, declaring to him of what linage he should affirme himselfe to be descended, and omitted nothing that might serue for his purpose. Soone after, the rumor was blowne abroad, that the earle of Warwike was broken out of prison. And when the préest sir Richard Simond heard of this, he streight intended now by that occasion to bring his inuented purpose to passe, and changing the childes name of baptisme, called him Edward, after the name of the yong earle of Warwike, the which were both of like yeares, and of like stature.

Then he with his scholer sailed into Ireland, where he so set forth the matter vnto the nobilitie of that countrie, that not onelie the lord Thomas Gerardine chancellor of that land deceiued though his craftie tale, receiued the counterfeit earle into his castell with all honour and reuerence; but also manie other noble men determined to aid him (with all their powers) as one descended of the bloud roiall and lineallie come of the house of Yorke, which the Irish people euermore highlie faouored, honoured, and loued aboue all other. By this meanes euerie man through out all Ireland was willing and readie to take his part, and to submit themselues to him; alreadie reputing and calling him of all hands king. So that now they of this sect (by the aduise of the préest) sent into England certeine priuie messengers to get fréends héere.

Thomas Gerardine chancellor of Ireland interteineth the counterfeit earle verie honorablie.

Also they sent into Flanders to the ladie Margaret, sister to king Edward, & late wife to Charles duke of Burgognie, to purchase aid and helpe at hir hands. This ladie Margaret bare no small rule in the low countries, and in verie déed sore grudged in hir heart, that king Henrie (being descended of the house of Lancaster) should reigne and gouerne the realme of England: and therefore though she well vnderstood that this was but a coloured matter; yet to worke hir malicious intention against king Henrie, she was glad to haue so fit an occasion: and therefore promised the messengers all the aid that she should be able to make in furtherance of the quarell; and also to procure all the fréends she could in other places, to be aiders and partakers of the same conspiracie.

Margaret the duchesse of Burgognie sister to king Edward the fourth, hir malicious mind to Lancaster house.

King Henrie aduertised of all these dooings, was greatlie vexed therewith: and therefore to haue good aduise in the matter, he called together his councell at the Charterhouse beside his manor of Richmond, and there consulted with them, by which means best this begun conspiracie might be appeased and disappointed without more disturbance. It was therefore determined, that a generall pardon should be published to all offenders that were content to receiue the same. This pardon was so fréelie granted that no offense was excepted, no not so much as high treason committed against the kings roiall person. It was further agréed in the same councell for the time then present, that the earle of Warwike should personallie be shewed abroad in the citie, and other publike places: whereby the vntrue report falselie spread abroad, that he should be in Ireland, might be among the communtie prooued and knowne for a vaine imagined lie.

A generall pardon excepting no offēse.

Order taken that the yoong earle of Warwike should be shewed abroad.

In this solemne councell, diuerse & manie things for the wealth of the realme were debated and concluded. And among other it was determined, that the ladie Elizabeth wife to king Edward the fourth, should loose and forfeit all hir lands and possessions, bicause she had voluntarilie submitted hir selfe and hir daughters wholie to the hands of king Richard, contrarie to hir promise made to the lords and nobles of this realme in the beginning of the conspiracie made against king Richard, whereby she did inough to haue quailed all the purpose of them that ioined with hir in that matter. But though hir fault was gréeuous, yet was it iudged by some men that she deserued not by equitie of iustice so great a losse and punishment. Howbeit, this iudgement was altogether affectionate and parcial in hir behalfe; besides that it was reasonable in great measure (all circumstances considered) for she was not lightlie induced to doo as she did, neither stood it with the frailtie of a woman to withstand the temptations of a mightie man, or rather a reaching tyrant.

Ladie Elizabeth late wife to king Edward the fourth, adiudged to forfeit all hir lands for promise-breaking.

But such was hir chance by hir lightnesse and inconstancie, that she wan the displeasure of manie men, and for that cause liued after in the abbeie of Bermondseie beside Southwarke a wretched and a miserable life, where not manie yeares after she deceased and is buried with hir husband at Windsore. Though fortune thus ruleth manie things at hir plesure, yet one worke that this quéene accomplished cannot be forgotten: for in the life time of hir husband king Edward the fourth, she founded and erected a notable colledge in the vniuersitie of Cambridge, for the finding of scholers and students of the same vniuersitie, and endowed it with sufficient possessions for the long maintenance of the same, which at this daie is called the Quéenes colledge.

Quéenes Colledge in Cambridge founded by the ladie Elizabeth king Edward the fourth his wife.

When all things in this counsell were sagelie concluded and agréed to the kings mind, he returned to London; giuing in commandement, that the next sundaie insuing, Edward the yoong earle of Warwike should be brought from the Tower through the most publike stréets in all London, to the cathedrall church of saint Paule, where he went openlie in procession, that euerie man might see him, hauing communication with manie noble men, and with them especiallie that were suspected to be partakers of the late begun conspiracie; that they might perceiue how the Irishmen vpon a vaine shadowe mooued warre against the king and his realme. But this medicine little auailed euill disposed persons. For the earle of Lincolne sonne to Iohn de la Poole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, thought it not méet to neglect and omit so readie an occasion of new trouble.

Edward the right earle of Warwike shewed openlie in procession.

Wherefore they determined to vphold the enterprise of the Irishmen, and other complices of this conspiracie; so that consulting with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeine other of his most trustie fréends, he purposed to saile into Flanders to his aunt the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, trusting by hir helpe to make a puissant armie, and to ioine with the companions of the new raised sedition. Therefore after the dissolution of the parlement which then was holden, he fled secretlie into Flanders vnto the said ladie Margaret; where Francis lord Louell landed certeine daies before. Héere after long consultation had how to procéed in their businesse, it was agréed, that the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell should go into Ireland; and there to attend vpon the duchesse hir counterfeit nephue, and to honor him as a king, and with the power of the Irishmen to bring him into England.

An ill matter followed to the proofoe.

Now they concluded, that if their dooings had successe, then the foresaid Lambert (mismamed the earle of Warwike) should by consent of the councell be deposed, and Edward the true earle of Warwike deliuered out of prison and annointed king. King Henrie supposing that no man would haue béene so mad as to haue attempted anie further enterprise in the

The earle of Lincolnes flight into Flanders doubted of king Henrie.

name of that new found & counterfeit earle, he onelie studied how to subdue the seditious conspiracie of the Irishmen. But hearing that the earle of Lincolne was fled into Flanders, he was somewhat mooued therewith, and caused soldiors to be put in a readinesse out of euerie part of his realme, and to bring them into one place assigned, that when his aduersaries should appeare, he might suddenlie set vpon them, vanquish and ouercome them.

Thus disposing things for his suertie, he went towards S. Edmunds burie, and being certified that the marquesse Dorset was comming towards his maiestie, to excuse himselfe of things that he was suspected to haue doone when he was in France, he sent the earle of Oxford to arrest the said marques by the waie, and to conueie him to the Tower of London, there to remaine till his truth might be tried. From thence the K. went fourth to Norwich, and tarrieng there Christmasse daie, he departed after to Walsingham, where he offered to the image of our ladie, and then by Cambridge he shortlie returned to London. In which meane time, the earle of Lincolne had gotten together by the aid of the ladie Margaret about two thousand Almaines, with one Martine Sward, a valiant and noble capteine to lead them.

The marques Dorset committed to the Tower.

1487.

Martine Sward a valient capteine of the Almaines, assistant to the earle of Lincolne.

With this power the earle of Lincolne sailed into Ireland, and at the citie of Diuelin caused yoong Lambert to be proclaimed and named king of England, after the most solemne fashion, as though he were the verie heire of the bloud roiall lineallie borne and descended. And so with a great multitude of beggerlie Irishmen, almost all naked and vnarmed, sauing skains and mantels, of whome the lord Thomas Gerardine was capteine and conductor, they sailed into England with this new found king, and landed for a purpose at the pile of Fowdreie, within a little of Lancaster, trusting there to find aid by the meanes of sir Thomas Broughton, one of the chéefe companions of the conspiracie.

The counterfeit earle of Warwike with all his adherents landeth in England.

The king had knowledge of the enimies intent before their arriuell, and therefore hauing assembled a great armie (ouer the which the duke of Bedford, and the earle of Oxenford were chéefe capteins) he went to Couentrie, where he was aduertised, that the earle of Lincolne was landed at Lancaster with his new king. Héere he tooke aduise of his councellers what was best to be doone, whether to set on the enimies without further delaiie, or to protract time a while. But at length it was thought best to delaiie no time but to giue them battell, before they should increase their power, and therevpon he remooued to Notingham, & there by a little wood called Bowres, he pitched his field.

Shortlie after this came to him the lord George Talbot earle of Shrewesburie, the lord Strange, sir Iohn Cheinie, right valiant capteins, with manie other noble and expert men of warre, namelie of the countries néere adioining; so that the kings armie was woonderfullie increased. In this space the earle of Lincolne being entered into Yorkeshire, passed softlie on his iournie without spoiling or hurting of anie man, trusting thereby to haue some companie of people resort vnto him. But after he perceiued few or none to follow him, and that it was too late now to returne backe, he determined to trie the matter by dint of sword, and herevpon directed his waie from Yorke to Newarke vpon Trent.

K. Henries power soone increased.

The earle of Lincolne entreth Yorkeshire.

But before he came there, king Henrie knowing all his enimies purposes, came the night before the daie of the battell to Newarke; and tarrieng there a little, went thrée miles further, and pitching his field, lodged there that night. The earle of Lincolne certified of his comming, was nothing abashed, but kept still on his iournie; and at a little village called Stoke, nigh to the king and his armie, set downe his campe. The next daie the king diuided his whole power into thrée battels, and after in good arraie approached nigh to the towne of Stoke. The earle likewise set fourth his armie, and incountring with the kings people in a faire plaine there, méet for the triall of such a conflict, set vpon them with a manlie courage, desiring his soldiors to remember his honour and their owne liues.

The battell of Stoke.

Then both the armies ioined and fought verie earnestlie, in so much that the Almaines, being tried and expert men of warre, were in all things, as well in strength as policie, equals and matches to the Englishmen. But as for Martine Sward their colonell, few of the Englishmen, either in valiant courage, or strength, and nimblenesse of bodie was to him comparable. On the other side, the Irishmen, although they fought manfullie, and stucke to it valiantlie; yet bicause they were (after the maner of their countrie) almost naked, without anie conuenable furniture of armour, they were striken downe and slaine like dull & brute beasts, which was a great discouragement to the residue of the companie. Thus they fought for a space so sore and so egerlie on both parts, that no man could well iudge to whome the victorie was like to incline.

The armies ioine.

Martine Sward a péeerlesse warrior.

But at length the kings fore-ward being full of people, and well fortified with wings, which onelie both began and continued the fight, set vpon the aduersaries with such force and violence, that first they oppressed and killed such capiteins, one by one, as resisted their might and puissance: and after that, put all the other to flight, the which were either apprehended as prisoners in their running awaie, or else slaine and brought vnto confusion in a small moment. Now when this battell was

The kings power ouercommeth.

All the capteins of the aduerse part against

ended, and fought out to the extremitie, then it well appeared, what high prowess, what manfull stomachs, what hardie and couragious hearts rested in the kings aduersaries. For there the chéefe capteins, the earle of Lincolne, and the lord Louell, sir Thomas Broughton, Martine Sward, and the lord Gerardine capteine of the Irishmen were slaine, and found dead in the verie places which they had chosen aliue to fight in, not giuing one foot of ground to their aduersaries.

the king slaine.

Howbeit some affirme, that the lord Louell tooke his horsse, and would haue fled ouer Trent, but was not able to recouer the further side for the highnesse of the banke, and so was drowned in the riuier. There were killed at that battell, with their fiue capteins before rehersed, of that partie about foure thousand. Of the kings part there were not halfe of them which fought in the fore-ward, and gaue the onset slaine or hurt. Then was Lambert the yoongling, which was falslie reported to be the sonne of the duke of Clarence, and his maister sir Richard Simond priest both taken, but neither of them put to death; bicause that Lambert was but an innocent, and of yeares insufficient of himselfe to doo any such enterprise; and the other was pardoned of life, bicause he was a priest, and annointed man; but yet was committed to perpetuall prison.

The number of the slaine that were against the king.

Lambert and his maister Simond takèn.

Lambert was at length made one of the kings falconers, after that he had béene a turnebroch for a space in the kings kitchen. This battell was fought on a saturdaye being the sixtéenth daie of Iune, in this second yéere of his reigne. In this yéere died Thomas Bourchier archbishop of Canturburie: and Iohn Morton bishop of Elie; a man of excellent learning, vertue and policie, succéded in his place, whom Alexander pope of Rome, the sixt of that name, created a cardinall, and the king created him also chancellor of England. Of which pope (hauing so conuienient a place to speake) it were a fault to omit the ambition, accompanied with other disorders vnbeséeming a successor of Peter (but neither personallie nor locallie) as all the brood of them brag of themselues, & will be intituled with a primasie, vsurped.

Morton bishop of Elie made archbishop of Canturburie and chancellor of England.

¶ This Alexander the sixt pope of that name, was sometime an ancient cardinall, and one of the greatest in all the court of Rome. One meanes that raised him to the seat of the pope, was the difference betwéene the cardinals Ascanius Sforce, and Iulian S. Petri ad Vincula: but the chiefest thing that accomplished his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the consent and knowledge of euerie one, partlie for monie, and partlie with promises of offices and great dignities, manie voices of the cardinals, who reiecting the instruction of the gospell, were not ashamed to passe to him by sale, an authoritie and power to make merchandize of the holie tresures, & that with the name of the celestiall authoritie in the most high part of the temple.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag 4, 5.

Creation of pope Alexander the sixt, otherwise called Roderike Borgia borne at Venice.

To which abhominable & too prophane negotiation manie of them were induced by the cardinall Ascanius, but that was not more with persuasions and sutes, than with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinit desire of riches, he made the pope promise him for his hire and recompense of so great wickednesse, the office of vicechancellorship (the principallest place in the court of Rome) together with benefices, castels, and his palace of Rome full of moouables of great valour. But the pope for all this could not auoid; neither for the time to come, the iudgment and iustice of God; nor for the present, the infamie and iust hate of men, in whom for this election was no small impressions of astonishment and horror, not onelie for that it was intangled with meanes dishonest, but also bicause the natures and conditions of the man chosen, were (for the greatest part) knowen to manie.

Corruption of Cardinals in the election of the pope.

Manie sentences and coniectures were made of his successe. And amongst other, Ferdinand king of Naples, dissembling openlie the grieffe he had of that election, signified to the quéene his wife with teares (which he was woont to forbear euen in the death of his children) that there was created a pope who wold be most hurtfull to Italie, and the whole common weale of Christendome. A iudgement not vnworthie of the wisdom of such a prince: for that in Alexander the sixt (for so would this new pope be called) was a subtiltie, sharpenesse, and expedition of wit most singular, a counsell excellent, a woonderfull efficacie in persuasion, and in all great affaires a iudgement and care incredible. But these vertues were maruellouslie defaced by his vices, for touching his maners and customes, they were verie dishonest, in his administrations he expressed little sinceritie, in his countenance no shame, in his words small truth, in his heart little faith, and in his opinion lesse religion. Of the contrarie all his actions were defiled with an insatiable couetousnesse, and immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning desire to raise and make great (by what meanes soeuer) his children, who were manie in number; and amongst others, one no lesse detestable than the father, to whose cursed counsels he became a wicked instrument. Thus much (by waie of digression) of Alexander, a pope (as you heare) well qualified, and therefore forward enough to creat cardinals both in England and elsewhere of like disposition. But to returne to the storie.

Pope Alexander the sixt corrupted with manie vices.

After that the king had got the vpper hand of his enimies, he remooued to Lincolne, and there taried thrée dais, causing euerie of the same daies solemne processions to be made in rendering thanks to God for his fortunate victorie. Then caused he execution to be done, of such rebels & traitors as were taken in the field, either at the battell, or in the chase. And shortlie after he went into Yorkeshire, & there coasted the countrie

Thanks giuen to God after victorie.

Execution vpon the offenders.

ouerthwart, searching out such as had aided his enimies and were thought to be seditious persons, whome he punished, some by imprisonment, some by fines, and some by death: according to the qualitie of their offenses, and as was thought most expedient [not by extremitie of rigor inclining to tyrannie, but by due moderation of iustice tempering execution with clemencie; according to the good rule of iustice prescribed by the wise man, saieing:

Sobria commissum plectat elementia crimen,
Parua negat pœnam culpa subire grauem.]

About the middest of August entering into the third yere of his reigne, he came to Newcastle vpon Tine, and from thence sent in ambassage into Scotland Richard Fox, latelie before made bishop of Excester, and with him Richard Edgecombe knight, controller of his house, to conclude some peace or truce with king Iames of Scotland. The English ambassadors were honorablie receiued, and louinglie interteined of the said king, who gladlie would haue concluded a perpetuall peace with the king of England, if he might haue bene licenced so to haue doone: but his people being stedfast in their old accustomed vsage, would not agrée to anie peace, but yet were contented to gratifie their king that he should take truce with England for the tearme of seuen yeares, which was concluded.

Gu. Fla. in ecclie. cap. 10.

An. Reg. 3

Fox bishop of Excester sent ambassador into Scotland.

A truce with Scotland for seuen yeares.

Then was secret promise made by king Iames, that he would not onlie obserue peace, & continue in perfect amitie with the king of England during his life, but also would renew againe this truce new taken for other seuen yéers, before the first seuen yéers were fullie expired. The king of Scots indéed was as desirous of the king of Englands friendship, as the king of England was of his: bicause that his subiects bare him much euill will, misliking with all things that either he could doo or saie. [So that his regiment was no longer liked, than they were in a good mood, which was when they were well minded; and that was neuer: for that if by gentlenesse he allured them, they estéemed him a flatterer; if by seueritie, a tyrant. And therefore it stood him vpon to strengthen himselfe against such a people, of whose pleasure & displeasure depended his estate.]

K. Henrie after the returne of his ambassadors out of Scotland, came from Newcastle to Yorke, and so toward London, and in the way being at Leicester, there came to him ambassadors from Charles the French king, which declared both the recouerie of certeine townes out of the hands of Maximilian king of Romans, which he had wrongfullie deteined from the crowne of France before that time; and also that their maister king Charles had now wars in hand against Francis duke of Britaine, bicause that he succoured and mainteined diuers noble men, as the duke of Orleance and others, that were rebels and traitors, against him and the realme of France. Wherefore his request was, that for the old familiaritie that had bene betwixt them, he would either assist and helpe him, or else stand neuter betwixt them, neither helping nor yet hurting the one nor the other.

King Henrie returneth out of the north countrie.

The French kings request for aid against Francis duke of Britaine.

Vpon good and deliberate aduise taken in this matter, bicause it was iudged weightie, the king for answer told the French ambassadors, that he would neither spare paine nor cost, to set some reasonable staie betwixt their souereigne lord king Charles, and the duke of Britaine: so that a finall end and some perfect conclusion of friendship might be had betwixt them. And so as soone as the French ambassadors were returned home, the king sent his chapleine Christopher Urswike ouer into France to king Charles, as well to shew that he was glad of the victorie which he had against Maximilian; as to declare what a tempestuous storme of ciuill rebellion himselfe had escaped & ouercome héere in England.

But the chieffest point of Urswikes errand consisted in this, that he should intimate to the French king, how his maister king Henrie offered himselfe as a mediator betwixt him and the duke of Britaine, to make them friends: and if he perceiued that the French king gaue eare herevnto, then should he go into Britaine, to mooue the duke there to be contented, that some reasonable order might be taken for a quietnesse to be had betwixt the French king and him. Whilest Urswike was traouelling in this matter (according to his commission) the king came backe againe to London, where he was receiued of the citizens with great ioy and triumph, they being heartlie glad and greatlie reioising that he with such good successe had subdued his enimies.

King Henries offer to make an attonement betwixt the French king and the duke.

Christopher Urswike.

Shortlie after, he deliuered the lord Thomas marques Dorset out of the Tower, receiuing him againe to his former fauor and old familiaritie: bicause his truth and loialtie by diuerse assaies and sundrie arguments had béene throughlie tried, and sufficientlie prooued. In which meane time, the king for the great loue that he bare to his wife quéene Elizabeth, caused hir to be crowned and anointed quéene on saint Katharins day in Nouember, with all solemnitie, as in such cases apperteineth. In the meane season Christopher Urswike (according to his commission) trauelled betwéene the French king and the duke of Britaine in the king of Englands Name to make them friends. But although the French king séemed willing enough to haue peace, yet meant he nothing lesse. For he had as manie subtilties in his heart, as there be faces in the world, according to the poet.

The marques Dorset deliuered out of the Tower.

The kings loue to his wife quéene Elizabeth.

For whilst he went about with faire words, courteous letters, and swéet promises to beare the king of England in hand to labour a peace betwixt him and the Britains, he inforced his whole puissance to subdue them, and besieged the citie of Nants. And on the other part, the duke of Orleance being withdrawne to the duke of Britaine, and one that ruled most about him, had no liking to heare of peace, but did what he could to hinder it. The English ambassador Christopher Urswike (hauing thus passed from the French king to the duke of Britaine, and backe againe to the French king) returned shortlie after into England, and shewed vnto king Henrie what he had doone betwixt them.

The duke of Orleance partaker with the duke of Britaine.

Immediatlie after came to the French king the lord Bernard Daubeneie a Scot borne, which on the French kings behalfe required K. Henrie to make some maner of end of those Brittish warres, whatsoever it were. King Henrie being desirous of the same, sent ouer againe into France, Iohn the abbat of Abingdon, sir Richard Edgecombe knight, and the forenamed Christopher Urswike, with full and perfect commission & long instructions how to procéed, in driuing of some agrément betwixt the Frenchmen and the Britons. These orators (according as they had in commandement) first went vnto the French king, and after they had communed with him, sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswike departed streight to the duke of Britaine, in full hope to conclude a peace, vpon such offers and articles as they had to propose vnto him.

But all their hope was vaine, for the duke refused to agrée vpon anie such articles and conditions as they offered; and so without concluding anie thing with the duke, they returned backe into France; and from thence signified to the king of England by letters all that they knew, or had doone. But in the meane time, Edward lord Wooduile, vnclie to the quéene, sued to king Henrie that he might haue a power of men appointed to him, with the which he would steale priuilie ouer without licence or passeport, so that euerie man should thinke that he was fled the realme, without knowledge of the king, for that no warre should arise by his meanes betwixt the realmes of France and England, and yet should the duke of Britaine be aided against the power of the Frenchmen, which sought to vanquish him, that they might ioine his countrie vnto the dominion of France: which in no wise ought to be suffered, considering what annoiance & hurt the same might bring to the realme of England in time to come.

1488.

Edward lord Wooduile aideth the duke of Britaine without the kings cōsent.

Although this request was vtterlie denied, and that the lord Wooduile was streightlie commanded by the king to make no such attempt; yet could not all that staie him, but that withdrawing him into the Ile of Wight, whereof he was made ruler and capteine, he there gathered together a crue of tall & hardie personages, to the number of 400, & with prosperous wind & weather arriued in Britaine, and ioined himselfe with the Britons against the Frenchmen. The French king aduertised herof, was not well plesed in his mind towards the king of England; till K. Henrie by new messengers informed him how guiltlesse he was in the matter, and that by plaine and euident proofes. With the which excuse the French king séemed to be the better pacified, and was content to dissemble the matter.

Lord Wooduile gathereth a power in the Ile of wight.

Then the English ambassadors, renewing the league and amitie betwixt king Henrie & the French king, for the space of twelue moneths, they returned into England, and shewed the king all things that they had either heard or séene; so that he perceiued that the French king dealt craftilie in this matter of Britaine, still motioning peace when he meant nothing else but warre. He therefore called his high court of parlement, in the which it was not onelie determined that the duke of Britaine should be aided with a power of men against the wrongfull inuasions of the Frenchmen, but also there were diuerse summes of monie granted to the furnishing foorth and maintenance of the same. And immediatlie herevpon, the king sent his ambassadors into France to certifie the French king what the estates assembled in parlement here in England had decreéd.

The league renewed betwéene England and France.

The king calleth a parlement.

Wherefore he required him either to surceasse the warres which he had in hand against the Britons, or else not to be gréeued though he condescended to the iudgement and determination of the lords both spirituall and temporall, and commons of his realme, in taking vpon him the defense of the duke of Britaine; promising neuertheless that the English armie should onelie take land within the duchie of Britaine, and séeke to defend the same against all those that did inuade it, and not to make anie warre within the French dominions. This message was nothing regarded of the French king, in so much that the French armie procéded in oppressing the Britons, destroieng the countrie, and besieging townes.

A peremptorie ambassage out of England into France.

At length on the seuen and twentieth, or (as the chronicles of Aniou haue) the eight and twentieth daie of Iulie, the duke of Britains armie gaue battell to the French host néere to a towne called saint Aulbin, hauing apparelled a thousand and seuen hundred of the Britons in coates with red crosses, after the English fashion, to make the Frenchmen beléeue that they had a great number of Englishmen, although they had but foure hundred onelie with the lord Wooduile. The victorie in this battell fell to the Frenchmen, so that almost all the Englishmen were slaine with the lord Wooduile, beside six thousand Britons. The duke of Orleance and the prince of

The battell of saint Aulbin in Britaine, betwéene the duke of Britaine and the French king.

Lord Wooduile slaine.

Orange were taken prisoners, which were there on the Britons part. The Frenchmen lost twelue hundred men, and amongst other, that valiant Italian capteine James Galeot.

These newes being brought into England, caused king Henrie to make hast in sending foorth his armie, and therefore was the lord Brooke, with sir Iohn Cheinie, sir Iohn Middleton, sir Rafe Hilton, sir Richard Corbet, sir Thomas Leighton, sir Richard Laton, and sir Edmund Cornewall sent ouer into Britaine with all conuenient spéed, hauing with them an eight thousand men, well armed and furnished in warlike wise, to aid the duke of Britaine against the Frenchmen. These lustie capteins being arriued in Britaine, after they had a little refreshed them, marched forward, and comming néere to their enimies, pitched downe their field, not farre from the Frenchmens campe.

King Henrie sendeth
foorth his armie against
the French.

The Frenchmen by experience knowing the Englishmen (so long as they be fresh and lustie) in maner to be inuincible, thought not good to match with them in open battell, till they were somewhat wearied lieng and lingering abroad in the field. And therefore at the first they sought to wearie them with light skirmishes, appointing their horsemen to giue them alarmes, & some skirmishes; in the which the Frenchmen, by reason of the English archers (which galled both men and horsses) were euer put to the worsse. But behold the mutabilitie of worldlie chances! Whiles this warre was thus set forward, Francis duke of Britaine departed this life, & then the chéefe rulers of Britaine, falling at dissention among themselues, tendered not the defense of their countrie, but rather minded the destruction thereof.

When the French be
inuincible.

Francis duke of
Britaine dieth.

Herevpon the Englishmen, perceiuing in what danger they were, and considering that it was in the middest of winter, a time not méet for men of warre to lie in the cold and frostie fields, they returned into England, within fiue monethes after their first setting foorth. So that finallie the French king got the vpper hand of the Britons, and did incorporate that duchie to his realme and crowne of France, as in the historie of France it may appéere at large. ¶ In Iuly this yéere was a prest leuied for the king in the cite of London, of foure thousand pounds, which was repaid the yeare next following. In September, the quéene was deliuered at Winchester of her first sonne, named prince Arthur; and the fiue and twentieth of Nouember (next insuing) she was crowned at Westminster with all due solemnitie.

The duchie of Britaine
incorporated to the
realme of France.

John Stow.

The birth of prince
Arthur.

Yée haue heard, how there was in the last parlement monie granted for the furnishing foorth of the armie into Britaine; that is to wit, it was agréed, that euerie man should be taxed after the rate of his substance, to paie the tenth penie of his goods. Which monie the most part of them that dwelled in the bishoprike of Durham, and in the parties of Yorkeshire refused vtterlie to paie: either for that they thought themselues ouercharged with the same; or were procured to shew themselues disobedient, thorough the euill counsell of some seditious persons, which conspired against the king, to put him to new trouble. Therefore such as were appointed collectors, after that they could not get the monie, according to their extract deliuered to them by the commissioners, they made their complaint priuilie to Henrie the fourth earle of Northumberland, chiefe ruler of the North parts.

An. Reg. 4.

The collectors of the
subsidie complaine to
the earle of
Northumberland that
they cannot get in the
tax monie.

The earle fourthwith signified to the king all that matter, and the king not willing to pardon them of anie one penie (least the example might doo hurt by encouraging others to shew the like stubbornes in other parts of the realme) cōmanded the earle either by distresse or otherwise, to leuie the monie as he should thinke most méet. The rude and beastlie people hearing of this answer from the king, by and by with great violence set vpon the earle by the exciting of a simple fellow named Iohn a Chamber, whome the erle with faire words sought to appease. But they like vnreasonable villaines, alledging all the fault to be in him, as chiefe author of the tax, furiouslie and cruellie murdered both him and diuerse of his household seruants. Diuerse affirme that the Northerne men bare against this earle continuall grudge euer since the death of king Richard, whom they entirelie faouored.

1489.

The earle of
Northumberland
murdered by the
northerne rebels at the
instigation and setting
on of Iohn a Chamber.

Although this offense was great and heinous; yet there succéded a more mischiefe: for incontinentlie (to cloke this presumptuous murther) the Northerne men got them to armour, and assembling together, chose them a capteine, no lesse seditious than desirous of trouble, called sir Iohn Egremond knight; and passing by the countries, they published and declared that they would bid the king battell onlie in defense of their liberties & common fréedome, of the which he went about to béereau them. But when the matter should come to be tried with blowes, their harts so fainted that they scattered awaie, euerie man séeking to saue himselfe by flight: but that little auailed them.

A rebellion in the north
for a tax granted by
parlement.

Sir Iohn Egremond
capteine rebell.

For the king hearing of this businesse, sent foorth Thomas earle of Surreie (whome not long before he had deliuered out of the Tower, and receiued to his speciall fauour) with a crue of men, to chastise those rebels of the north parts, who skirmished with a certeine companie of them, and them discomfited, and took aliuie Iohn a Chamber, the first beginner of this

Thomas erle of Surrie
sent with a power
against the north
rebels.

rebellion. The king himselfe road after into Yorkeshire, of whose comming the sturdie rebels were so abashed and afraid, that they fled more and lesse; which afterward were apprehended, and punished according to their demerits. Yet the king of his clemencie pardoned the innocent people, and executed the chiefe procurers. For Iohn a Chamber was hanged at Yorke on a gibbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes like an archtraitor, and his complices and lewd disciples were hanged on the lower gallowes round about their maister, to the terrible example of other.

Iohn a Châmbler hanged like an archtraitor.

But sir Iohn Egremont fled into Flanders to the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, that euer enuid the prosperitie of king Henrie. After this the king returned to London, leauing the earle of Surreie to rule the north parts, and appointed sir Richard Tunstall, a man of great wit and policie, to gather the subsidie to him due of the people. This yeare the king borrowed of euerie alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eightie two pounds seuentéene shillings foure pence; which he repaied againe to the vttermost, with great equitie and thankfulnes. [A vertue verie laudable in this good king, and so much the more noteworthie as it is rare; speciallie in mightie men and great estates of the world, that count what soeuer they can catch their owne, as though the purses of their people were theirs to possesse at pleasure & vse at lust, without conscience or care of restitution. Which foule fault Ecclesiasticus noteth (affirming that all is lost that is lent them) in expresse words, saieing:

Sir Iohn Egremont flieth into Flanders.

The king boroweth a gret summe of monie of the châmbler of Londôn.

Reddere magnates nolunt, quæ mutua sumunt,
Mutua quæ trades interiisse scias.]

Gu. Ha. in Eccle. cap. 8.

In this season, the emperour Frederike made warre against the Flemings, namelie against Bruges and certeine townes of Flanders, which had rebelled against his sonne Maximilian king of Romans, their liege and souereigne lord; in so much that they of Bruges had not onelie slaine his officers but imprisoned him within their towne, till they had caused him to pardon all their offenses, and also to sweare neuer to remember, nor reuenge the same in time to come. But his father Frederike the emperour could not suffer such a reproch & dishonour doone to his sonne (whose fame & princelie estate as he tendered and had in gelosie; so was it his hart gréeffe and immoderat vexation that he should be abused of open contemners, in such villanous sort as tended highlie to the indignitie of his person, and the aggrauating of their offense and punishment) to passe vnreuenged, & therefore scourged the countrie of Flanders with sharpe and cruell warre.

A rebellion in Flanders.

Maximilian king of Romans imprisoned at Bruges by the townesmen.

The lord of Rauenstein being driuen to take the same oth, that his master Maximilian tooke at Bruges, to shew that the warre was not begun with his assent, forsooke Maximilian his lord, and tooke the townes of Ipre and Sluis, with both the castels of the same hauen, and further did not onelie stir the Cantois, Brugeans, and other towns of Flanders, to rebell against their souereigne lord; but also sent to the French kings lieutenant in Picardie, the lord Cordes, to aid him to conquer such townes of Flanders, as were not of his opinion. The lord Cordes, otherwise called monsieur de Querdes, was glad to haue so good occasion to set foot in Flanders, as he that had sufficient instructions of his maister the French king, vpon anie such offred occasion so to doo, sent fourthwith to the aid of the Flemings eight thousand Frenchmen, commanding them to conquer such townes, as were in the waie betwixt France and Bruges.

The lord Cordes maketh aduantage of occasion.

The capteins, according to his deuise, besieged a little walled towne called Dixmew, to whome came foure thousand Flemings with vittels and artillerie, sent from the lord of Rauenstein. They laid siege on the north side of the towne, in a marish ground then being drie, and so déepelie ditched and rampired their campe about (on which rampire they laid their ordinance) that it was in maner impossible to enter their campe, or doo them anie displeasure or damage. The K. of England was dailie aduertised of these doings, which nothing lesse desired than to haue the English pale inuironed with French fortresses. Wherefore to preuent that mischiefe in time, with all expedition he sent ouer to the lord Daubeneie, then his deputie of Calis, the lord Morleie, with a crue of valiant archers & souldiers, to the number of a thousand men, with priuie instructions what they should doo.

King Henrie sendeth the lord Daubeneie and the lord Morleie against the French.

At their comming ouer it was bruted abroad, that they were sent onelie to defend the English pale, against all attempts that might vpon the sudden in anie wise be made by the Frenchmen, or Flemings: but their enterprise was all otherwise. For on a tuesday at the shutting of the gates at night, the lord Daubeneie chieffeteine of the armie, the lord Morleie, sir James Tirrell capteine of Guisnes, sir Henrie Willoughbie, sir Gilbert Talbot, and sir Humfreie Talbot marshall of Calis, with diuerse other knights, and esquiers, and other of the garisons of Hammes, Guisnes, and Calis, to the number of two thousand men or thereabouts, issued priuilie out of Calis, & passed the water of Graueling in the morning betimes; and left there for a stale, and to kéepe the passage, sir Humfreie Talbot, with six score archers, and came to Newport, where they found the souereigne of Flanders with six hundred Almaines, and there they staid that night.

Sir Humfrie Talbot with his six score archers.

On the next daie they went toward Dixmew, and by the guiding of a prisoner, that should haue béene hanged on the next morning, they issued out of the south gate of the towne of Dixmew, and were conueied by their

The good service of a wretch that should

said guide by an high banke set with willowes; so that the Cantois could not well espie them, and so secretlie gat to the end of their enimies campe, and there paused. The lord Daubeneie commanded all men to send their horssees and wagons backe, but the lord Morleie said he would ride till he came to hand strokes. Thus they marched foorth till they came to a low banke, and no déepe ditch, where the ordinance laie; and there the archers shot altogether, euerie man an arrow, and so fell prostrate to the ground. The enimies herewith discharged their ordinance, and ouershot them.

haue béene hanged.

A policie.

The Almaines lepte ouer the ditch with their morice pikes. The Englishmen in the fore-front waded the ditch, and were holpen vp by the Almaines, and set on their enimies, and tooke manie prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the causie to enter in at the north gate of the campe, where the lord Morleie being on horssebacke in a rich coate, was slaine with a gun. When his death was knowen, euerie man killed his prisoner, and slue all such as did withstand them, to the number of eight thousand men; in so much that of two thousand that came out of Bruges (as the Flemish chronicle reporteth) there came not home one hundred. On the English part was slaine the lord Morleie, and not an hundred more.

The lord Morleie slaine.

The number of the slaine on both parts.

The Englishmen tooke their ordinance and sent it to Newport, with all the spoile and great horssees. And by the waie hearing certeine Frenchmen to be at Ostend, they made thitherward: but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned part of the towne, and came againe to Newport, where the lord Daubeneie left all the Englishmen that were hurt and returned to Calis, where he buried the bodie of the lord Morleie. The Englishmen got great riches at this field, for they that went foorth in cloth, came home in silke, and those that went out on foot, came home on great horssees. The lord Cordes being at Ippe with twentie thousand men, was sore displeasid with this ouerthrow; & therefore thinking to be reuenged, besieged the towne of Newport right stronglie, and shot dailie at the wals, breaking them in manie places.

The English souldiers enriched.

Newport besieged by the Frenchmen.

But the Englishmen that were hurt at Dixmew field before, and might either stand or draw bowe, neuer came from the wals. On a daie the Frenchmen gaue a great assault to a tower, and perforce entered it, and set vp the banner of the lord Cordes. But see the chance! During the time of the assault, there arriued a barke with foure score fresh, English archers, which came streight to the tower, and did so much, that what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurtmen, and of the couragious harts of the new come archers encouraged greatlie by the women of the towne, crieng; Shoot Englishmen, shoot: the tower was regained out of the Frenchmens hands, and the banner of the lord Cordes rent in pièces, and in place thereof the penon of saint George set vp. Then the Frenchmen, supposing a great aid of Englishmen to haue béene come to the towne by sea, left the assault.

English archers.

And the night following, the enuious lord Cordes (which so sore longed for Calis, that he would commonlie saie that he could be content to lie seuen yeares in hell, so that Calis were in possession of the Frenchmen) brake vp his siege, and returned to Heding with shame. And the Englishmen glad of this victorie returned to Calis. This yeare Iames the third of that name king of Scots was slaine by his owne subiects, after they had vanquished him in a pight field. About the same time one Adrian an Italian was sent in ambassage from pope Innocent the eight into Scotland, to haue taken vp the variance betwixt the king there and his people. But being arriued here in England, he was informed that king Iames was slaine, and therefore taried here certeine moneths.

The malicious and foolish words of the lord Cordes.

Iames king of Scots slaine by his owne subiects.

And for that he was a man of excellent learning, vertue, and humanitie, the archbishop of Canturburie Iohn Morton so commended him to the king, that he made him first bishop of Hereford, and shortlie after, that resigned and giuen ouer, he promoted him to the bishoprike of Bath and Welles. And after that with these honors he was returned to Rome, he was aduanced by all the degrés of spirituall dignities into the college of the cardinals. And worthie sure he was of great preferment, for by his meanes, learned men were mooued to seeke out the vse of eloquent writing and speaking in the Latine toong, he being the first in the time of our fathers that taught the trade to choose and vse apt words and fit termes.

Adrian an Italian made bishop in Hereford, and after of Bath and Welles.

In the sixt yeare of king Henries reigne there came ambassadors to him from the French king the lord Francis of Lutzenburgh, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gaguine minister of the Bonnehomes of the trinitie. The effect of their comming was to haue concluded a peace with king Henrie, and that with good will the French king might dispose of the mariage of the yong duchesse of Britaine, as he should thinke good; and to make void the contract and former mariage, which by proxie the deputie of Maximilian king of Romans had before time contracted & made with hir. But thereto would not king Henrie gaue his consent, euer harping on this string, that the maiden being once lawfullie combined in matrimonie with Maximilian, ought not to be compelled against hir will and promise (yea and contrarie to all law, right and equitie) to take anie other person than him to hir spouse and husband.

1490.

An. Reg. 6.

Ambassadors from the Frêch king to the king of England.

In déed king Henrie was loth that the French king should marrie the

duchesse of Britaine himselfe (as he perceiued his meaning was) and so ioine the duchie of Britaine to the crowne of France: and therefore he did what he could to hinder that bargaine. Yet at length it was agréed that a forme of a league should be drawn with conditions, clauses, and couenants. And for full concluding of the same, it was thought expedient, that the king of England should send ambassadors to the French king to finish all matters betwixt them. Wherevpon the French ambassadors being dismissed with great rewards, streightwaies Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston prior of Christes church in Canturburie, were appointed by the king to follow them into France, instructed fullie in althings that he would haue on his behalfe either moued or determined.

K. Henrie is loth that the French king should marrie the duchess of Britaine.

In this meane space, Lionell the bishop of Concordia was sent as oratour from pope Alexander the sixt to the French king for certeine matters: and amongst other things, he had in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwixt the French king and the king of England. He moouing this matter to the French king, found him nothing strange to incline to his motion. Wherevpon the bishop of Concordia conceiuing good hope, and therewith desirous (as became him best bearing that title) to set an attonement betwixt those two kings, tooke his iournie towards England, to the intent he might mooue king Henrie to be agréeable therevnto, and so comming to Calis, found the English ambassadors there, being so farre on their waie towards the French king; and being honorablie receiued of them into that towne, after they had communed together, the bishop tooke the sea, and was transported ouer into England, and the ambassadors departed towards the French king.

Lionell bishop of Concordia sent from the pope to the French king.

After the bishop of Concordia had talked with king Henrie, and perceiued that (vpon reasonable conditions) he could be content to conclude a peace with all christian princes, and to liue in rest after so manie troubles afore time susteined, the said bishop returned backe into France to sollicit this purpose to some perfect conclusion. But the Frenchmen so handled the matter, that whilst they outwardlie shewed how they desired nothing but fréndship and amitie, they allured the yong dutchesse of Britaine to submit herselfe wholie to their discretion, so that shortlie after she was married to king Charles. Now the English ambassadors, after they perceiued which waie the wind would blow, returned againe to their countrie, and nothing doone or agréed vpon in their matter.

The duchesse of Britaine married to K. Charles.

King Henrie sore troubled in his mind therewith, determining no more with peaceable messages, but with open warre to determine all controuersies betwixt him and the French king, called his high court of parlement, and there declared the cause why hée was iustlie prouoked to make warre against the Frenchmen: and therefore desired them of their beneuolent aid of men and monie toward the maintenance therof. The cause was so iust, that euerie man allowed it; and to the setting foorth of the war taken in hand for so necessarie an occasion, euerie man promised his helping hand. The king commended them for their true and faithfull hearts. And to the intent that he might spare the poorer sort of the commons (whome he euer desired to kéepe in fauor) he thought good first to exact monie of the richest sort by waie of a beneuolence.

A parlement wherin king Henrie openeth the iust cause of making warres against France.

Which kind of leuieng monie was first deuised by king Edward the fourth, as it appeareth before in his historie. King Henrie following the like example, published abroad, that by their open gifts he would measure and search their beneuolent hearts and good minds toward him; so that he that gaue most, should be iudged to be his most louing frénd; and he that gaue little, to be estéemed according to his gift. By this it appeareth, that whatsoeuer is practised for the princes profit, and brought to a president by matter of record, maie be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will so adiudge and determine it. But by this means king Henrie got innumerable great summes of monie, with some grudge of the people, for the extremitie shewed by the commissioners in diuers places.

Who first deuised the execution of monie called a beneuolence.

Sée pag. 331.

Ye haue heard before, how the lord of Rauenstein, by the aid of Bruges & Gant, had taken the towne and two castels of Sluis, which he kept against his souereigne lord Maximilian, and getting into the hauen certeine ships and barks, robbed, spoiled, & tooke prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations that passed alongest by that coast, towards the mart at Antwerpe, or into anie part of Brabant, Zeland, or Friseland, and was euer sufficientlie vittelled out of France and Picardie. There was a little towne also two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam, which was a bulworke to Bruges, and an hedspring to Sluis. The king of Romans had attempted the wining of this towne diuerse times, but missed his purpose; till at length Albert duke of Saxonie, a great frénd to the king of Romans, by policie found meanes to get it.

1491.

Albert the duke of Saxonies policie to get the towne of Dam.

This duke feining himselfe as a neuter betwixt the king of Romans, and the rebels of Flanders, required of the lords of Bruges, that he might enter peaceable into their towne according to his estate, with a certeine number of men of armes, to communicate with them diuerse matters of great weight, and sent before his cariages and herbengers to make prouision. They of Bruges were in no doubt of him, so that his men of warre entered into the citie in good order, and he followed. They that went before, inquired for innes and lodgings, as though they would haue rested there all the night, and so went foorth still in order asking after lodgings, till they came at

the gate that leadeth directlie toward Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemish mile, which is called the bulworke of Bruges.

The capteins and inhabitants of Dam suspecting no harme to come out of Bruges, thought their fréends (knowing some danger towards) had sent them aid, and so nothing mistrusting those that approched their towne, suffered them to enter, and so was the towne of Dam taken by sleight, which could not be woone by open force. This chance sore displeased them of Bruges, for now could they haue no recourse to the sea; so that they must néeds fall into ruine and decaie. The duke of Saxonie thus hauing woone the towne of Dam, sent to the king of England, that if it would please him to minister anie aid by sea, hée would besiege Sluis by land. Wherevpon the king of England, vpon due consideration of the dukes motion (as he was wise enough in all his enterprises, and no lesse fortunate in the issue of the same) would conclude nothing vpon the sudden, but (as he did alwaies) ruled his affaires by good counsell, like to the wise man commended in the holie scripture:

The duke of Saxonie sendeth for aid to king Henrie to win Sluis.

Consilio sapiens semper sua facta gubernat.

Gu. Ha. in Tob. 4.

At last he well remembring that Sluis was a rousenest, and a verie den of théeues to them that trauersed the seas towards the east parts, incontinentlie dispatched sir Edward Poinings a right valiant knight and hardie capteine, with twelue ships well furnished with bold souldiers and sufficient artillerie. Which sir Edward sailed into the hauen, and kept the lord of Rauenstein from starting by sea. The Duke of Saxonie besieged one of the castels, lieng in a church ouer against it: and the Englishmen assaulted the lesse castell, and issued out of their ships at the ebbe, neuer suffering their enimies to rest in quiet one day together, for the space of twentie daies, and euerie day slue some of their aduersaries; and on the English part were slaine one Vere, brother to the earle of Oxford, and fiftie more.

Sir Edward Poinings a valiant capteine sent into Flanders with an armie.

One Vere brother to the earle of Oxford slaine.

The lord of Rauenstein had made a bridge of botes betwéene both the castels, to passe from the one to the other; which bridge one night the Englishmen did set on fire. Then he, perceiuing that he must lose his castels by force, and that the Flemings could not aid him, yéelded the castels to sir Edward Poinings, and the towne to the duke of Saxonie, vpon certeine conditions. Sir Edward Poinings kept the castels a while, of whom the Almaines demanded their wages, because the duke had nothing to paie. Then these two capteins so handled them of Bruges, that they not onelie submitted themselues to their lord Maximilian; but also were contented to paie and dispatch the Almaines. And so sir Edward Poinings taried there a long space, and at length returned to the king before Bullogne.

The sixth day of Aprill this present yeare, the nobles of the realme assembled in the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where the maior of the same citie, his brethren the aldermen, and the craftesmen in their liueries also assembled: to whome doctor Morton chancellor made an oration, declaring how the king of Spaine had woone the great and rich citie & countrie of Granado from the Turks: for ioy whereof Te Deum was soong with great solemnitie. ¶ But bicause it is requisite and necessarie in this ample volume, to set downe the report of accidents as they are to be found at large in our owne English writers: you shall heare for the furtherance of your knowledge in this matter concerning Granado, what Ed. Hall hath left noted in his chronicle. Which although it containe diuerse actions of superstition, and popish trumperie: yet should it not offend the reader, considering that a people estranged from the true knowledge of God and sincere religion put the same in practise, as supposing principall holinesse to consist in that blind deuotion.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hull, in Hen. 7. fo. xxij. &c.

Granado woone from the Turks or Saracens.

On the sixt of Aprill (saith he) this yéere, the king commanded all the nobilitie of his realme to assemble at the cathedrall church of S. Paule in London, where (after Te Deum solemnlie soong) the cardinall of Canturburie, standing on the steps before the quier doore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which manie yeares had béene possessed of the Moores or Mauritane nation, being infidels & vnchristened people, was now of late besieged a great time by Don Ferdinando and Elizabeth his wife, king and quéene of Spaine, Arragon, and Castile. And the said infidels, by reason of siege brought to great penurie and miserie, for lacke of vittels & necessarie viands, perceiuing that all succours were clerelie stopped and excluded from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aid, or comfort, after long consultation had amongst them, determined to render themselues and their citie to the said king vpon diuerse couenants and conditions, and therevpon sent to him diuerse senators of the citie fullie instructed of their mind and purpose.

The king of Spaine and his councill, considering and sagelie pondering that winter approched & was at hand, and that the christian host had long lied in the fieldes in sore tempests and gréeuous stormes (which they gladlie suffered for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarell they made that present warre) remembring also that the citie was of such riches, fame, and estimation, that it contained an hundred and fiftie thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages; & that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with thrée score and ten thousand good fighting men; and finallie, perceiuing that he might inioy now the possession of the same, without assault or effusion of christian blood, by the aduice of his councill, he accepted, accorded, and agréed to their offers

The citie of Granado contained an hundred and fiftie thousand houses, besides cotages & small dwellings.

the twentieth and fifth of November, in the year of Christ's incarnation 1491, then being the day of saint Katharine.

By the which composition, the royal city of Granada, with all the holds and fortresses of the realm, and the towers and castles of Alpuzarra was rendered into the hands of the said king of Spain; and that the king of Granada should become subject and vassal to the king of Spain, and to relinquish and forsake the usurped name of a king forever: and that all the men of war should frankly depart out of the city, and none there to remain, but artificers and merchants: and all these things to be done before the fifth and twentieth day of January. But the time was prevented, for the moors on the first day of January sent six hundred notable personages out of the city with their children for hostages into the camp of the king of Spain, to the intent that he should put no diffidence nor mistrust in the citizens, but that he might peaceably and quietly with his people enter into the city, and take possession of the same. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tents and pavilions of the Spanish army.

Hostages delivered to the K. of Spain for his security.

The third of January, the lord of Guiterins Cardenas, great master & governor of Lion, of the order of S. James, departed from the army, noble and triumphant accompanied with five hundred horsemen, and three thousand footmen toward the city. And as he approached near to the suburbs, there issued out divers noble and valiant captains of the Moors, making to him humble obeisance, and conducted him to a palace adjoining to the city, called the palace of Anaxaras, and from thence conveyed him to the palace royal of the same city called Alhambra, whereof he took quiet and peaceable possession, to the behoof of the king of Spain, whom the Moors promised and confessed to take and obey as their king and sovereign lord. And in sign and token that they thought in their hearts, that which they promised by mouth; they prostrated and humbled themselves before the said great master, and with dolorous lamentation and salt tears delivered to him the keys of the said palace.

The vanquished people humbly submit themselves to the king vicegerent, & deliver up the keys of the city.

When he had the keys, and was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moors and pagans, and appointed a garrison of valiant and noble Christians, to keep and defend the same: and the same day caused a mass solemn to be celebrated in a place of the same palace called Melchita; which done and finished, he took possession of all the fortresses, towers, and holds to the said city and town of Granada belonging or appertaining. And then he caused to be erected and set up on the highest tower of the palace (where it might best be seen) the sign and token of the cross, whereon Christ for vsinners suffered his bitter passion. At the raising whereof were present an archbishop and three bishops, with other prelates, which devoutly sang this anthem: O crux, ave spes unica.

The said cross was three times devoutly lifted, and at every exaltation, the Moors being within the city, roared, howled, & cried, prostrating themselves, groveling on the ground, & making dolorous noise and pitiful outcries. The army encamped without the city, seeing these things, humbled themselves meekly before the cross, rendering to almighty God their most humble and hearty thanks. The king of Spain, being mounted on horseback, perceiving the erection of the cross, descended from his girth, and knelt down on the bare ground; and rendered to God, laud, honour, and praise; for that noble and triumphant victory. And after that the cross was thus set up on the high tower, the banner of saint James, and the king's banners were pitched and fixed upon the turrets and pinacles of the city: an herald standing in the top of the high tower, proclaiming and publishing these words following.

The manner of the Spanish king giving of thanks for victory.

"Saint James, saint James, saint James; Castile, Castile, Castile; Granada, Granada, Granada. By high and mighty power, lord Ferdinand and Elizabeth, king and queen of Spain, have won from the infidels and Moors the city and realm of Granada, through the help of our Lord God, & the most glorious virgin his mother, and the virtuous apostle S. James and the holy father Innocent the eighth, together with the aids and succours of the great prelates, knights, and other gentlemen borne, and commons of their realms and countries." When the herald had finished, the artillery sounded, the minstrels blew, the people applauded and clapped their hands, for gladness, that the earth seemed to tremble and quake underneath them.

The Spaniards rejoicing & triumphing after the conquest of the Moors.

After this joy ended, there issued out of the city in manner of procession, seven hundred and more Christians, as well men, as women and children, which had been there prisoners and lived in bonds, servitude, and miserable captivity, whereof the most part were naked, wounded, and in manner famished for hunger. To whom the king (of his great liberality) gave both apparel, viands and money. These poor prisoners coming out of the city sang this psalm; Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel, qui visitavit & fecit redemptionem plebi suae; Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redeemed his people. And so singing forth the psalm, went to the church of saint Faith, which the king Ferdinand had caused to be most sumptuously edified during the time of the siege, being distant from Granada two or three miles.

Now as this poor procession passed by the host, one espied his son, and another saw his brother; and the son perceived the father, and the father found the daughter, which were now delivered out of miserable servitude and bondage. But they could not refrain nor bridle themselves from distilling of tears and sobbing, seeing their parents and kinsfolk

The lord Euerus de Medoza made captive of the royal house.

restored to libertie & fréedome. And when these people had said their orisons in the church of saint Faith, and were come to the armie, they knéeled before the king, kissed his féet, crieng with one voice; God grant to the king of Spaine euerlasting life. The next daie after the lord Euerus de Mendoza, earle of Tendiglie, was by the king made capteine of the house roiall and principall tower of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauing to him appointed and assigned one thousand men of armes, and two thousand footmen. Vnto the which earle, the great master deliuered the keies of the said palace and tower, and other ports and fortresses.

On Saturday the eight daie of Ianuarie, in the yeare of our Lord 1492, Ferdinando, K. of Spaine & Granado, the quéene, & their eldest son Don Iohn prince of Spaine, the lord Peter of Mendoza, the archbish. of Toledo, the patriarch of Alexandria, the cardinall of Spaine, the lord Peter prince of Lion, the duke of Gaditan, the marques of Villena & Moia, the erle of Capre, the earle of Vienna of Cifnentes, and manie other earles, barons and nobles, whereof some were Englishmen (whose names I haue not) with ten thousand horssemen, and fiftie thousand footmen, with great triumph and roialtie entered into the citie of Granado, and thereof tooke reall possession & seazine, and caused masse to be soong in a great place called Melchita, where hée caused a solemne church to be builded in the honour of God and his mother. When masse was ended, the king and quéene repaired to the palace roiall of Alhambra, the which was woonderfull, both in qualitie & sumptuous building, which house was adorned with rich arras and tapestrie in euerie chamber.

A great number of states with their traine enter triumphantlie into Granado to take reall possession.

The earle of Tendiglie capteine of the palace, feasted the king and quéene, and all the nobilitie at his owne costes and charges. So the king of Spaine there remained till the countrie was reduced into a good conformitie and order, and diuerse fortresses and castels were made for the safegard and tuition of the realme. And bicause this victorie obtained, was to the glorie of God, and to the publike wealth of all christianitie, the ^[1]said cardinall of Canturburie declared to the people, that the king had sent him and the other nobles thither that day, not onelie to notifie and declare to them the veritie of the fact; but also to exhort them to giue lauds and praisings to almightie God, for deliuering so goodlie a citie, so plentifull a countrie, and so notable a region out of the hands of his enimies, and persecutors of his faith and religion. Which declaration ended the archbishop with the cleargie & the nobles with the commualtie, in most deuout maner went in generall procession, rendering to God for this great atchiued enterprise, glorie, honour, and most reuerent thanks.

[1] Namelie doctor Morton, of whom mentiō is made in the beginning of this historie.

¶ In the moneth of Maie next and immediatlie following this triumph, was holden a great and valiant iusting within the kings palace of Shine, now named Richmond, the which indured by the space of a moneth, sometime within the said palace and sometime without, vpon the gréene before the gate of the said palace. In which iustes sir Iames Parker knight, running against a gentleman named Hugh Vauhan, by casualtie was so sore hurt and brused, that he died thereof. This yeare also two pardoners were set on the pillorie in Cornehill thrée market daies, for forging of false pardons, wherewith they had deceiued the people, & got much monie. And for that one of them had feined himselfe to be a priest, hée was sent to Newgate, where he died: the other was driuen out of London with shame enough. ¶ Also this yere was Robert Fabian shirriffe of London & alderman, who made a chronicle of England & of France, beginning at the creation of the world, and ending in the third yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight, which booke is now imprinted to the end of Richard the third.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 866.

Sir Iames Parker by casualtie at iustes mortallie wounded.

Two pardoners set on the pillorie.

Robert Fabian.

Maximilian king of Romans, intending to be reuenged on the Frenchmen for the manie iniuries doone to him of late (and especiallie for that king Charles had forsaken his daughter ladie Margaret, and purposed to take to wife the ladie Anne of Britaine) bicause he was not rich enough to mainteine the warre of himselfe, he sent his ambassadour, one Iames Contibald, a man of great wisdom, to require the king of England to take his part against the French king, making diuers great offers on his owne behalfe, if it should please him so to doo.

King Henrie no lesse desirous than Maximilian to put the French king to trouble, and chieflie to aid the Britains in the extremitie of their businesse, gladlie consented to the request of Maximilian; and promised to prepare an armie with all spéed, and in time conuenient to passe the seas with the same, and inuade the French territories. In this verie season, Charles the French king receiued the ladie Anne of Britaine, as his pupill into his hands, and with great solemnitie hir espoused, hauing with hir in dower, the whole duchie of Britaine.

King Henrie and Maximilian agréed to plague the Frenchmen.

An. Reg. 7.

Now was Maximilian in great chafe toward the French king, not onelie for that he had refused his daughter, but also had beréued him of his assured wife the said ladie Anne, contrarie to all right and conscience. Wherefore he sent vnto king Henrie, desiring him with all spéed to passe the seas with his armie, that they might pursue the warre against their aduersarie, with fire, sword and bloud. King Henrie hearing this, and hauing no mistrust in the promise of Maximilian, with all spéed leuiued an armie, and rigged his nauie of ships. And when all things were readie he sent his almoner Christopher Urswike, and sir Iohn Riselie knight vnto Maximilian, to certifie him, that the king was in a readinesse, and would

The cause of Maximilians malice against Charles of France.

arriue at Calis, as soone as he should be aduertised that Maximilian and his men were readie to ioine with him.

These ambassadors comming into Flanders perceiued that Maximilian was neither purueied of men, monie, nor armor, nor of any other thing neccessarie for the setting foorth of warre; sauing onlie that his will was good, although his power was small. King Henrie being aduertised hereof by letters sent to him from his said ambassadors, was sore disquieted in his mind, and was almost brought to his wits end, to consider how his companions in arms should thus faile him at néed; but taking aduise of his

Maximilian dealeth dishonestlie with the king of England to his great vexation.

counsell, at length he determined not to stay his prepensed iournie, and therefore he so increased his numbers before he tooke ship, that he with his owne power might be able to match with his aduersaries. When he had thus gathered and assembled his armie, hée sailed to Calis the sixt day of October, and there incamped himselfe for a space, to sée all his men and prouision in such readinesse, as nothing should be wanting.

In this place all the armie had knowledge by the ambassadours (which were newlie returned out of Flanders) that Maximilian could not set foorth anie armie, for lacke of monie: and therefore there was no succour to be looked for at his hand. But the Englishmen were nothing dismayd therewith, as they that iudged themselues able enough to match the Frenchmen without the helpe of anie other nation. In the meane season, although the French king had an armie together, both for number and furniture able to trie in battell with the Englishmen: yet he made semblance as though he desired nothing more than peace, as the thing much more profitable to him than warre: the minds of the Britains were not wholie settled.

Maximilian king of Romans breaketh promise with king Henrie in ioining with him to inuade France.

The dissimulation of the French king.

And againe, he was called into Italie to make warre against the king of Naples, whose kingdome he pretended to apperteine to him by lawfull succession from his father king Lewes, to whome Reine duke of Aniou last king of Sicill, of the house of Aniou, had transferred his right to that kingdome (as partlie before ye haue heard) wrongfullie and without cause disinheriting his coosine, godsonne and heire, Reine duke of Loraine and Bar. The lord Chordes hauing commission from his maister the French king to make some entrie into a treatie for peace with the king of England, wrote letters to him before he passed ouer to Calis, signifieng to him that if it might stand with his pleasure to send some of his councellers to the borders of the English pale adioining to France, there should be so reasonable conditions of peace proffered, that he doubted not but his grace might with great honour breake vp his campe, and retire his armie home againe.

A motion on the French part for a treatie of peace with the English.

The king of England considering that Britaine was cléerelie lost, and past recouerie, and that Maximilian for lacke of monie, and mistrust which he had in his owne subjects, laie still like a dormouse dooing nothing; and herewith weieng that it should be honorable to him, and profitable to his people to determine this great warre without bloudshed, appointed the bishop of Excester, and Giles lord Daubenie to passe the seas to Calis, and so to commun with the lord Chordes of articles of peace, which tooke effect as after ye shall perceiue. In the meane time, whilst the commissioners were communing of peace on the marches of France, the king of England (as ye haue heard) was arriued at Calis: from whence after all things were prepared for such a iournie, he remooued in foure battells forward, till he came néere to the towne of Bullogne, & there pitched his tents before it in a conuenient place for his purpose, meaning to assaile the towne with his whole force & puissance.

Commissioners sent ouer to Calis about the said peace.

Bullogne besieged by the Englishmen the king himselfe present.

But there was such a strong garison of warlike souldiers within that fortresse, and such plentie of artillerie, and necessarie munitions of warre, that the losse of Englishmen assaulting the towne (as was doubted) should be greater damage to the realme of England, than the gaining thereof should be profit. Howbeit the dailie shot of the kings battering péeces brake the wals, and sore defaced them. But when euerie man was readie to giue the assault, a sudden rumor rose in the armie that peace was concluded: which brute as it was pleasant to the Frenchmen, so was it displeasent to the Englishmen, bicause they were prest and readie at all times to set on their enimies, and brought into great hope to haue béene inriched by the spoile and game to haue fallen to their lots of their enimies goods, beside the glorious fame of renowned victorie.

And therefore to be defrauded hereof by an vnprofitable peace, they were in great fume, and verie angrie: and namelie, for that diuerse of the capteins to set themselues and their bands the more gorgeously forward, had borrowed large summes of monie, and for the repaiment had morgaged their lands and possessions, and some happilie had made through sale thereof, trusting to recouer all againe by the gaines of this iournie. Wherefore offended with this sudden conclusion of peace, they spake euill, both of the king and his counsell. But the king like a wise prince asswaged their displeasure in part with excusing the matter, alledging what losse and bloudshed was like to insue both of capteins and souldiers, if the assault should haue béene giuen to the vtterance, especiallie sith the towne was so well furnished with men and munitions. When he had somewhat appeased their minds with these and manie other reasons, he returned backe againe to Calis.

Why the English preferred warre before peace.

There were not manie of the English armie lost at this siege of Bullogne, &

few or no men of name, sauing that valiant capteine sir Iohn Sauage knight, the which, as he and sir Iohn Riselie rode about the wals of the towne, to view in what place it might be easiliest assaulted, was compassed about by certeine Frenchmen that were issued out of the towne, and there slaine standing at defense and vtterlie refusing to yéeld himselfe as prisoner. But sir Iohn Riselie escaped by flieng awaie. When the K. was thus returned to Calis, he began to smell a certeine secret smoke, which was like to turne to a great flame, without wise foresight, and good looking to. For by the craftie inuention, and diuelish imagination of the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie, a new idoll was set vp in Flanders, and by a forged name called Richard Plantagenet second sonne to king Edward the fourth, as though he had béene raised from death to life.

Polydor.

Sir Iohn Sauage slaine at this siege.

Richard Plätagenet a counterfeit of ladie Margarets imagining.

The newes hereof somewhat troubled him, so that he was with better will content to receiue the honorable conditions of peace offered of his enimie: bicause he should not be constreined at one time to make warre both at home, and also in a forren region. The conclusion of this agrément made with the Frenchmen, was this: That this peace should continue both their liues; and that the French king should pay to the king of England a certeine summe of monie in hand, according as the commissioners should appoint for his charges susteined in this iournie. Which (as the king certified the maior of London by his letters the ninth of Nouember) amounted to the summe of seuen hundred fortie and fiue thousand duckats: the which is of sterling monie, one hundred foure score and six thousand, two hundred and fiftie pounds. It was also concluded that he should yearelie (for a certeine space) paie or cause to be paid, for the monie that the K. had spent & expended in the defense of the Britains fiue & twentie thousand crowns.

The conclusion of peace betwéene the English and French.

Which yearelie tribute the French king (afterwards continuallie occupied in the wars of Italie) yearelie satisfied & paid so long as K. Henrie liued, who after he had taried a conuenient space at Calis, tooke the sea, and arriued at Douer, and so came to his manour of Gréenewich. Immediatlie after his returne thus into England, he elected into the fellowship of saint George, commonlie called the order of the garter, Alphonse duke of Calabre, sonne and heire to Ferdinando king of Naples, Christopher Urswike the kings almoner was sent to him vnto Naples with the garter, collar, mantell, and other habilments apperteining to the companions of that noble order. The which was reuerentlie receiued of the said duke, who in a solemne presence reuested himselfe with that habit, supposing by the countenance of that apparell to be able to resist his aduersarie the French king, sith he was now made a fréend and companion in order with the king of England: but that little auailed him, as after it was right apparant. [And here, bicause in sundrie actions we haue séene and obserued the French kings subtilties, his inconstancie, lacke of truth, honestie, and kinglie modestie; we maie be bold to set downe the description of his person, as we find the same readie drawne to hand; that by a view thereof we maie conclude that his properties were proportioned to his person.

Alphöse duke of Calabre made knight of the garter.

It is verie certeine (saith mine author) that king Charles from his infancie was of complexion verie delicate and of bodie vnsound and diseased, of small stature, and of face (if the aspect and dignitie of his eies had béene taken awaie) fowle and deformed, his other members bearing such equall proportion, that he séemed more a monster than a man: he was not onelie without all knowledge of good sciences, but scarselie he knew the distinct characters of letters: his mind desirous to command, but more proper to anie other thing, for that being inuironed alwaies with his familiars and fauourits, he reteined with them no maiestie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires and businesse, and yet if he did debate and consider in anie, he shewed a weake discretion and iudgement. And if he had any thing in him that caried apparence of merit or praise, yet being thoroughlie weied and sounded, it was found further off from vertue than from vice: he had an inclination to glorie, but it was tempered more with rashnesse and furie than with moderation and counsell: his liberalities were without discretion, measure or distinction: immooueable oftentimes in his purposes, but that was rather an ill grounded obstinacie than constancie. And that which manie call bountie, deserued more reasonable in him the name of coldnesse & slackenesse of spirit.]

Abr. Fl. ex. Guic. pag. 43.

The French king described.

This yeare the two and twentieth of Iune, was borne at Gréenewich the lord Henrie second sonne to this king Henrie the seuenth, which was created duke of Yorke, & after prince of Wales, and in conclusion succéded his father in gouernance of this realme, by the name of Henrie the eight, father to our gracious souereigne quéene Elizabeth. But now to returne to the new found sonne of king Edward coniured by mens policies from death to life: ye shall vnderstand that the duchesse of Burgognie euer desiring to cast a scorpion in the bosome of king Henrie, not for anie displeasure by him towards hir wrought or doone; but onelie bicause he was descended of the house of Lancaster, being an enimie to hir line, began to spin a new web, like a spider that dailie weaueth when his kall is torne: for after that the earle of Lincolne, which was by hir set forth, had missed the cushin, and lost both horsse and spurres, she could not be quiet, vntill she had practised a new deuise to put king Henrie to trouble. And as the diuell prouideth venemous sauce to corrupt stomachs, so for hir purpose she espied a certeine yong man of visage beautifull, of countenance demure, and of wit craftie and subtill.

The birth of Henrie duke of Yorke, after crowned king by the name of Henrie the eight.

1492.

The malice of the duchesse of Burgognie to the line of Lancaster.

This youths name was Peter Warbecke, one for his faintnesse of stomach of the Englishmen in derision, called Perkin Warbecke, according to the dutch phrase, which change the name of Peter to Perkin, of yoonglings and little boies, which for want of age, lacke of strength, and manlike courage, are not thought worthie of the name of a man. This yoong man traueiling many countries, could speake English and diuerse other languages; & for his basenesse of birth and stocke, was almost vnknowne of all men; and driuen to séeke liuing from his childhood, was constrained to go and trauell thorough manie countries. The duchesse glad to haue got so méet an organ for the conueieng of hir inuented purpose, as one not vnlike to be taken and reputed for the duke of Yorke, sonne to hir brother king Edward, which was called Richard, kept him a certeine space with hir priuilie.

Perkin Warbecke the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Besides that, she with such diligence instructed him both in the secrets and common affaires of the realme of England, and of the linage, descent and order of the house of Yorke, that like a good scholer, not forgetting his lesson, he could tell all that was taught him promptly without anie stackering or staie in his words. And besides that, he kept such a princelie countenance, and so counterfeit a maiestie roiall, that all men in manner did firmelie beléue, that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For suerlie, it was a gift giuen to that noble progenie, as of nature planted in the root, that all the sequels of that line and stocke did studie and deuse how to be equialent in honour and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

The readie wit of Perkin to learne all that made for his preferment to honor.

The emulatiō of the dukes of Yokre.

When the duches had framed hir cloath méet for the market, she was informed that king Henrie prepared to make warre against Charles the French king. Wherefore she, thinking that the time serued well for the setting forth of hir malicious indention, sent this Perkin hir new inuented mawmet, first into Portingale, and so craftilie into the countrie of Ireland; to the intent that he, being both wittie and wilie, might inuegle the rude Irishmen (being at those daies more inclined to rebellion than to reasonable order) to a new seditious commotion. Shortlie after his arriuall in Ireland, whether by his shrewd wit, or the malicious exhortation of the sauage Irish gouernours, he entred so farre in credit with the people of that Ile, that his words were taken to be as true, as he vntruelie with false demonstrations set forth and published them.

Perkin Warbecke arriueth in Ireland.

The French king aduertised hereof, then being in displeasure with king Henrie, sent into Ireland for Perkin, to the intent to send him against king Henrie, which was then inuading France (as yée before haue heard.) Perkin thought himselfe aloft, now that he was called to the familiaritie of kings, and therefore with all diligence sailed into France, and comming to the kings presence, was of him roiallie receiued and after a princelie fashion interteined, and had a gard to him assigned, whereof was gouernour the lord Congreshall: and to him being at Paris, resorted sir George Neuill bastard, sir Iohn Tailor, Rowland Robinson, and an hundred English rebels. Now, after that a peace (as before is said) was concluded betwixt the French king, and the king of England, the French king dismissed Perkin, and would no longer kéepe him.

Perkin saileth into France all aflant.

But some haue said (which were there attending on him) that Perkin, fearing least the French king should deliuer him to the king of England, beguiled the lord Congreshall, and fled from Paris by night. But whether the French king knew of his departure or not, the truth is, that he being in maner in despaire, returned to his first founder the ladie Margaret, of whome he was so welcomed to all outward appearance, that it séemed she could not haue reioised at anie earthlie thing more, than she did at his presence, and (as she could well dissemble) she made semblance as though she had neuer séene him before that time. Now as she had sore longed to know not once, but diuerse times in open audience, and in solemne presence, she willed him to declare and shew by what means he was preserued from death and destruction, and in what countries he had wandered and sought fréendship; and finallie, by what chance of fortune he came to hir court.

Perkin returneth to the ladie Margaret his first founder.

This did shée, to the intent that by the open declaration of these fained phantasies, the people might be persuaded to giue credit, and beléue that he was the true begotten sonne of hir brother king Edward. And after this, shée assigned to him a gard of thirtie persons in murrie and blew, and highlie honoured him as a great estate, and called him the white rose of England. The nobilitie of Flanders did to him all reuerence. [All which port and pompe exhibited in most solemne sort, he was well content to take vpon him, forgetting the basenesse of his birth, and glorieng in the counterfeit title of honour: much like the iay that would be called a swan, or like the crow that trimming hir selfe with the stolne feathers of a pecocke, would séeme Iunos bird; as the poet saith:

Perkin named by the dutches of Burgognie the white rose of England.

1493.

---mentito nomine cygnum
Graculus appellat sese, cornicula plumas
Pauonis furata cupit pauo ipsa videri.

M. Pul. in virg.

¶ In this yeare was one Hugh Clopton maior of London, and of the staple, a gentleman, borne at Clopton village, halfe a mile from Stratford vpon Auen by north, who continued (during his life) a bachelor: he builded the

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 865.

great and sumptuous bridge of Stratford vpon Auen, at the east end of the towne. This bridge hath fouretéene great arches, and a long cawsie with smaller arches, all made of stone, new walled on each side. At the west end of the bridge, he builded a faire large chappell. Toward the south end of that towne, & néere vnto the same a pretie house of bricke and timber, where he laie, and ended his life. He glased the chancell of the parish church in that towne, and made a waie of foure miles long, thrée miles from Alesburie towards London, and one mile beyond Alesburie.]

Stratford bridge vpon Auen builded.

But to returne to Perkin: the brute of whome in England, blowne throughout the realme, sore disquieted the people, insomuch that not onelie the meaner sort, but also manie of the nobles and worshipfull personages beléueed and published it abroad, that all was true which was reported of him. And not onelie they that were in sanctuaries but also manie other that were fallen in debt, assembled in a companie, and passed ouer the seas into Flanders, to their counterfeit duke of Yorke, otherwise rightlie named Perkin Warbecke. Truelie the realme of England was in maner diuided (with the rumor and vaine fable spred abroad of this wise borne duke) into partakings and contrarie factions. And some of the noble men conspired together, purposing to aid the foresaid Perkin, as the man whome they reputed to be the verie sonne of king Edward; and that the matter was not feigned, but altogether true, iust, and not imagined of any malicious pretense or euill purpose.

Such long and looked for alteration of states.

False rumors occasions of great disquietnes.

And bicause the thing was weightie, and required great aid and assistance, therefore they determind to send messengers vnto the ladie Margaret, to know when Richard duke of Yorke might conuenientlie come into England; to the intent that they being thereof certified, might be in a readinesse to helpe and succour him at his arriual. So by the common consent of the conspirators, sir Robert Clifford knight, and William Barleie, were sent into Flanders, which discouered to the duches all the secret intents and priuie meanings of the fréends and fautors of the new found duke. The duches gladlie receiued this message, and after shée had heard their errand, shée brought the messenger to the sight of Perkin, who so well counterfeited the gesture, countenance, and maner of Richard duke of Yorke, that sir Robert Clifford beléueed verelie, that he was the second sonne of king Edward; and therefore wrote a letter of credit into England to his complices: and to put them out of doubt, he affirmed that he knew him to be king Edwards sonne by his face, and other lineaments of his bodie.

An. Reg. 8.

Perkin counterfeitheth the duke of Yorke verie cunninglie.

Vpon this letter, the chéefe dooers in this businesse spred the signification thereof abroad through the realme, to the intent to stirre the people to some new tumult and commotion: but it was doone by such a secret craft, that no man could tell who was the author of that rumor. The king perceiued that this vaine fable was not vanished out of the mad brains of the common people. To prouide therefore against all perils that might thereby insue, he sent certeine knights that were skilfull men of warre, with competent bands of soldiers, to kéepe the sea coasts and hauens, to vnderstand who came in and went out of the realme; doubting least some great conspiracie were in brewing against him. He also sent into the low countries certeine persons, to learne the truth of this forged dukes progenie, where some of them that were so sent, comming to Tournie, got knowledge that he was borne in that citie, of base linage, and named Perkin Warbecke.

Perkins true linage.

The king then aduertised not onelie by his espials vpon their returne, but also from other his trustie fréends, determind with all spéed to haue the fraud published, both in England and forren parts: and for the same cause sent sir Edward Poinings knight, & sir William Warram doctor of the laws vnto Philip archduke of Burgognie, and to his counsellors (bicause he was not of age able to gouerne of himselfe) to signifie to him and them, that the young man, being with the ladie Margaret, had falselie and vntruelie vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, which long before was murthered with his brother Edward in the Tower of London, by the commandement of their vncler king Richard, as manie men then liuing could testifie.

Ambassadors sent to Philip archduke of Burgognie.

The ambassadors comming to the court of Philip the archduke, were honorable interteined of him and of his counsell, and willed to declare the effect of their message. William Warram made to them an eloquent oration, and in the later end somewhat inueihed against the ladie Margaret, not sparing to declare, how she now in hir later age had brought foorth (within the space of a few yeares together) two detestable monsters, that is to saie, Lambert (of whom yée heard before) and this same Perkin Warbecke, and being conceiued of these two great babes, was not deliuered of them in eight or nine moneths as nature requireth; but in one hundred and eightie moneths, for both these at the lest were fiftéene yeers of age, yer she would be brought in bed of them, and shew them openlie; and when they were newlie crept out of hir wombe, they were no infants but lustie yoonglings, and of age sufficient to bid battell to kings. Although these tawnts angred the ladie Margaret to the hart, yet Perkin was more vexed with the things declared in this oration, and especiallie bicause his cloaked iuggling was brought to light.

The sum of D. Warrams spéech to the archduke.

The duches intending to cast hot sulphur into the new kindled fire, determind with might and maine to arme and set forward prettie Perkin against the king of England. When the ambassadors had doone their message, and that the archdukes counsell had long debated the matter; they made answer, that to haue the king of Englands loue, the archduke and they would neither aid nor assist Perkin nor his complices in anie cause or quarrell. Yet notwithstanding if the ladie Margaret, persisting in hir rooted malice towards the king of England, would be to him aiding

and helping, it was not in their power to withstand it; for because in the lands assigned to hir for hir dower, she might franklie and fréelie order all things at hir will and pleasure, without contradiction of anie other gouernour.

After that the ambassadors were returned with this answer, the king streight sent fourth certeine espials into Flanders, which should feigne themselues to haue fled to the duke of Yorke; and thereby search out the whole intent of the conspiracie, and after what sort they meant to procéed in the same. Others were sent also to intise sir Robert Clifford and William Barleie, to returne into England, promising to them pardon of all their offenses and high rewards for obeieng the kings request. They that were sent, did so earnestlie and prudentlie applie their businesse, that they brought all things to passe at their owne desires. For first they learned who were the chéefe conspirators, and after persuaded sir Robert Clifford to giue ouer that enterprise, which had no grounded staie to rest vpon. Albeit William Barleie at the first would not leaue off, but continued his begun attempt; till after two yeares, he repenting him of his follie, & hauing pardon granted him of the king, returned home into his natiue countrie.

An. Reg. 9.

Espials sent into Flanders from the king for a subtile policie.

When the king had knowledge of the chiefe capteins of this conspiracie (by the ouerture of his espials which were returned) he caused them to be apprehended, and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chiefe were Iohn Ratcliffe, lord Fitz-Water, sir Simon Montford, sir Tho. Thwaites knights, William Daubenie, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. Also certeine préests & religious men, as sir William Richford doctor of diuinitie, and sir Thomas Paines, both friers of saint Dominikes order, doctor William Sutton, sir William Worseleie deane of Paules, Robert Laiborne, and sir Richard Lesleie. Other which were guiltie, hearing that their fellowes were apprehended, fled and tooke sanctuarie. The other that were taken were condemned, of the which sir Simon Montford, Robert Ratcliffe, and William Daubenie were beheaded.

The conspiring fautors of the counterfeit duke of Yorke.

Some had their pardons, and the préests also for their order sake; but yet few of them liued long after. The lord Fitz-Water pardoned of life, was conueied to Calis, and there laid in hold, & after lost his head; because he went about to corrupt his kéepers with rewards, that he might escape, intending (as was thought) to haue gone to Perkin. [Thus by the policie and subtile deuise of the king, practised to the point by his espials, the sinewes of this conspiracie was rent in sunder. So that the malicious ladie Margaret was not a little swolne with indignation when she saw the course of hir deuise (now that it had passed so far as that it was knowne to people on this side and beyond the seas) stopped, and the confederacie (whereto she speciallie trusted) dissolved. Yet notwithstanding, as women will not (to die for it) giue ouer an enterprise, which of an enuious purpose they attempt; so she put hir irons afresh into the fier to set hir hatred forward: whome a while we will leaue at worke, and shew some doings betwéene England and Flanders.]

Abr. Flem.

King Henrie taking displeasure with the king of Romans, for that he kept not touch in aiding him against the French king, and partlie displeased with the Flemings, but speciallie with the ladie Margaret, for kéeping and setting forward Perkin Warbecke, not onelie banished all Flemish wares and merchandizes out of his dominions, but also restreined all English merchants from their repaire and traffike into anie of the lands and territories of the king of Romans, or of the archduke Philip, sonne to the same king of the Romans; causing the mart to be kept at Calis, of all English merchandizes and commodities. Wherefore the said king and his sonne banished out of their lands and seigniories all English clothes, yarne, tin, lead, and other commodities of this realme. The restreint made by the king sore hindered the merchants aduenturers; for they had no occupieng to beare their charges, and to support their credit withall.

Flemish wares forbidden.

The mart kept at Calis.

English commodities banished out of Flanders.

And that most gréued them, the Easterlings being at libertie, brought to the realme such wares as they were woont, & so serued their customers throughout the realme. Wherevpon there insued a riot by the seruants of the mercers, haberdashers, & clothworkers in the citie of London, the tuesdaie before saint Edwards day. For they perceiuing what hinderance grew to their maisters, in that they were not able so well to kéepe them as before they had doone, assembled together in purpose to reuenge their malice on the Easterlings, & so came to the Stilliard, & began to rifle & spoile such chambers & warehouses as they cold get into. So that the Easterlings had much adoo to withstand them, & kéepe them back out of their gates, which with helpe of carpenters, smiths, and other that came to them by water out of Southwarke, they shored & so fortified, that the multitude of the seruants and prentises, being assembled, could not preuaile.

A riot made vpon the Easterlings.

At length came the maior with a number of men, defensiblie weaponed, to remooue the force; at whose approach those riotous persons fled awaie like a flocke of shéepe. But diuerse of them were apprehended, and vpon inquirie made before the kings commissioners, aboue foure score seruants & apprentices were found to be conspired together, and sworne not to reueale it; of whome some of the chiefe beginners were committed to the Tower, and there long continued. But in conclusion, because none of their maisters, nor anie one housholder was found culpable, the king of his clemencie pardoned their offense, and restored them to libertie. [For he thought it no credit to his crowne to take vengeance of such sillie soules by seueritie of death, whom in clemencie pardoning he might restore to a reformed life.]

¶ On the two & twentieth of Februarie in this yéere were arreigned in the Guildhall of London foure persons, Thomas Bagnall, Iohn Scot, Iohn Heath, and Iohn Kenington, the which were sanctuarie men of saint Martins le grand in London, and latelie before were taken out of the said sanctuarie, for forging of seditious bils, to the slander of the king, & some of his counsell, for the which thrée of them were iudged to die; and the fourth named Bagnall, pleaded to be restored to sanctuarie: by reason whereof he was reprimed to the Tower till the next tearme: and on the six and twentieth of Februarie, the other thrée with a Fleming, and a yeoman of the crowne, were all fiue executed at Tiborne. ¶ On the eight and twentieth of Aprill Ione Boughton widow was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certeine opinions of Iohn Wickliffe. Wheat was sold at London at six pence the bushell, baie salt for thrée pence halfe penie the bushell, Nantwich salt was sold for six pence the bushell, white herings nine shillings the barrell, red herings at thrée shillings the cade, red sprots six pence the cade, & Gascoigne wine for six pound the tun.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 867.

Execution for seditious bils against the kings person.

Vittels plentie sold good cheape.

Shortlie after sir Robert Clifford, partlie trusting on the kings promise, and partlie mistrusting the desperat begun enterprise, returned suddenlie againe into England. The king certified before of his comming, went streight to the Tower of London the morow after the day of Epiphanie, & there taried till such time as sir Robert Clifford was there presented to his person. This was doone for a policie, that if sir Robert accused anie of the nobilitie, they might be called thither without suspicion of anie euill, and their attached and laid fast. Some thought also, that for a policie king Henrie sent sir Robert Clifford ouer as an espie, or else he would not so soone haue receiued him into fauour againe. Neuerthelesse, there were great presumptions that it was nothing so, for both was he in great danger after his begun attempt, and neuer was so much estéemed with the king afterward as he was before.

1494.

An. Reg. 10.

Policie of K. Henrie against Robert Clifford.

But this is true, vpon his comming to the kings presence, he besought him of pardon, and obtained it; and therewith opened all the maner of the conspiracie, so far as he knew, and who were aiders, fautors, and chiefe beginners of it; amongst whome he accused sir William Stanleie, whome the king had made his chiefe chamberleine, and one of his priuie counsell. The king was sorie to heare this, and could not be induced to beléue that there was so much vntruth in him, till by euident proofes it was tried against him. Then the king caused him to be restrained from his libertie in his owne chamber within the quadrat tower, and there appointed him by his priuie counsell to be examined, in which examination he nothing denied, but wiselie and sagelie agréed to all things laid to his charge if he were faultie therein.

Sir William Stanleie a faouurer of Perkin.

The report is, that this was his offense. When communication was had betwixt him, and the aboue mentioned sir Robert Clifford, as concerning Perkin, which falselie vsurped the name of K. Edwards sonne; sir William Stanleie said, that if he knew certeinlie that the yong man was the indubitate heire of king Edward the fourth, he would neuer fight or beare armour against him. This point argued, that he bare no hartie good will toward king Henrie as then. But what was the cause that he had conceiued some inward grudge towards the king; or how it chanced that the king had withdrawen his speciall fauor from him, manie haue doubted. Some indéed haue gessed, that sir William Stanleie, for the seruice which he shewed at Bosworth field thought that all the benefits which he receiued of the king to be farre vnder that which he had deserued, in preseruing not onelie the kings life; but also in obteneing for him the victorie of his enimies, so that his aduersarie was slaine in the field.

The offense of sir William Stanleie.

Coniectures of sir William Stanleies alienated mind from king Henrie.

Wherefore desiring to be created earle of Chester, and therof denied, he began to disdeine the king. And one thing encouraged him much, which was the riches and treasure of king Richard, which he onlie possessed at the battell of Bosworth; by reason of which riches and great power of men, he set naught by the king his souereigne lord and maister. The king hauing thus an hole in his coat, doubted first what he should doo with him; for loth he was to lose the fauour of his brother the earle of Derby: and againe to pardon him, he feared least it should be an euill example to other, that should go about to attempt the like offense. And so at length, seueritie got the vpper hand, & mercie was put backe, in so much that he was arreigned at Westminster and adiudged to die, and (according to that iudgement) was brought to the Tower hill the sixtéenth daie of Februarie, and there had his head striken off.

King Henrie in a quandare.

1495.

Sir William Stanleie beheaded.

[This was the end of sir William Stanleie the chiefest helper of king Henrie to the crowne at Bosworth field against king Richard the third, and who set the same crowne first vpon the kings head, when it was found in the field trampled vnder féet. He was a man (while he liued) of great power in his countrie, and also of great wealth: in somuch as the common fame ran, that there was in his castell of Holt found in readie coine, plate, and iewels, to the value of fortie thousand markes or more, and his land and fées extended to thrée thousand pounds by yeare. Neuerthelesse all helped not; neither his good seruice in Bosworth field, neither his forwardnesse (euen with the hazard of life) to prefer K. Henrie to the crowne, neither his faithfulnessse in cleauing to him at all brunts, neither the bond of aliance betwixt them, neither the power that he

Abr. Flem.

Sée pag. 446.

was able to make, neither the riches which he was worth, neither intercession of fréends, which he wanted not; none of these, nor all these could procure the redemption of his lost life:

O fluxum decus hominum, ô variable tempus.

¶ On the sixtéenth of Nouember was holden the sergeants feast at the bishops palace of Elie in Holborne, where dined the king, quéene, and all the chiefe lords of England. The new sergeants names were maister Mordant, Higham, Kingsmill, Conisbie, Butler, Yakesleie, Frowike, Oxenbridge, & Constable. In digging for to laie a new foundation in the church of saint Marie hill in London, the bodie of Alice Hackneie which had béene buried in the church the space of 175 yeares, was found whole of skinne, & the ioints of hir armes pliable: which corpse was kept aboue ground foure daies without annoiance, and then buried againe. ¶Also this yeare (as maister Grafton saith) at the charges of maister Iohn Tate aldermman of London was the church of saint Anthonies founded, & annexed vnto the college of Windsore, wherein was erected one notable and frée schoole to the furtherance of learning, and a number of poore people (by the name of almesmen, which were poore, aged, and decaied housholders) reléueed, to the great commendation of that worthie man, who so liued in worship, that his death by his worthie doings maketh him still aliue; for he was not forgetfull to beautifie the good state of this citie, in which by wealth he had tasted of Gods blesings.]

Iohn Stow. pag. 969.

The king and quéene dine at sergeants feast kept at Elie palace.

A wonder to be noted in a corpse that laie long in the ground.

Rich. Grafton.

About this same time diuerse men were punished that had vpon a presumptuous boldnesse spoken manie slanderous words against the kings maiestie hoping still for the arriual of the feigned Richard duke of Yorke. After the death of sir William Stanleie, Giles lord Daubeneie was elected and made the kings chéefe chamberleine. Also, the K. sent into Ireland (to purge out the euill & wicked séeds of rebellion amongst the wild and sauge Irish people, sowed there by crafie conueiance of Perkin Warbecke) sir Henrie Deane, late abbat of Langtonie (whome he made chancellor of that Ile) & sir Edward Poinings knight, with an armie of men. The faouurers of Perkin, hearing that sir Edward Poinings was come with a power to persecute them, withdrew streightwaies, and fled into the woods and marishes for the safegard of themselues.

An. Reg. 11.

Lord Daubenie the kings chéefe chamberleine.

Sir Edward Poinings sent into Ireland with an armie.

Sir Edward Poinings according to his commission, intending to punish such as had aided and aduanced the enterprise of Perkin, with his whole armie marched forward against the wild Irishmen, bicause that all other being culpable of that offense fled and resorted to them for succour. But when he saw that his purpose succéeded not as he would haue wished it; both bicause the Irish lords sent him no succour according to their promises; and also for that his owne number was not sufficient to furnish his enterprise, bicause his enimies were dispersed amongst woods, mounteins, and marishes; he was constreined to recule backe, sore displeased in his mind against Gerald earle of Kildare, being then the kings deputie.

Now the cause of this his discontentment was, for that the said earle was suspected to be the meane that he had no succours sent him, and was so informed in déed by such as bare the earle no good will. And therefore suddenlie he caused the earle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his companie into England. Which earle being examined, and sundrie points of treason laid to him, he so auoided them all, & laid the burthen in other mens necks, that he was dismissed, and sent into Ireland againe there to be deputie and lieutenant as he was before. The king being now in some better suertie of his estate, did take his progresse into Lancashire the fiue & twentieth daie of Iune, there to make merrie with his moother the countesse of Derby, which then laie at Lathome in the countrie.

Gerald earle of Kildare deputie of Ireland apprehended.

King Henries progresse into Lancashire.

In this meane while Perkin Warbecke, being in Flanders, sore troubled that his juggling was discouered, yet he determined not to leaue off his enterprise, in hope at length to atteine the crowne of England: and so gathering a power of all nations, some bankrupts, some false English sanctuarie men, some théeues, robbers, and vagabunds, which desiring to liue by rapine, were glad to serue him. And thus furnished, he took such ships as his fréends had prouided for him: and departing from Flanders towards England, he arriued vpon the Kentish coast, & there cast anchor, purposing to prooue how the people there were affected towards him: and therefore he sent certeine of his men to land, to signifie to the countrie his arriual with such power, that the victorie must incline to his part.

Perkin attempteth to land in Kent in hope of victorie.

The Kentishmen vnderstanding that Perkin was but Perkin, and had none with him (to make account of) but strangers borne, like faithfull subiects determined to fall vpon those that were thus new come to land, and to trie if they might allure the whole number out of their ships, so to giue them battell. But Perkin wiselie considering that the maner of a multitude is not to consult, and sagelie to aduise with themselues in anie deliberate sort, but suddenlie and rashlie to run headlong into rebellion, would not set one foot out of his ship, vntill he saw all things sure. Yet he permitted some of his souldiers to go on land, which being trained foorth a pretie waie from their ships, were suddenlie compassed about and beset of the Kentishmen, and at one stroke vanquished and driuen backe to their ships.

Perkins men discomfited.

Of these discomfited soules were taken prisoners an hundred and fortie persons, whereof fiue, Montfort, Corbet, White Belt, Quintin (or otherwise Genin) being capteins were brought to London by sir Iohn Pechie, shiriffe of Kent, railed in ropes like horsse drawing in a cart, & after vpon their arreignment confessed their offense, and were executed, some at London, and other in the townes adioining to the sea coast. And thus Perkin, missing of his purpose, fled backe into Flanders. In this verie season departed to God Cicilie duchesse of Yorke moother to king Edward the fourth, at hir castell of Berkhamstéed, a woman of small stature, but of much honour and high parentage, and was buried by hir husband in the college of Fodringie.

Perkins capteins taken & executed.

Perkins reculeth into Flanders.

The death of Cicilie duchesse of Yorke moother to Edward the fourth.

The king being aduertised that his enimies were landed, leauing off his progresse, purposed to haue returned to London; but being certified the next day of the luckie spéed of his faithfull subiects, continued his progresse, & did send sir Richard Gilford both to commend the fidelitie and manhood of the Kentishmen, and also to render to them most hartie thanks for the same. He also caused order to be taken for the erecting of beacons, and watching of them. Perkin then perceiuing that he should not be receiued into England, sailed into Ireland, trusting there to augment his numbers, and then to returne towards the coast of England againe, and to take land in the West cuntrye, if occasion serued; but if not, then he determined to saile streight into Scotland, to séeke fréendship there.

Sir Richard Gilford.

After, he had therefore staid a while in Ireland, and perceiued that the hope of victorie consisted not in the Irish nation, being naked people, without furniture of armour or weapon, he tooke the sea againe at Corffe, and sailed into Scotland; where comming to the presence of king Iames, he forged such a painted processe to mooue him to beléue that he was the verie sonne of king Edward: that the Scottish king, whether blinded with errour, or vsing dissimulation, that he might vnder a colourable pretext make war against England, began to haue Perkin in great honour, and caused him openlie to be called duke of Yorke. And to persuade the world that so he was indéed, he caused the ladie Catharine, daughter to Alexander earle of Huntleie, his nigh kinsman, to be espoused to him. [But yer we passe anie further, you shall see and peruse (if you will) the said painted processe of Perkin, as it is left in record by Edward Hall for an example what working force is in words (speciallie where the hearers are easie to be seduced) and not to be ouer hastie to giue them too quicke & hastie credit. For the poet saith of gaie words void of truth:

Perkin saileth into Ireland and is in sundrie opinions.

Katharine daughter to the earle of Huntleie married to Perkin.

Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullis
Intus habent.

M. Pal. in Virg.

The colourable oration or counterfeit tale that Perkin told the king of Scots to iustifie his false title.

I thinke it is not vnknowne vnto you (most noble king and puissant prince) into what ruine the stocke house, and familie of Edward the fourth, of that name king of England, is now of late brought to and fallen in, either by Gods permission, or by diuine punishment; whose indubitate sonne (if you know not alreadie) I am, and by the power of almightie God, preserued alieue to this houre from the mightie hand of a tyrant. For my father king Edward (when he died) appointed his brother Richard duke of Glocester to be our gouernour, protector, and defendor; whome the more that he loued & studied to aduance and promote, the better he thought that he would loue, fauour, and tender his children. But alas my vnfortunate chance I may say! how hath his trust béene turned into treason, and his hope into hinderance, all men know and I féele. Our vncler was not the tutor and preseruer of our stocke and linage, but the confounder & destroyer of our bloud and progenie. For that tyrant, blinded and gluttet with the desire of ruling and souereigntie, commanded Edward my brother & me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall life. Wherevpon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and giuen to oppresse and destroe vs poore innocent infants, and giltlesse babes, the more that he abhorred this heinous and butcherlie offense, the more he feared to commit it.

Abr. Flem. ex Edw. Hall, fol. xxxviij, xxxix.

Perkin saith that he is Edward the fourths lawfull sonne.

Perkin telleth the king how he was preserued and kept alive.

And so wauering in mind and doubtfull what to doo, at the length willing in part to stanch the bloudie thirst of the vnnaturall tyrant, and in part to absteine from so heinous & detestable homicide, he destroyed my brother and preserued me; like the good préest Ioiada, who saued little Ioas, when all the children of the bloud roiall were commanded by Athalia the quéene to be slaine and vtterlie destroyed. And further, to the intent that my life might be in suertie, he appointed one to conueie me into some strange countrie; where when I was furthest off, and had most néed of comfort he forsooke me suddenlie (I thinke he was so appointed to doo) and left me desolate alone without fréend or knowlege of anie reléefe or refuge. And so king Richard did obtaine the crowne as a preie mischéefouslie gotten by the dispatching awaie of my brother and me. So that I thus escaping, by reason of my tender infancie, forgat almost my selfe, and knew not well what I was. But after long wandering from countrie to countrie, and from citie to citie, I perceiued and learned by little and little what was my estate & degré; and so in conclusion came to mine owne aunt the ladie Margaret lieng in Flanders, which was sometime married to Charles duke of Burgognie, which as ioifullie receiued and welcomed me, as if I had come out of hell into heauen, as the onelie type and garland of hir noble stirpe and linage. But forsomuch as she being onelie Dowager of the duchie of Burgognie, and hauing nothing but hir dowrie proper to hir selfe, was not of power to helpe me with men and munitions of warre, as she would gladlie haue doone for the recouerie of my fathers relme & rightfull inheritance: I therefore am driuen to séeke further aid and succour.

Perkin calleth the ladie Margaret duchesse of Burgognie his owne aunt.

And therefore by hir counsell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldiers, I am repaired to your presence for succours; of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer the whole world) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie chased or driuen out of his coutrie, region, or inheritance, or by extort power and tyrannie kept out of the same (as I my selfe from mine infancie haue béene) whose request was frustrate and denied at your hand. Therefore, by the maiestie of your realme & countrie I desire, & heartilie with praier as I can, I beséech and exhort you to helpe and reléue me now in my extreame necessitie. And if it chance me by your aid and succour to recouer & possesse my father's realme and dignitie; not onelie I, but all the kings of our linage, which hereafter shall obtaine the same, shall be so much obliged and bound vnto to you; that they must néeds thinke, that dooing to you all the pleasure and benefits that they can, yet with all thanks that can be giuen your great kindnesse can neuer in full measure be recompensed.

Perkin craueth aid of the Scottish king toward the recouerie of the crowne of England from king Henrie the seuenth.

When he had thus said, the king bad him be of good comfort, and promised him that whatsoever he were, it should neuer repent of his comming to him.] Shortlie after, hauing this Perkin with him in companie, he entered into England with a puissant armie, and caused proclamation to be made, to spare all those that would submit themselues vnto Richard duke of Yorke. Herewith they began the warre in most cruell maner, with slaughter of men, burning of townes, spoiling of houses, and committing of all other detestable enormities; so that all the countrie of Northumberland was by them in maner wasted, and destroyed. At length, when the souldiers were laden with spoiles, and sate with bloud, perceiuing that no succours came out of England vnto the new inuented duke, contrarie to that which he had made them to beléue would come to passe; they determined to retire rather with assured gaine, than to tarrie the vncertaine victorie of that counterfeit duke, and so therevpon they withdrew backe into Scotland inriched with preies and booties.

1496.

The Scottish king inuadeth Englād with a great armie in Perkin his behalfe.

It is said, that Perkin Warbecke, being returned into Scotland with the

king of Scots, vnder a cloked pretense should sore lament the great slaughter, spoile, and damage, which had béene doone at this last roade made into England; and therefore as one that bare a naturall loue toward his natiue cuntry, besought the king of Scots, that from thensefoorth, he would no more so deface his naturall relme, and destroie his subiects with such terrible fire, flame and hauocke; as who should saie, he being ouercome now with compassion, did bewaile the cruell destruction of his natural cuntry of England. But the Scottish K. told him, that he séemed to take thought for that which appeared to be none of his, sith that not so much as one gentleman or yeoman (for ought he could sée) would once shew themselues readie to aid him in the warre begun for his cause, and in his name, within that realme which he pretended so cléerelie to apperteine to him.

The counterfeit compassion of Perkin.

The king of England being certified of this inuasion, prepared an armie with all diligence to have resisted the Scots: but they were returned yer the English power could assemble together. Now when the king was truelie certified that the Scottish king was returned home, he staid all the preparations made at that time to go against him. But yet meaning to be reuenged of the wrongs doone to him by king Iames and his people; he first called a parlement, and in that assemblie of thrée estates of the realme, he declared the cause of the instant warre, and how necessarie it should be for the suertie and wealth of the realme of England to haue that warre, pursued against those enimies that had begun it. To this motion all the nobilitie wholie agréed. And to the maintenance of that warre, a subsidie was by whole assent of the parlement fréelie giuen and granted. Which paiement though it was not great, yet manie of the common people sore grudged to pay the same, as they that euer abhorre such taxes and exactions. At the same parlement were diuerse acts and statutes made, necessarie & expedient (as was thought) for the publike weale of the realme.

An. Reg. 12.

A parlement of the thrée estates of the realme.

A subsidie.

In the meane season the king of Scots, perceiuing that the Englishmen would shortlie go about to reuenge the injuries doone to them by him and his people, assembled eftsoones a puissant armie, that he might either defend his realme against the English power, attempting to inuade his cuntry, or else afresh to enter into the English borders. And thus these two mightie princes minded nothing more than the one to indamage the other. But the king of England would not deferre one houre by (his good will) till he were reuenged, and therefore prepared a mightie armie to inuade Scotland, and ordeined for chéefteine thereof the lord Daubeneie. But as this armie was assembled, and that the lord Daubenie was forward on his iournie towards Scotland, he was suddenlie staid and called backe againe, by reason of a new commotion begun by the Cornishmen for the paiement of the subsidie which was granted at the last parlement.

1497.

The king of England and Scotlād prepare for mutuall warre.

These vnfruitfull people the Cornishmen, inhabiting in a barren cuntry and vnfruitfull, at the first sore repined that they should be so gréuouslie taxed, and burdened the kings councill as the onelie cause of such polling and pilling: and so being in their rage, menaced the chéefe authors with death and present destruction. And thus being in a rore, two persons of the affinitie, the one called Thomas Flammocke, a gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme; and the other Michael Ioseph, a smith, men of stout stomachs and high courages, tooke vpon them to be capteins of this seditious companie. They laid the fault and cause of this exaction vnto Iohn Morton, archbishop of Canturburie, and to sir Reginald Braie; bicause they were chéefe of the kings councill. Such rewards haue they commonlie that be in great authoritie with kings and princes.

A rebellion in Cornwall for the paiement of a subsidie.

The two capteins in this commotion.

The capteins Flammocke and Ioseph exhorted the common people to put on harnesse, and not to be afeard to follow them in that quarrell, promising not to hurt anie creature, but onelie to sée them punished that procured such exactions to be laid on the people, without anie reasonable cause, as vnder the colour of a little trouble with the Scots, which (sith they were withdrawne home) they tooke to be well quieted and appeased. So these capteins bent on mischéefe, (were their outward pretense neuer so finelie coloured) yet persuaded a great number of people to assemble together, and condescended to do as their capteins would agréed and appoint. Then these capteins praising much the hardines of the people, when all things were readie for their infortunate iournie, set forward with their armie, and came to Taunton, where they slue the prouost of Perin, which was one of the commissioners of the subsidie, and from thence came to Welles, so intending to go to London, where the king then sojourned.

The prouost of Perin slaine by the rebels.

When the king was aduertised of these dooings, he was somewhat astonied, and not without cause; being thus troubled with the warre against the Scots, and this ciuill commotion of his subiects at one instant. But first meaning to subdue his rebellious subiects; and after to procéed against the Scots, as occasion should serue, he reuoked the lord Daubenie which (as you haue heard) was going against the Scots, and increased his armie with manie chosen and piked warriors. Also mistrusting that the Scots might now (hauing such opportunitie) inuade the relme againe; he appointed the lord Th. Howard erle of Surrie (which after the death of the lord Dinham was made high treasurer of England) to gather a band of men in the countie Palatine of Durham, that they with the aid of the inhabitants adioining, and the borderers, might kéepe backe the Scots if they chanced to make anie inuasion. The nobles of the realme hearing of the rebellion of the Cornishmen, came to London, euerie man with as manie men of warre as they

Thomas Howard earle of Surrie high treasurer of England.

could put in a readinesse, to aid the king if néed should be. In the which number were the earle of Essex, and the lord Montioy, with diuerse other.

In the meane time, James Twichet lord Audeleie being confederate with the rebels of Cornewall ioined with them, being come to Welles, and tooke vpon him as their chéefe capteine to lead them against their naturall lord and king. From Welles they went to Salisburie, and from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they hoped to haue had great aid, but they were deceiued in that their expectation. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Aburgauenie, Iohn Brooke, lord Cobham, sir Edward Poinings, sir Richard Gilford, sir Thomas Bouchier, Iohn Peche, William Scot, and a great number of people, were not onelie prest and readie to defend the countrie, to kéepe the people in due obedience, but bent to fight with such as would lift vp sword, or other weapon against their souereigne lord: insomuch that the Kentishmen would not once come néere the Cornishmen, to aid or assist them in anie maner of wise.

James Twichet lord Audeleie chéefe capteine of the Cornish rebels.

Which thing maruelouslie dismaid the hearts of the Cornishmen, when they saw themselues thus deceiued of the succours which they most trusted vpon, so that manie of them (fearing the euill chance that might happen) fled in the night from their companie, and left them, in hope so to saue themselues. The capteines of the rebels, perceiuing they could haue no helpe of the Kentishmen, putting their onelie hope in their owne puissance, brought their people to Blacke heath, a foure miles distant from London, and there in a plaine on the top of an hill, they ordered their battels, either readie to fight with the king if he would assail them, or else assault the citie of London: for they thought the king durst not haue encountered with them in battell. But they were deceiued: for the king although he had power inough about to haue fought with them before their comming so néere to the citie; yet he thought it best to suffer them to come forward, till he had them farre off from their natiue countrie, and then to set vpon them being destitute of aid in some place of aduantage.

Manie of the Cornishmen take their héels by night.

The citie was in a great feare at the first knowledge giuen, how the rebels were so néere incamped to the citie, euerie man getting himselfe to harnesse, and placing themselues, some at the gates, some on the walles, so that no part was vndefended. But the king deliuered the citie of that feare: for after that he perceiued how the Cornishmen were all daie readie to fight, and that on the hill; he sent straight Iohn Earle of Oxenford, Henrie Bouchier, earle of Essex, Edmund de la Poole, earle of Suffolke, sir Rise ap Thomas, and sir Humfreie Stanleie, noble warriors, with a great companie of archers and horssemen, to enuiron the hill on the right side, and on the left, to the intent that all bywaies being stopped and foreclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from them. And incontinentlie he himselfe, being as well incouraged with manlie stomachs as furnished with a populous armie and plentie of artillerie, set forward out of the citie, and incamped himselfe in saint Georges field, where he on the fridaie at night then lodged.

The citie of London sore afraid of the rebels.

On the saturday in the morning, he sent the lord Daubeneie with a great companie to set on them earlie in the morning, which first got the bridge at Dertford Strand, which was manfullie defended by certeine archers of the rebels, whose arrows (as is reported) were in length a full cloth yard. While the earles set on them on euerie side, the lord Daubenie came into the field with his companie, and without long fighting, the Cornishmen were ouercome; and first they tooke the lord Daubenie prisoner: but whether it were for feare, or for hope of fauour, they let him go at libertie, without hurt or detriment. There were slaine of the rebels which fought and resisted, aboue two thousand men (as Edward Hall noteth) and taken prisoners an infinite number, & amongst them the blacke smith, and other the chéefe capteins, which were shortlie after put to death. When this battel was ended, the king wanted of all his numbers but thrée hundred, which were slaine at that conflict.

Blackheath field.

Thrée hundred slaine, & a thousand fiue hundred taken prisoners, as Iohn Stow saith.

Some affirme, that the king appointed to haue fought with them not till the mondaie, and preuenting the time set on them on the saturday before, taking them vnprouided, and in no arraie of battell; and so by that policie obtained the field and victorie. The prisoners as well capteins as other, were pardoned, sauing the chéefe capteins and first beginners, to whome he shewed no mercie at all. The lord Audeleie was drawne from Newgate to the Tower-hill in a coate of his own armes, painted vpon paper reuersed and all torne, and there was beheaded the foure and twentieth of Iune. Thomas Flammocke & Michael Ioseph were hanged, drawne, and quartered after the maner of traitors, & their heads and quarters were pitched vpon stakes, and set vp in London, and in other places: although at the first, the king meant to haue sent them into Cornewall, to haue béene set vp there for a terror to all others. But hearing that the Cornishmen at home were readie to begin a new conspiracie, least he should the more irritate and prouoke them by that displeasent sight, he changed his purpose, for doubt to wrap himselfe in more trouble than néeded.

James lord Audeleie ignominiouslie drawne to execution and beheaded.

While these things were adooing in England, the king of Scots being aduertised of the whole matter and rebellion of the Cornishmen, thought not to let passe that occasion: and therefore he eftsoones inuaded the frontiers of England, wasting the countrie, burning townes, and murthring the people, spareing neither place nor person: and while his light horsmen were riding to forraie and destroe the bishoprike of Durham, and there burned all about, he with an other part of his armie did

An. Reg. 13.

The Scots invade the English borders.

besiege the castell of Norham. The bishop of Durham Richard Fox, being owner of that castell, had well furnished it both with men and munitions aforehand, doubting least that would follow which came now to passe. The bishop, after that the Scots made this inuasion, aduertised the king (as then being at London) of all things that chanced in the North parts; and sent in all post hast to the earle of Surrie, to come to the rescue. The earle being then in Yorkeshire, and hauing gathered an armie, vpon knowledge giuen to him from the bishop, with all diligence marched forward, and after him followed other noble men out of all the quarters of the North, euerie of them bringing as manie men as they could gather, for defense of their countrie.

Fox bishop of Durham
owner of Norham
castell.

Amongst these, the chéefe leaders were, Rafe earle of Westmerland, Thomas lord Dacres, Rafe lord Neuill, George lord Strange, Richard lord Latimer, George lord Lumleie, Iohn lord Scroope, Henrie lord Clifford, George lord Ogle, William lord Coniers, Thomas lord Darcie. Of knights, Thomas baron of Hilton, sir William Persie, sir William Bulmer, sir William Gascoigne, sir Rafe Bigod, sir Rafe Bowes, sir Thomas a Parre, sir Rafe Ellecker, sir Iohn Constable, sir Iohn Ratcliffe, sir Iohn Sauill, sir Thomas Strangweis, and a great number of other knights and esquiers besides. The whole armie was little lesse than twentie thousand men, beside the nauie, whereof the lord Brooke was admerall.

What lords & knights
with their companies
went to the rescue of
the castell against the
Scots.

When the Scots had diuerse waies assaulted and beaten the castell of Norham, but could make no batterie to enter the same, they determined of their owne accord to raise the siege, and returne; and that so much the sooner in verie déed, bicause they heard that the earle of Surrie was within two daies iournie of them, with a great puissance. Wherefore king Iames raised his siege, and returned home into his owne realme. When the earle knew of the kings returne, he followed him with all hast possible, trusting suerlie to ouertake him, and to giue him battell. When the earle was entred Scotland, he ouerthrew and defaced the castell of Cawdestreimes, the tower of Hetenhall, the tower of Edington, the tower of Fulden: and he sent Norreie king at armes to the capteine of Haiton castell, which was one of the strongest places betwixt Berwike and Edinburgh, to deliuer him the castell. Which he denied to doo, affirming that he was sure of spéedie succours.

The earle of Surreie
entreth Scotland
defacing castels and
towers.

The earle héerevpon laid his ordinance to the castell, and continuallie beat it, from two of the clocke till fiue at night, in such wise, that they within rendered vp the place, their liues onelie saued. The earle caused his minors to raise & ouerthrow the fortresse to the plaine ground. The Scottish king was within a mile of the siege, and both knew it, and saw the smoke, but would not set one foot forward to the rescue. While the erle laie at Haiton, the king of Scots sent to him Machemont, and an other herald, desiring him at his election, either to fight with whole puissance against puissance, or else they two to fight person to person; requiring that if the victorie fell to the Scottish king, that then the earle should deliuer for his ransome, the towne of Berwike, with the fishgarths of the same.

The earle made answer hereto, that the towne of Berwike was the king his maisters, and not his, the which he neither ought nor would laie to pledge, without the king of Englands assent; but he would gage his bodie, which was more pretious to him than all the townes of the world, promising on his honour, that if he tooke the king prisoner in that singular combat, he would release to him all his part of the fine and ransome; and if it chanced the king to vanquish him, he would gladlie paie such ransome as was conuenient for the degré of an earle, and thanked him greatlie for the offer: for suerlie he thought himselfe much honored, that so noble a prince would vouchsafe to admit so poore an earle to fight with him bodie to bodie. When he had rewarded and dismissed the heralds, he set his armie in a readinesse, to abide the comming of the king of Scots, and so stood all daie.

The valiant hart of the
erle of Surrie reioising
at his hap likelie to
fight hand to hand with
the K. of Scots.

But king Iames not regarding his offers, would neither performe the one nor the other; fearing to cope with the English nation in anie condition; and so therevpon fled in the night season with all his puissance. When the earle knew that the king was reculed, and had béene in Scotland six or seuen daies, being dailie and nightlie vexed with continuall wind and raine, vpon good and deliberate aduise returned backe to the towne of Berwike, and there dissolved his armie, tarieng there himselfe, till he might vnderstand further of the kings pleasure. In the meane time there came an ambassadour to the K. of Scots from the K. of Spaine, one Peter Hialas, a man of no lesse learning than wit & policie, to mooue and intret a peace betwéene the two kings of England & Scotland [that their people might fall to their necessarie trades of aduantage with quietnesse, and friend with friend, husband with wife, father with children, and maisters with seruants dwell and accompanie: a dissolution and separation of whom one from another is procured by bloudie warre, wherein as there is no pitie, so is there is no pietie, as one saith full trulie:

An ambassadour from
the K. of Spaine to treat
a peace betwixt
England and Scotland.

Nulla fides pietásque viris qui castra sequuntur,
Nulla salus bello.]

Luc. Lib. 10.

This Spanish ambassadour so earnestlie trauelled in his message vnto the king of Scots, that at length he found him conformable to his purpose: and therefore wrote to the king of England, that it would please him to send one of his nobilitie or councell, to be associat with him in concluding of peace with the Scottish king. The king of England was neuer dangerous to agrée to anie reasonable peace, so it might stand with his honour; and therefore appointed the bishop of

Durham doctor Fox, to go into Scotland about that treatie which Peter Hialas had begun. The bishop (according to his commission) went honorablie into Scotland, where he and Peter Hialas at the towne of Iedworth, after long arguing and debating of matters with the Scottish commissioners, in stéed of peace concluded a truce for certeine yeares; vpon condition, that Iames king of Scots should conueie Perkin Warbecke out of his realme, seigniories, and dominions.

About the same time, king Henrie receiued the ambassadors that were sent to him from the French king, and had béene staid at Douer, till the Cornish rebels were vanquished and subdued. Also the lord of Camphire, and other oratours of Philip archduke of Austrich, and duke of Burgognie came to him for the conclusion of amitie, and to haue the English merchants to resort againe to their countrie. Which request being verie agréable to the quietnesse and wealth of his realme, and especiallie at that time, he did fauorable grant and agréé vnto. And so did the Englishmen resort againe into the archdukes dominions, and were receiued into Antwerpe with generall procession: so glad was that towne of their returne. Shortlie after the concluding of the truce betwéene England and Scotland, Perkin Warbecke being willed of the king of Scots to depart out of the Scottish dominions, sailed with his wife and familie into Ireland, there determining with himselfe either to repaire into Flanders to his first setter vp the duches of Burgognie, or else ioine and take part with the Cornishmen.

The English merchants receiued into Antwerpe with generall procession.

Perkin is faine to packe out of Scotland.

But howsoeuer it came to passe, whilst he laie in Ireland, he had knowledge from the Cornishmen, that they were readie to renew the warre againe. Wherevpon he minding not to let passe so faire an occasion, hauing with him foure small ships, and not aboue six score men, sailed into Cornewall; and there landed in the moneth of September, and came to a towne called Bodman, and there did so prouoke the wauering people, what with faire words and large promises, that he gathered to him aboue thrée thousand persons, which immediatlie called him their capteine, promising to take his part, and follow him to the death. Then Perkin well encouraged, made proclamations in the name of king Richard the fourth, as sonne to king Edward the fourth. And by the aduise of his thrée councellers, Iohn Heron mercer a bankrupt, Richard Skelton a tailor, and Iohn Astelie a scriuener determined first of all to assaie the winning of Excester.

Perkin Warbecke arriueth in Cornewall.

Another rebellion by the Cornishmen.

Perkins thrée councellers.

Then hasting thither, he laid siege to it, and wanting ordinance to make batterie, studied all waies possible how to breake the gates, and what with casting of stones, heauing with iron barres, and kindling of fire vnder the gates, he omitted nothing that could be deuised for the furtherance of his purpose. The citizens, perceiuing in what danger they stood, first let certeine messengers downe by cords ouer the wall, that might certifie the king of their necessitie & trouble. And herewith taking vnto them boldnesse of courage, determined to repell fire with fire, and caused fagots to be brought and laied to the inward parts of the gates, and set them all on fire; to the intent that the fire being inflamed on both sides the gates, might as well kéepe out their enimies from entring, as shut in the citizens from fléeing out, and that they in the meane season might make trenches and rampiers to defend their enimies in stéed of gates and bulworks. Thus by fire was the citie preserued from fire.

Excester assaulted by Perkin & the Cornishmen.

The citie of Excester preserued from fire by fire.

Then Perkin of verie necessitie compelled to forsake the gates, assaulted the towne in diuerse weake and vnfortified places, and set vp ladders to take the citie. But the citizens, with helpe of such as were come foorth of the countrie adiointing to their aid, so valiantlie defended the walles, that they slue aboue two hundred of Perkins souldiers at that assault. The king hauing aduertisement of this siege of Excester, hasted foorth with his host, in as much spéed as was possible, and sent the lord Daubeneie with certeine bands of light horssemen before, to aduertise all men of his comming at hand. But in the meane season, the lord Edward Courtneie earle of Deuonshire, and the valiant lord William his sonne, accompanied with sir Edmund Carew, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courtneie, sir Thomas Fulford, sir Iohn Halewell, sir Iohn Croker, Water Courtnie, Peter Edgecombe, William saint Maure, with all spéed came into the citie of Excester, and holpe the citizens, and at the last assault was the earle hurt in the arme with an arrow, and so were manie of his companie, but verie few slaine.

The king maketh out his power against Perkin.

When Perkin saw that he could not win the citie of Excester, sith he sawe it was so well fortified both with men and munitions, he departed from thence, and went vnto Taunton, and there the twentieth day of September he mustered his men; as though he were readie to giue battell: but perceiuing his number to be minished, by the secret withdrawing of sundrie companies from him, he began to put mistrust in all the remnant.

Edward the yoong duke of Buckingham and his companie ioine with the king.

In déed when the people that followed him, in hope that no small number of the nobilitie would ioine with him, saw no such matter come to passe, they stale awaie from him by secret companies. When the king heard that he was gone to Taunton, he followed after him with all spéed. And by the way there came to him Edward duke of Buckingham, a yoong prince of great towardnesse; and him followed a great companie of noble men, knights and esquiers, as sir Alexander Bainam, sir Maurice Barkleie, sir Robert Tame, sir Iohn Guise, sir Robert Pointz, sir Henrie Vernon, sir Iohn Mortimer, sir Thomas Tremaille, sir Edward Sutton, sir Amise Paulet, sir

John Birkneill, sir Iohn Sapcotes, sir Hugh Lutterell, sir Francis Cheinie, and diuerse other.

At the kings approaching to the towne of Taunton, he set before him Robert lord Brooke lord steward of his house, Giles lord Daubeneie his chiefe chamberleine, and sir Rice ap Thomas. But as soone as Perkin was informed that his enimies were readie to giue him battell, he that nothing lesse minded than to fight in open field with the kings puissance, dissembled all the daie time with his companie, as though nothing could make him afraid: and about midnight, accompanied with thrée score horssemen, he departed from Taunton in post to a sanctuarie towne beside Southampton, called Beaudlie, & there he and Iohn Heron with other registred themselues as persons priuiledged. When as king Henrie knew that Perkin was thus fled, he sent after him the lord Daubeneie with fiue hundred horssemen toward the sea side, to apprehend him before he should get away. Although Perkin escaped (as I haue said) vnto sanctuarie, yet manie of his chiefe capteins were taken and presented to the king.

Perkin fléeth and taketh Beaudlie sanctuarie.

Also the horssemen that were sent, without anie stop or staie came to saint Michaels mount, and there (as chance was) found the ladie Katharine Gordon wife to Perkin, and brought hir streight to the king. At whose beautie and amiable countenance the king much maruelled, and thought hir a preie more méet for a prince, than for the meane souldiers, and sent hir incontinentlie vnto London to the quéene, accompanied with a sort of sage matrones and gentlewomen, bicause she was but yoong. The common people that had followed Perkin, after that their chéefeteine was fled, threw awaie their armour as people amazed, and submitted themselues to the king, humblie beséeching him of mercie, which he most gentlie granted, and receiued them to his fauour. After this the king road to Excester, and there not onelie commended the citizens, but also hartilie thanked them for dooing so well their duties in defending their citie from their enimies. He also put there to execution diuerse Cornishmen, which were the authors and principall beginners of this new conspiracie and insurrection. Neuerthesse, he vsed maruellous clemencie also in pardoning a great number of the rebels.

The beautifull ladie Katharine (Perkins wife) presented to the king.

¶ For when king Henrie was come to Excester with a great armie, mooued therevnto (as you haue heard) by reason of the rebellion of Perkin Warbecke, who was fled before the kings comming, he staid a few daies about the examination of the said rebellion, and the executing of the chiefe and principall capteins. In the end, the multitude of the offenders being great, and most humblie crauiug for pardon, the king caused them all to be assembled in the churchyard of saint Peters, where they all appeared bare headed, in their shirts, and with halters about their necks. His grace was then lodged in the treasurers house, lieng fast vpon the churchyard, and out of a faire and large window (made for the purpose) he tooke the view of them, who shouted and cried out for pardon. At length, when the king had paused, hée made a speach vnto them, exhorting them to obedience, and in hope he should thenceforth find them dutifull, he pardoned them all: wherat they all made a great shout, gaue the king thanks, and hurred awaie their halters. Yet neuerthesse, some returned againe, and ioined themselues with the Cornish people, which had not all submitted themselues, nor sought for pardon.

John Hooker, alias Vowell.

All Perkins partakers in their shirts with halters about their necks appeare before the king.

Now while he remained at Excester, he considered with himselfe, that he had doone nothing, if he could not get into his hands the chiefe head of this trouble and seditious businesse. Wherefore he caused the sanctuarie wherein Perkin was inclosed, to be inuironed with two bands of light horssemen, to watch diligentlie, that Perkin should not escape by anie meanes foorth of that place vntaken: and withall attempted by faire promises of pardon and forgiuenes, if Perkin would submit himselfe to him and become his man. Perkin perceiuing himselfe so shut vp, that he could no waie escape, of his owne frée will came out of the sanctuarie, and committed himselfe to the kings pleasure. When the king had thus atchiued his purpose, he returned to London, and appointed certeine kéeppers to attend on Perkin, which should not (the bredth of a maile) go from his person; least he should conueie himselfe by anie meanes out of the land [and set new troubles abroch by such practises as he had to fore vsed, for the aduancement of himselfe to the estate of a king, by assuming vnto himselfe the name of a kings sonne, when in déed hée was come of base parentage. But lacke will bée a gentleman, the long eared asse will be taken for a leopard, & the pelting pismire for a lion, as one saith:

Perkin in sanctuarie assaulted.

Perkin submitteth himselfe to the king, and is streictlie séene to.

Nunc se asinus pardum vocat & formica leonem.]

M. Pal. in Virg.

After this, the king caused inquiries to be made, of all such as had aided with men or monie the Cornish rebels, so that diuerse persons as well in Summersetshire as Deuonshire were detected of that offense, which he minded for example sake should tast some part of due punishments for their crimes, according to the qualitie thereof. And therefore he appointed Thomas lord Darcie, Amise Paulet knight, and Robert Sherborne deane of Poules (that was after bishop of Chichester) to be commissioners for assessing of their fines that were found culpable. These commissioners so bestirred themselues, in tossing the coffers and substance of all the inhabitants of both those shires, that there was not one person imbrued or spotted with the filth of that abhominable crime, that escaped the paine which he had deserued: but to such yet as offended rather by

Cõmissioners appointed for assessing of their fines that faouored the Cornish rebels.

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constraint than of malice, they were gentle and favourable, so that equity therein was verie well and iustlie executed.

¶ In this yeare all the gardens which had béene continued time out of mind, without Moore gate of London, were destroyed, and of them was made a plaine field for archers to shoot in. Also this yeere was a great drought, by reason whereof a load of haie, which was before sold at London at fiue shillings, was this yeare sold for ten or twelue more. Also this yeare, one Sebastian Gabato, a Genoas sonne, borne in Bristow, professing himselfe to be expert in knowledge of the circuit of the world, and Islands of the same, as by his charts and other reasonable demonstrations he shewed, caused the king to man and vittell a ship at Bristow, to search for an Iland which he knew to be replenished with rich commodites. In the ship diuerse merchants of London aduentured small stocks, and in the companie of this ship sailed also out of Bristow thrée or foure small ships freight with slight and grosse wares, as course cloath, caps, lases, points, and such other.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 872.

Gardens in Moore field laid wast to make archers game.

Price of haie doubled.

Sebastian Gabato his discouerie of an Iland of rich commodities.

Sir Humfrie Gilbert knight, in his booke intituled, A discouerie for a new passage to Cataia, writeth thus; "Sebastian Gabato, by his personall experience and trauell, hath described and set fourth this passage in his charts, which are yet to be séene in the quéenes maiesties priuie gallerie at White hall, who was sent to make this discouerie by king Henrie the seuenth, and entered the same fret, affirming that hée sailed verie farre westward, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of terra de Labrador, the eleuenth of Iune, vntill he came to the septentrionall latitude of 67½ degrés, and finding the seas still open, said, that he might & would haue gon to Cataia, if the emnitie of the maister and mariners had not béene." Neuerthelesse, he went verie farre, euen to a nation inhabited with people more like beasts than men, as appeareth in the yeare 1502, and the seuentéenth of this kings reigne, when the said traeller was returned, and presented himselfe to the kings maiestie.

In this yeare the warre had like to haue béene reuiued betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland by a small occasion, as thus. Certaine yongmen of the Scots came arriued before Norham castell, & beheld it wonderous circumspectlie, as though they would faine haue béene of counsell to know what was doone therein. The kéepers not perceiuing anie damage attempted against them for the first time, determined not to mooue anie question to them, or once to stirre out. But when they came againe the next day, and viewed it likewise, the kéepers of the castell suspecting some euill meaning, demanded of them what their intent was, and why they viewed and aduised so the castell. The Scots answered them roughlie with disdainfull words, so that the Englishmen fell to and replied with strokes; and after manie blowes giuen and receiued, diuerse Scots were wounded, and some slaine; and the residue ouermatched with multitude of the Englishmen, fled as fast as their horsse could carie them.

An. Reg. 14.

England and Scotland liklie to go together by the eares afresh.

The Scottish king hereof aduertised, was highlie displeased, and in all hast signified to king Henrie by his herald Marchemont, in what sort his people (to the breach of the truce) were abused and handled. King Henrie being not in will to breake with anie of his neighbours, excused the matter, affirming that he was not of knowledge to the misdemeanor of those that had the castell in kéeping; requiring the king of Scots not to thinke the truce broken for anie thing doone without his consent; promising in the word of a king to inquire of the truth, and if the offense were found to be begun on the partie of the kéepers of the castell, he assured him that they should for no méed nor fauour escape due correction and punishment.

This answer (though it was more than reasonable) could not pacifie the king of Scots, till the bishop of Durham (that was owner of the castell of Norham) who sore lamented, that by such as he appointed kéepers there, the warre should be renewed with sundrie letters written to the Scottish king, at length asswaged his displeasure, so that the said king wrote courteouslie to the bishop againe, signifieng that bicause he had manie secret things in his mind, which he would communicate onelie with him touching this matter now in variance; therefore he required him to take the paine to come into his countrie, trusting that he should thinke his labor well bestowed. The bishop was glad, and sent word hereof to the king his master, who willed him to accomplish the desire of the Scottish king, which he tooke to bée reasonable.

The bishop of Durham aswageth the kings displeasure by letters.

At his comming into Scotland, he was courteouslie receiued of the king himselfe at the abbeie of Melrosse. And there, after the king had (for a countenance) complained much of the vniust slaughter of his men late committed at Norham: vpon the bishops gentle answers thervnto, he forgaue the same, and after began to talke secretlie without witnesses alone with the bishop. And first he declared what iust causes mooued him in times past to séeke amitie with the king of England: which now he desired much more to haue confirmed, for further maintenance & increase thereof. Which he doubted not but should sort to a fortunate conclusion, if the king of England would vouchsafe to giue to him in matrimonie his first begotten daughter the ladie Margaret, vpon which point he purposed latelie to haue sent his ambassadors into England, which thing he would the sooner doo if he knew the bishops mind therein to bée readie to further his sute. The bishop answered but few words sauing that when he were returned to the king his maister, he would doo the best in the

The bishop of Durham goeth into Scotland.

The Scottish king desireth the ladie Margaret eldest daughter of K. Henrie the seuenth to be his wife.

matter that he could.

When the bishop was returned into England, and come to the king, he declared to him all the communication had betwéene king Iames and him, from point to point in order. The king liked well thereof as he to whome peace was euer a souereigne solace and comfort. In this meane time Perkin Warbecke, disappointed of all hope to escape out of the Englishmens hands (which was the onelie thing that he most desired) found meanes yet at length to deceiue his kéepers, & took him to his héels. But when he came to the sea coasts, and could not passe, he was in a maruellous perplexitie: for euerie by way, lane, and corner was laid for him, and such search made, that being brought to his wits end, and cut short of his pretended iournie, he came to the house of Bethlem, called the priorie of Shéene beside Richmond in Southerie, and betooke himselfe to the prior of that monasterie, requiring him for the honour of God, to beg his pardon of life of the kings maiestie.

1499.

Perkin Warbecke
escapeth from his
kéepers.

The prior, which for the opinion that men had conceiued of his vertue, was had in great estimation, pitieng the wretched state of that caitife, came to the king, and shewed him of this Perkin, whose pardon he humblie craued, and had it as fréelie granted. Incontinentlie after was Perkin brought to the court againe at Westminster, and was one day set fettered in a paire of stocks, before the doore of Westminster hall, and there stood a whole day, not without innumerable reproches, mocks and scornings. And the next daie he was caried through London, and set vpon a like scaffold in Cheape by the standard, with like ginnes and stocks as he occupied the daie before, and there stood all daie, and read openlie his owne confession, written with his owne hand, the verie copie whereof here insueth.

The confession of Perkin as it was written with his owne hand, which he read openlie vpon a scaffold by the standard in Cheape.

It is first to be knowne, that I was borne in the towne of Turneie in Flanders, and my fathers name is Iohn Osbecke, which said Iohn Osbecke was controller of the said towne of Turneie, and my moothers name is Katharine de Faro. And one of my grandsires vpoa my fathers side was named Diricke Osbeck, which died. After whose death my grandmother was married vnto Peter Flamin, that was receiuer of the forenamed towne of Turneie, & deane of the botemen that row vpon the water or riuer called le Scheld. And my grandsire vpon my moothers side was Peter de Faro, which had in his kéeping the keies of the gate of S. Iohns within the same towne of Turneie. Also I had an vncl called maister Iohn Stalin, dwelling in the parish of S. Pias, within the same towne, which had married my fathers sister, whose name was Ione or Iane, with whome I dwelt a certeine season.

Perkin maketh an anatomie of his descent or linage.

And after I was led by my moother to Antwerpe for to learne Flemish, in a house of a cousine of mine, an officer of the said towne, called Iohn Stienbecke, with whome I was the space of halfe a yeare. And after that I returned againe to Turneie, by reason of warres that were in Flanders.

Perkins education or bringing vp.

And within a yeare following I was sent with a merchant of the said towne of Turneie, named Berlo, to the mart of Antwerpe, where I fell sicke, which sicknesse continued vpon me fíue moneths. And the said Berlo set me to boord in a skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nation. And by him I was from thense caried to Barow mart; and I lodged at the signe of the old man, where I abode for the space of two moneths.

After this, the said Berlo set me with a merchant of Middleborow to seruice for to learne the language, whose name was Iohn Strew, with whome I dwelt from Christmasse to Easter, and then I went into Portingall in companie of sir Edward Bramptons wife, in a ship which was called the quéens ship. And when I was come thither, then was I put in seruice to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, which was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled an whole yeare, which said knight had but one eie. And bicause I desired to sée other countries, I tooke licence of him, and then I put my selfe in seruice with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, which brought me with him into Ireland. Now when we were there arriued in the towne of Corke, they of the towne (bicause I was arraied with some cloths of silke of my said maisters) came vnto me, & threatned vpon me that I should be the duke of Clarences sonne, that was before time at Dublin.

Perkin a notable landloper.

But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me the holie euangelists, and the crosse, by the maior of the towne, which was called Iohn Leweline, and there in the duke the presence of him and others, I tooke mine oth (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his bloud. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephan Poitron, and one Iohn Water, and laid to me in swearing great oths, that they knew well that I was king Richards bastard sonne: whome I answered with like oths, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afeard, but that I should take it vpon me boldlie: and if I would so doo, they would aid and assist me with all their power against the king of England; & not onelie they, but they were well assured, that the earle of Desmond & Kildare should doo the same.

The Irish would haue Perkin take vpon him to be the duke of Clarences sonne.

They beare Perkin downe with oths that he is king Richards bastard.

For they forced not what part they tooke, so that they might be reuenged on the king of England: and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should doo and saie. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, bicause king Richards bastard sonne was in the hands of the king of England. And vpon this the said Water, Stephan Poitron, Iohn Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with manie others, as the foresaid carles, entered into this false quarell, and within short time others. The French K. sent an ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loit Lucas, and maister Stephan Friham, to aduertise me to come into France. And thense I went into France, and from thense into Flanders, & from Flanders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, & so into England.

They call him duke of Yorke.

When the night of the same daie (being the fiftéenth of Iune) was come, after he had stood all that daie in the face of the citie, he was committed to the Tower, there to remaine vnder safe kéeping, least happilie he might eftsoones run awaie, and escape out of the land, to put the king and realme to some new trouble. For he had a woonderfull dexteritie and readinesse to circumuent, a heart full of ouerreaching imaginations, an aspiring mind, a head more wilie (I wisse) than wittie; bold he was and presumptuous in his behaiour, as forward to be the instrument of a mischéefe, as anie deuiser of wickednesse would wish; a féend of the diuels owne forging, nursed and trained vp in the studie of commotions, making offer to reach as high as he could looke; such was his inordinate ambition, wherewith he did swell as coueting to be a princes péere: much like the tode that would match the bull in drinking, but in the end she burst in péeces and neuer dranke more; as the poet telleth the tale (by the imitation of the fabler) saieng;

---cupiens æquare bibendo
Rana bouem, rupta nunquam bibit ampliùs aluo.

M. Pal. in Virg.

In this yeare was an Augustine frier called Patrike in the parties of Suffolke, the which hauing a scholer named Rafe Wilford (a shoemakers sonne of London as Stow noteth) had so framed him to his purpose, that in hope to worke some great enterprise, as to disappoint the king of his crowne and seat roiall, tooke vpon him to be the earle of Warwike, insomuch that both the maister and scholer hauing counselled betwéene themselves of their enterprise, they went into Kent, & there began the yong mawmet to tell priuillie to manie, that he was the verie earle of Warwike, and latelie gotten out of the Tower, by the helpe of this frier Patrike. To which saiengs when the frier perceiued some light credence to be giuen, he declared it openlie in the pulpit, and desired all men of helpe. But the danger of this seditious attempt was shortlie remoued and taken awaie, the maister and scholer being both apprehended and cast into prison and atteinted.

An. Reg. 15.

Patrike an Augustine Frier.

Rafe Wilford the counterfeit earle of Warwike

The scholer was hanged, on Shrouetuesdaie at saint Thomas Waterings, and the frier condemned to perpetuall prison. For at that time so much reuerence was attributed to the holie orders, that to a préest (although he had committed high treason against his souereigne lord) his life was spared, in like case as to anie other offender in murther, rape, or theft, that had receiued anie of the thrée higher holie orders. [The chéefe cause (saith Edward Hall) of this fauour was this, bicause bishops of a long time and season did not take knowledge, nor intermix themselues with the search & punishment of such heinous and detestable offenses: by reason whereof they did not disgrace and depriue from the holie orders such malefactors and wicked persons, which without that ceremonie by the canon lawes could not be put to death.

The counterfeit earle is executed.

Abr. Fl. ex. Edw. Hall in Hen. 7 fol. lj.

The cause why the clergie neuer so heinouslie offending was so fauoured.

Furthermore, what should a man saie, it was also vsed, that he that could but onelie read (yea although he vnderstood not what he read) how heinous or detestable a crime so euer he had committed (treason onelie excepted) should likewise as affines & alies to the holie orders be sauéd, and committed to the bishops prison. And to the intent that if they should escape, and be againe taken, committing like offense, that their liues be no more to them pardoned: it was ordeined that murtherers should be burnt on the browne of the left hand with an hot iron signed with this letter M. and théeues in the same place with this letter T. So that if they, which were once signed with anie of these markes or tokens did reiterate like crime & offense againe, should suffer the paines and punishments which they had both merited and deserued. Which décrée was enacted and established in a session of parlement kept in the time of this kings reigne, and taken (as I coniecture) of the French nation, which are woont, if they take anie such offender, to cut off one of his eares, as a sure token and marke hereafter of his euill dooing.]

Burning in the hand when enacted.

Perkin Warbecke (as before ye haue heard) being now in hold, by false persuasions and great promises corrupted his kéepers, Stranguish, Blewet, Astwood, and long Roger, seruants to sir Iohn Digbie lieutenant of the Tower. Insomuch that they (as it was at their arreiignment openlie prooued) intended to haue slaine their maister, and to haue set Perkin and the earle of Warwike at large. Which earle of Warwike had béene kept in prison within the Tower almost from his tender yeares, that is to saie, from the first yeare of the king, to this fiftéenth yeare, out of all companie of men & sight of beasts, insomuch that he could not discerne a goose from a capon, and therefore by common reason and open apparence could not of himselfe séeke his owne death and destruction. But yet by the drift and offense of an other he was brought to his death and confusion.

Perkin corrupted his kéepers.

Edward Plantagenet earle of Warwike a verie innocent.

For being made priuie of this enterprise deuised by Perkin and his complices, therevnto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) he assented and agréed. But this craftie deuise and subtile imagination being reuealed, sorted to none effect, so that Perkin and Iohn Awater sometime maior of Corke in Ireland, one of his chéefe founders, and his sonne, were on the sixtéenth daie of Nouember arreiigned and condemned at Westminster. And on the thrée and twentieth daie of the same moneth, Perkin and Iohn Awater were drawne to Tiburne, where Perkin standing on a little scaffold, read his confession (as before he had doone in Cheape side) taking it on his death to be true. And so he and Iohn Awater asked the king forgiuennesse, and died patientlie.

Perkin and Iohn Awater executed at Tiburne.

This was the reward of the feined glose and counterfeit comment of Perkin Warbecke, the which as by his false surmises in his life time had brought manie honourable personages to their deaths, and vndoone manie an honest man: so now at his death he brought other of the same sort to their not altogither vnderdeserued punishment. And amongst others Edward Plantagenet the forenamed erle of Warwike, which (as the fame went)

Edward Plantagenet the yong earle of Warwike beheaded.

consented to breake prison, and to depart out of the realme with Perkin (which in prisoners is high treason) was the one and twentieth daie of the said moneth arreiigned at Westminster before the earle of Oxenford then high steward of England of the said treason, which (whether it were by intisement and persuasion of other, or of his owne frée will manie doubted, bicause of his innocencie) confessed the fact, and submitted himselfe to the kings mercie; and vpon his confession had his iudgement,

and according therunto the eight and twentieth daie of Nouember in the yeare 1499, was brought to the scaffold on the Tower hill, and there beheaded.

The fame after his death sprang abroad, that Ferdinando king of Spaine would make no full conclusion of the matrimonie to be had betwéene prince Arthur and the ladie Katharine daughter to the said Ferdinando, nor send hir into England as long as this earle liued. For he imagined that so long as anie earle of Warwike liued, England should neuer be purged of ciuill warre and priuie sedition; so much was the name of Warwike in other regions had in feare and gealousie. The next yeare after there was a great plague, whereof men died in manie places verie sore; but speciallie and most of all in the citie of London, where died in that yeare thirtie thousand. The foure and twentieth of Februarie in this fiftéenth yeare of this kings reigne his third son was christened and was named Edward. Also in this yeare was burned a place of the kings, called the manour of Shéene situate nigh the Thames side, which he after builded againe sumptuouslie, and changed the name of Shéene, and called it Richmond; bicause his father and he were earles of Richmond: or (as some note) for that so manie notable and rich iewels were there burnt. He also new builded Bainards castell in London, and repaired Gréenewich.

1500.

A great plague.

Edward the kings third sonne christened.

The manour of Shéene burnt & Richmond built in place thereof.

I. S. pag. 874.

The king, whether to auoid the danger of so great and perilous sicknesse, then raging, or to take occasion to commen with the duke of Burgognie, did personallie take his ship at Douer in the beginning of Maie, and sailed to Calis, whither the duke of Burgognie sent to him honourable personages in ambassage to welcome him into those parties, and to declare that the said duke would gladlie repaire personallie to his presence with such a number as the king should appoint, so that it were within no walled towne nor fortesse. For hauing denied the French king to enter into anie of his fortresses to talke with him, he would be loth now to giue a president to him to desire the like méeting. The king interteining the ambassadours, and thanking the duke of his courteous offer, appointed the place at saint Peters church without Calis.

King Henrie the seuenth saileth to Calis.

Vpon tuesdaie in Whitsunwéeke the archduke Philip came thither with a conuenient companie. The king and the quéene with manie a lustie lord and ladie rode thither to welcome him. [And when the king approched, the duke at his lighting offered to hold his stirrupe, which the king in no wise would suffer to be doone. When the king was descended from his horsse, he and the archduke imbraced each other with most princelie familiaritie, and then the quéene and all the nobles saluted him.] And after most louing interteinments, bankettings, mirth, and pastime shewed amongst them, there was communication of marriages, treating of further strengthening of leagues, requests of tolles in Flanders to be minished: with manie other things touching the commoditie and traffike of both their countries. And when all things were set in order, the two princes tooke their leaue, and departed; the king to Calis, and the archduke to S. Omers. After his departing, there came as ambassadors from the French king, the lord Gronthouse gouernour of Picardie, and the lord Meruelliers bailiffe of Amiens, which declared to the king the getting of Millaine and taking of the duke. The king highlie feasted them, and rewarded them princelie at their departing.

The king of England and the duke of Burgognie méet at saint Peters church without Calis.

Abr. Fl. ex Edw. Hall, in Hen. 7. fol. liij.

Soone after, when the death was slaked, the king returned againe into England about the end of Iune. Shortlie after there came to him one Gasper Pons a Spaniard, a man of excellent learning and most ciuill behaiour, sent from Alexander the bishop of Rome to distribute the heauenlie grace (as he termed it) to all such as (letted by anie forceable impediment) could not come to Rome that yeare to the Iubile, which was there celebrate, being the yeare after the birth of our Sauour, 1500. This beneuolent liberalitie was not altogether fréelie giuen. For Alexander looking to the health of mens soules, thought to doo somewhat for his owne priuat commoditie, & therefore he set a certeine price of that his grace and pardon. And to the end that the king should not hinder his purpose, he offered part of his gaines to the king.

An. Reg. 16.

A yeare of Iubile.

Pope Alexander maketh profit of his great pardon or heauenlie grace, as he termeth it.

And to colour the matter with some fauourable pretext, and to make men the better willing, & more readie to giue franklie, he promised with that monie to make warre against the Turke. By this meanes the pope got a great masse of monie, which he had conueied ouer vnto him by such trustie messengers (doubt you not) as he had appointed; and yet nothing doone against the Turks, which in the meane season did much hurt to the christians. [For it was no part of his meaning (what colourable shew soeuer he made of tendering the succourlesse people) to impart anie portion thereof to so good a vse; but rather for the supportation of him and his swarme, who before they will bate an ace of their gorgeous gallantnesse, the whole world shall be cousened. Such is the collusion of the pope, such be the shamelesse shifts of him and his cleargie for the maintenance of their owne courtlie brauerie, which is wicked vanitie; farre passing the pompe of anie prince, were the same of neuer so rare magnificence; as he well noteth that said full trulie:

Abr. Flem.

-----immenso princeps non visus in orbe est,
Cui tanti fastus tantáue pompa fuit.
Ingreditur quando miseræ Babylonis in vrbes,

*Antith. Christ. & pape.
pag. 38. 40.*

Cernitur hîc plusquam regia pompa comes.
Huic equus est spumans ostrôq; insignis & auro,
Altisono cuius sub pede terra fremit, &c.]

About this time died thrée bishops in England, Iohn Morton archbishop of Canturburie, Thomas Langton bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Rotheram archbishop of Yorke. After him succéeded Thomas Sauage bishop of London, a man of great honour and worthinesse: in whose place succéeded William Worham, of whome before is made mention. And Henrie Deane bisbop of Salisburie, was made archbishop of Canturburie, and Richard Fox was remoooued from Durham to the sée of Winchester. Also this yeare two notable mariages were concluded, but not consummate till afterwards, as you shall heare in place conuenient. For king Henrie granted his daughter ladie Margaret to Iames the fourth king of Scots. And Ferdinando king of Spaine gaue his daughter ladie Katharine to Arthur prince of Wales, sonne and heire apparant to the king of England.

Thrée bishops dead in one yeare.

Two notable mariages.

1501.

Katharine daughter to Ferdinando K. of Spaine affied to Arthur prince of Wales.

Among other articles of the mariage concluded with the Scotish king this was one, that no English men should be receiued into Scotland without letters commendatorie of their souereigne lord, or safe conduct of his warden of the marches; and the same prohibition was in like maner giuen to the Scots. This yeare the ladie Katharine of Spaine was sent by hir father king Ferdinando with a puissant nauie of ships into England, where she arriued in the hauen of Plimmouth the second daie of October then being saturdaie. Vpon the twelft of Nouember she was conueied from Lambeth through London with all triumph and honour that might be deuised to the bishops palace, the stréets being hanged, and pageants erected after the maner as is vsed at a coronation: which solemnitie Edward Hall describeth with the sumptuous shewes then glistening in the beholders eies.

An. Reg. 17.

The fourth of October as *Stow* hath noted.

¶ I passe ouer (saith he) the wise deuises, the prudent spéeches, the costlie works, the cunning portratures, practised and set foorth in seuen goodlie beautifull pageants, erected and set vp in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also the goodlie ballades, the swéet harmonie, the musicall instruments, which sounded with heauenlie noise on euerie side of the stréets. I omit further, the costlie apparell both of goldsmiths worke and imbroderie, the rich iewels, the massie chaines, the stirring horsse, the beautifull bards and the glittering trappers, both with belles and spangels of gold. I pretermit also the rich apparell of the princesses, the strange fashion of the Spanish nation, the beautie of the English ladies, the goodlie demeanure of the yoong damosels, the amorous countenance of the lustie bachelers. I passe ouer also the fine ingrained clothes, the costlie furs of the citizens, standing on scaffolds, raised from Gracechurch to Paules. What should I speake of the oderiferous scarlets, the fine veluets, the pleasant fures, the massie chaines, which the maior of London with the senat, sitting on horssebacke at the little conduit in Cheape, ware on their bodies and about their necks? I will not speake of the rich arras, the costlie tapestrie, the fine clothes both of gold and siluer, the curious veluets, the beautifull sattens, nor the pleasant silkes which did hang in euerie stréet where she passed, the wine that ran continuallie out of the conduits, and the graueling of the stréets néedeth not to be remembred.

Abr. Flem. ex. Edw. Hall. fol. liij.

Whilest this ladie soiourned for hir recreation in the bishops palace of London, being in the meane time visited of the king, the quéene, and the kings mother, there was erected in the bodie of S. Paules church a long bridge made of timber, extending from the west doore of the church to the step at the entring into the quéere, which was six foot from the ground. On the said bridge or stage, euen directlie before the consistorie of the church, was a place raised like a mount for eight persons to stand vpon, compassed round about with steps to ascend and descend, which was couered with fine red worsted, and in likewise were all the railes of the said stage. On the north side of this mount was a place decked and trimmed for the king and quéene, and such other as they appointed to haue. On the south side of the same mount stood the maior and the magistrates of the citie.

When all things were prepared and set in order, vpon the foureteenth of Nouember then being sundaie, the foresaid ladie was led to the said mount, and there prince Arthur openlie espoused hir, both being clad in white, both lustie and amorous, he of the age of fiftéene and more, and she of the age of eightéene or thereabouts, the king and quéene standing priuily on their stage. After the matrimonie celebrated, the prince and his wife went vp into the quéere, and there heard a solemne masse soong by the archbishop of Canturburie, associat with ninetéene prelats mitred. And after the masse finished, the bride was led homewards to the bishops palace by the duke of Yorke, being then a goodlie yoong prince, and the legat of Spaine. Next after followed the ladie Cicilie sister to the quéene, supporting the traine of the spouse.

The solemnisation of the mariage betwéene Arthur prince of Wales & Katharine daughter to the king of Spaine.

But to speake of all the solemne pompe, noble companie of lords and ladies, and what a sumptuous feast and plentifull was kept, with dansing and disguisings, words might sooner faile than matter worthie of rehearsall. Howbeit euerie daie endeth and night insueth, and so when night was come, the prince and his beautifull bride were brought and ioined together in one bed, where they laie as man and wife all that night. ¶ Now when the morning appéered, the prince (as his familiar seruitors, which had then neither cause nor reward to lie or fame, openlie told the tale) called for

Edw. Hall fol. liij.

drinke, which he before times was not accustomed to doo. At which thing one of his chamberleins maruelling, asked the cause of his drouth. To whome the prince answered merilie, saieing; I haue this night béene in the middest of Spaine, which is a hot region, and that iournie maketh me so drie: and if thou haddest béene vnder that hot climat, thou wouldest haue béene drier than I.

Shortlie after the king and the quéene, with the new wedded spouses went from Bainards castell by water to Westminster, on whom the maior and communalitie of London in barges gorgeously trimmed gaue their attendance. And there in the palace were such martiall feats, valiant iusts, vigorous turneis, and such fierce fight at the barriers, as before that time was of no man had in remembrance. Of this roiall triumph lord Edward duke of Buckingham was chiefe challenger, and lord Thomas Greie marquesse Dorset chiefe defender, which with their aids and companions bare themselues so valiantlie, that they got great praise and honour, both of the Spaniards, and of their owne councitriemen. During the time of these iusts and triumphs, were receiued into London, an earle, a bishop, and diuerse noble personages sent from the king of Scots into England, for conclusion of the mariage betwéene the ladie Margaret and him; which earle by proxie, in the name of king James his maister, affied and contracted the said ladie. Which affiance was published at Paules crosse, the daie of the conuersion of saint Paule: in reioising whereof Te Deum was soong, and great fiers made through the cite of London.

Margaret eldest daughter to king Henrie affied to James king of Scots.

These things being accomplished, the ambassadors as well of Spaine as Scotland tooke their leaue of the king, & not without great rewards returned into their countries. When the ambassadors were departed, he sent his sonne prince Arthur againe into Wales, to kéepe that countrie in good order; appointing to him wise and expert councellors, as sir Richard Poole his kinsman, which was his chiefe chamberleine, also sir Henrie Vernon, sir Richard Crofts, sir Dauid Philip, sir William Wall, sir Thomas Englefield, sir Peter Newton knights; Iohn Walleston, Henrie Marton, & doctor William Smith, president of his councell, and doctor Charles; of the which two doctors, the one was after bishop of Lincolne, and the other bishop of Hereford.

1502.

Prince Arthur is sent into Wales.

¶ This yeare Iohn Shaw (who was maior of London) caused his brethren the aldermen men to ride from the Guildhall vnto the water side, when he went to Westminster to be presented in the exchequer. He also caused the kitchens and other houses of office to be builded at the Guildhall, where since that time the maiors feasts haue béene kept, which before had béene in the grosers or tailors hall. About Easter, all the Greie friers in England changed their habit, for whereas of long time before they had vsed to weare browne russet of foure shillings, six shillings, and eight shillings the yard; now they were compelled to weare russet of two shillings the yard and not aboue, which was brought to passe by the Friers of Gréenewich. This yeare, the dike called Turnemill brooke, with all the course of Fléet dike, were so scowred downe to the Thames, that boates with fish and fewell were rowed vp to Holborne bridge, as they of old time had béene accustomed: which was a great commoditie to all the inhabitants in that part of London. Also the tower néere to the Blacke friers was taken downe by the commandement of the maior. Also this yeare were brought vnto the king thrée men taken in the new found ilands, by Sebastian Gabato, before named in Anno 1498. These men were clothed in beasts skins, and eat raw flesh, but spake such a language as no man could vnderstand them, of the which thrée men, two of them were séene in the kings court at Westminster two yeares after, clothed like Englishmen, and could not be discerned from Englishmen.

Iohn Stow, pag. 874, 875.

The maiors feast first kept at Guildhall.

Woollen cloth of two shillings the brode yard.

Dikes of Lōdon censed.

Men brought from the new found islands.

A few moneths before the mariage of prince Arthur, Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke, sonne to Iohn duke of Suffolke, and ladie Elizabeth sister to king Edward the fourth, being bold and rash withall, was indicted of murther, for sleaing of a meane person in his rage & furie. And although the king pardoned him whome he might iustlie haue put to death for that offense; yet because he was brought to the barre before the kings Bench, and arraigned (which fact he tooke as a great blemish to his honour) shortlie after vpon that displeasure he fled into Flanders vnto his aunt the ladie Margaret, the king not being priuie to his going ouer. Neuerthesse, whether he was persuaded by his fréends therevnto, whom the king had willed to deale with him therein; or whether vpon trust of his innocencie: true it is that he returned againe, and excused himselfe to the king, so that he thought him to be giltlesse of anie crime that might be obiected against him.

Edmund erle of Suffolke flieth into Flanders.

But when the mariage betwixt the prince & the ladie Katharine of Spaine was kept at London, this erle either for that he had passed his compasse in excessiue charges and sumptuousnesse at that great triumph and solemnitie, and by reason thereof was farre run into debt; either else through the procurement of his aunt the foresaid ladie Margaret; or pricked with some priuie enuie, which could not patientlie with open eies behold king Henrie (being of the aduerse faction to his linage) so long to reigne in wealth and felicitie: in conclusion with his brother Richard fled againe into Flanders. This departure of the earle sore vexed the king, doubting, of some new trouble to insue thereof.

The discontented mind of the earle of Suffolke.

But yet to vnderstand the full meaning of the said earle, the king vsed his

old fetch: for immediatlie after the earle was fled, he appointed sir Robert Curson, whome he had aduanced to the order of knighthood, and made capteine of Hammes castell, a valiant man and a circumspect, to dissemble himselfe one of that conspiracie; who went into Flanders, to espie what was doone there by the ladie Margaret, and hir nephue the earle of Suffolke. After that the said sir Robert Curson was thus gone into Flanders, the king, to put him out of all suspicion with the said ladie Margaret and the earle, caused the said earle, and sir Robert Curson, and fiue persons more to be accursed at Paules crosse, the first sundaie of Nouember, as enimies to him and his realme.

The kings woonted policie now againe practised.

To be bréefe, the king by his meanes, and other such diligent inquisition as he made, tried out such as he suspected, partlie to be deuisers of mischéefe against him, and partlie to beare no sincere affection towards his person, so that he could readilie name them: whereof a great part were within few daies apprehended and taken. And amongst them William lord Courtneie, sonne to the earle of Deuonshire, which married the ladie Katharine, daughter to king Edward the fourth; lord William de la Poole, brother to the foresaid earle of Suffolke, sir Iames Tirrell, and sir Iohn Windham. Both the Williams were rather taken of suspicion, bicause they were so néere of kin to the conspirator, than for anie prooued matter. But sir Iames Tirrell and Iohn Windham, bicause they were traitors, and so attainted, the sixt daie of Maie after their apprehension, they were on the Tower hill beheaded.

Tirrell and Windham beheaded.

When the earle of Suffolke heard what fortune thus happened to his fréends, as one in vtter despaire to haue anie good successe in his pretensed enterprise, wandred about all Germanie and France, to purchase some aid and succour, if by anie means he might. But when he perceiued no stedfast ground to catch anchor hold vpon, he submitted himselfe vnder the protection of Philip archduke of Austrich. But his brother Richard, being a politike man, so wiselie ordered himselfe in this stormie tempest, that he was not intrapped either with net or snare. The king not yet out of all doubt of ciuill sedition, bicause a great number of euill disposed persons partakers of this conspiracie, were fled into sundrie sanctuaries, deuised to haue all the gates of sanctuaries and places priuiledged shut and locked vp, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and disquiet him.

And for that intent he wrote vnto pope Alexander, desiring him by his authoritie to adiudge all Englishmen, being fled to sanctuarie for the offense of treason as enimies to the christian faith, interdicting and prohibiting the refuge and priuilege of sanctuarie to all such, as once had enioied the libertie and protection of the same, and after that fled out, and eftsoones returned againe. Which thing after that the pope had granted, turned to the great quietnesse of the king and his realme. For manie that had offended, for feare to fall into danger, returned to the due subiectiion of their prince; and other that were yet frée from perill, durst not hazard themselues so boldlie as they durst haue doone before, vpon hope of such starting holes.

Sanctuaries restrained.

When the king had thus settled things to his owne contentation and pleasure, there suddenlie happened to him a lamentable chance. For that noble prince Arthur, the kings first begotten sonne, after he had béene married to the ladie Katharine his wife, the space of fiue moneths, departed out of this transitorie life, in his castell of Ludlow and with great funerall obsequie was buried in the cathedrall church of Worcester. His brother the duke of Yorke was staid from the title of Prince by the space of a moneth, till to women it might appeare whether the ladie Katharine wife to the said prince Arthur was conceiued with child or not. [It is reported that this ladie Katharine thought and feared such dolorous chance to come: for when she had imbraced hir father, and taken hir leaue of hir noble and prudent mother, and sailed towards England, she was continuallie so tossed and tumbled hither and thither with boisterous winds, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarietie of the winds, hir ship was prohibited diuerse times to approach the shore and take land.]

The death of Arthur prince of Wales.

Edw. Hall in Hen. 7 fol. lv.

In this eighteenth yeare, the twentieth fourth daie of Ianuarie, a quarter of an houre before thrée of the clocke at after noone of the same daie, the first stone of our ladie chapell within the monasterie of Westminster was laid, by the hands of Iohn Islip abbat of the same monasterie, sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, doctor Barnes maister of the rolles, doctor Wall chapleine to the kings maiestie, maister Hugh Oldham chapleine to the countesse of Derby and Richmond the kings mother, sir Edmund Stanhope knight, and diuerse others. Vpon the same stone was this scripture ingrauen: Illustrissimus Henricus septimus rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & dominus Hiberniæ, posuit hanc petram in honore beatæ virginis Mariæ, 24 die Ianuarij; anno Domini 1502. Et anno dicti regis Henrici septimi, decimo octauo. The charges whereof amounted (as some report, vpon credible information as they saie) to fouretéene thousand pounds.

An. Reg. 18.

1503.

King Henrie the seauenth chapell at Westminster first builded.

Quéene Elizabeth lieng within the Tower of London, was brought a bed of a faire daughter on Candlemasse daie, which was there christened and named Katharine; and the eleuenth of the same moneth the said quéene there deceased, and was buried at Westminster, whose daughter also liued but a small season after hir mother. [King Henrie the seauenth being himselfe a brother of the tailors companie in London, as diuerse other his

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 876.

Six kings of England brethren with the

predecessors kings before him had béene (to wéet Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henrie the sixt, Henrie the fift, Henrie the fourth, and Richard the second; also of dukes eleuen, earles eight and twentie, and lords eight and fortie) he now gaue to them the name and title of merchant tailors, as a name of worship to indure for euer. This yeare, about the later end of March, the prior of the Charterhouse of Shene was murthered in a cell of his owne house, by meanes of one Goodwine, a monke of the same cloister, and his adherents artificers of London. A drie summer, hauing no notable raine from Whitsuntide to the later ladie daie in haruest.

tailors companie in London, before they were intituled merchant tailors.

Prior of Shene murthered.

A drie summer.

The eighteenth of Februarie, the king at his palace of Westminster created his onelie sonne Henrie prince of Wales, earle of Chester, &c: who afterward succéded his father in possession of the regall crowne of this realme. Moreouer, this yeare also, after the deceass of that noble quéene, for hir vertue commonlie called good quéene Elizabeth, departed out of this world also sir Reginald Braie knight of the garter, a verie father of his countrie, for his high wisdom and singular loue to justice well worthe to beare that title. If anie thing had béene doone amisse contrarie to law and equitie, he would after an humble sort plainelie blame the king, and giue him good aduertisement, that he should not onelie reforme the same, but also be more circumspect in anie any other the like case. Of the same vertue and faithfull plainnesse was Iohn Morton archbishop of Canturburie, which died (as is shewed aboue) two yeares before.

Sir Reginald Braie his death.

Iust comendations of Morton archbishop of Canturburie and sir Reginald Braie.

So these two persons were refrainers of the kings vnbrideled libertie; whereas the common people (ignorant altogether of the truth in such matters) iudged and reported, that the counsell of those two worthe personages corrupted the kings cleane and immaculate conscience, contrarie to his princelie disposition and naturall inclination; such is euer the error of the common people. ¶ About this time died Henrie the archbishop of Canturburie, whose roome doctor William Warram bishop of London supplied. And to the sée of London William Barnes was appointed, and after his death succéded one Richard Fitz Iames. This yeare also the lord Cassimire marquesse of Brandenburgh, accompanied with an earle, a bishop, and a great number of gentlemen well apparrelled, came in ambassage from the emperor Maximilian, and were triumphantlie receiued into London, and lodged at Crosbies place.

Cassimire ambassadour from the emperour Maximilian.

Their message was for thrée causes, one to comfort the king in his time of heauinesse for the losse of his wife. The second for the renewing of amitie, and the old league. The third (which was not apparant) was to mooue the king to marie the emperours daughter, the ladie Margaret, duchesse Dowager of Sauoie. The two first tooke effect: for the king vpon Passion sundaie road to Paules in great triumph, the said marquesse riding on his left hand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellent consolatorie oration concerning the death of the quéene. And there also the king openlie sware to kéepe the new reuiued league and amitie during their two liues. But the third request (whether the let was on the mans side, or on the womans) neuer sorted to anie conclusion.

The ladie Margaret the kings daughter, affied (as yée haue heard) to the king of Scots, was appointed to be conueied into Scotland, by the earle of Surrie: and the earle of Northumberland, as warden of the marches, was commanded to deliuer hir at the confines of both the realmes. And so héerevpon, after hir comming to Berwike, she was conueied to Lamberton kirke in Scotland, where the king of Scots, with the flower of all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, was readie to receiue hir: to whome the earle of Northumberland (according to his commission) deliuered hir. The said earle of Northumberland that daie, what for the riches of his coat being goldsmithes worke, garnished with pearle and stone, and what for the gallant apparell of his Henchmen, and braue trappers of his horsse, beside foure hundred tall men well horsed and apparrelled in his colours, was estéemed both of the Scots and Englishmen more like a prince than a subiect.

The sumptuous araie of the earle of Northumberland.

From Lamberton, the foresaid ladie was conueied to Edenburgh, and there the daie after, king Iames the fourth, in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused hir, and feasted the English lords, and shewed iusts and other pastimes verie honourable, after the fashion of that countrie. And after all things were finished according to their commission, the erle of Surrie with all the English lords and ladies returned into their countrie. In this yeare the king kept his high court of parlement, in the which diuerse acts estéemed necessarie for the preseruacion of the common-wealth were established: and amongst other, it was enacted, that théeues and murtherers duelie conuicted by the law to die, and yet saued by their books, should be committed to the bishops custodie. After this, a subsidie was granted, both of the temporaltie, and spirituatie, and so that parlement ended.

The mariage betwéene the K. of Scots & ladie Margaret king Henries eldest daughter.

An. Reg. 19.

But the king now drawing into age, and willing to fill his chest with abundance of treasure, was not satisfied with this onelie subsidie, but deuised an other meane how to enrich himselfe, as thus. He considered that the Englishmen little regarded the kéeeping of penall lawes, and pecuniall statutes, deuised for the good preseruacion of the common-wealth. Whereof he caused inquisition to be made of those that has

The king couetous in his old age.

1504.

transgressed anie of the same lawes, so that there were but few noble men, merchants, farmers, husbandmen, grasiere, or occupiers, that could cléerlie prooue themseives faultlesse, but had offended in some one or other of the same lawes. At the first, they that were found gilty were easilie fined. But after, there were appointed two maisters and surueiours of his forfeits, the one sir Richard Empson, and the other Edmund Dudleie.

Richard Empson & Edmund Dudleie.

These two were learned in the lawes of the realme, who meaning to satisfie their princes pleasure, and to see their commission executed to the vttermost, séemed little to respect the perill that might insue. Wherevpon they being furnished with a sort of accusers, commonlie called promoters, or (as they themselues will be named) informers, troubled manie a man, whereby they wan them great hatred, and the king (by such rigorous procéedings) lost the loue and fauour which the people before time had borne towards him; so that he for setting them a worke, and they for executing of it in such extreame wise, ran into obloquie with the subiects of this realme.

Promoters.

¶ On the thirtéenth of Nouember was holden within the palace of the archbishop of Canturburie, at Lambeth, the sergeants feast, where dined the king and all his nobles. And vpon the same day, Thomas Granger, newlie chosen shiriffe of London was presented before the barons of the kings exchequer, there to take his oth, and after went with the maior vnto the same feast, which saued him monie in his purse; for if that day that feast had not béene kept, he must haue feasted the maior, aldermen, and others, woorshipfull of the citie. This feast was kept at the charge of ten learned men, newlie admitted to bée sergeants to the kings law, whose names were, Robert Bridnell, William Greuill, Thomas Marow, George Edgore, Iohn Moore, Iohn Cutler, Thomas Eliot, Lewes Pollard, Guie Palmis, William Fairefax. On the one and twentieth of Nouember at night, began a perillous fier at the signe of the panier vpon London bridge, néere to saint Magnus church; where six tenements were burned yer the same could be quenched. On the seuenth of Ianuarie, were certeine houses consumed with fire against saint Butolphes church in Thames stréet. On the fiue and twentieth of Ianuarie began a parlement at Westminster, of which was chosen speaker for the commons, maister Edmund Dudleie.]

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 876.

Sergeants feast whereat were the king and all his nobles at dinner.

Fire on London bridge.

Fire.

Parlement.

A new coine of siluer was ordeined of grotes and halfe grotes, which bare but halfe faces; and some péeces of the value of twelue pence were then stamped, though very few of that sort came abroad. In this yeare, alum, which manie yeares had bene sold for six shillings an hundred, and lower, arose to fiue nobles an hundred, and after to foure marks, &c. Sir William Capell, who for this yeare was maior, caused in euerie ward of London a cage with a paire of stocks, therein to punish vagabunds. Also he caused all Hunsditch to be ouerpaued, which manie yeares before lay full noiouslie and perillouslie for all trauellers that way. About Christmasse, the more part of the prisoners of the Marshalseie in Southwarke brake out, and manie of them being shortlie after taken, were put to execution, speciallie those which had laine for felonie or treason. On the fiftéenth of Aprill, a monie maker, one of the coiners of the Tower, was drawne to Tiburne and there hanged.

An. Reg. 20.

Alum déere.

Cages and stockes ordeined.

Hunsditch paued.

Prisoners of the Marshalseie brake out.

¶ In this twentieth yeare (saith one of Excester) the king (hauing some néed of monie) was by his councell aduised (by way, of beneuolence) to leuie the same vpon the whole realme, as well of the cleargie as of the laitie. And for the same, commissioners were assigned accordinglie. For the cleargie, Richard Fox, sometime bishop of Excester, but now of Winchester, a verie wise, graue, and trustie councillor, was appointed chiefe commissioner, and had the chiefest dealing therein. He at daies and times appointed, assembled the cleargie before him, and (according to the trust committed vnto him) he persuaded them by all the meanes he could, to be liberall contributors to the king, considering his present néed, and who (for their causes, & the safetie of all the common-wealth) was now to vse and imloie some monie.

Iohn Hooker, alias Vowell.

A beneuolence put into the kings head to be leuied ouer the whole land.

The cleargie was of two sorts, the one shewing themselues as they were wealthie, séemelie, & comelie; the other pretending that which was not, pouertie, barenesse, and scarsitie: but both were of one mind, and deuised all the waies they could to saue their purses. The first being called, alledged that they were dailie at great charges and expenses in kéeping of hospitalitie, in mainteining themselues, their house and familie; besides extraordinaries which dailie did grow and increase vpon them: and by that meanes they were but bare and poore, and praied that they might be borne withall, and pardoned for that time.

The cleargie of two sorts, and both desirous to spare their purses.

The other sort alledged, that their liuings were but small and slender, and scarce able to mainteine themselues withall, which compelled them to go bare, and to liue a hard and a poore life, and therefore (they hauing nothing) praied that they might be excused. The bishop when he had heard them at full, and well considered thereof, verie wittilie, and with a prettie dilemma answered them both, saiong to the first: "It is true, you are at great charges, and are well beséene in your apparell, well mounted vpon your faire

The wisdom of bishop Fox in procuring these cleargie men to be contributors to this beneuolence.

palfreies, and haue your men waiting vpon you in good order; your hospitalitie is good, and your dailie expenses are large, and you are for the same well reported amongst your neighbours; all which are plaine demonstrations of your wealth and abilitie, otherwise you would not be at such voluntarie charges.

"Now hauing store to spend in such order, there is no reason, but that to your prince you should much more be well willing & readie to yéeld your selues contributorie and dutifull, and therefore you must paie." To the other sort he said: "Albeit your liuings be not of the best, yet good, sufficient, and able to mainteine you in better estate than you doo imploie it; but it appeareth that you are frugall and thriftie men; and what others doo voluntarilie spend in apparell, house, and familie, you warilie doo kéepe, and haue it to lie by you; and therefore it is good reason that of your store you should spare with a good will and contribute to your prince; wherefore be contented, for you shall paie." And so by this prettie dilemma he reduced them to yéeld a good paiement to the king.

They are persuaded to contribute.

The king after he had gotten a great masse of monie together, hauing pitie on the people, which oppressed with the sharpe procéedings of his gréedie officers, cried daily to God for vengeance, ment to haue depriued them of their offices (as some write) & that such monie as had béene violentlie exacted, should haue béene restored and deliuered againe, if he had not bene preuented by death. And yet by his last will he commanded that it should be dulle and trulie performed, but in the meane season many mens coffers were emptied. ¶ Thomas Kneisworth maior of London for this yeare, of his owne goods, builded the conduit at Bishopsgate. He gaue to the fishmongers certeine tenements, for the which they be bound to find foure scholers that studie art; two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge, euerie of them foure pounds the yeare. They be bound also to giue to twelue aged poore people of their companie, to euerie one of them at Bartholomew tide a winter garment for euer. Also to giue to the prisoners of Ludgate and Newgate euerie yeare fortie shillings, &c. The first of Ianuarie in the night, the kings chamber was fired at Richmond, the which might not be quenched, till manie curteins, carpets, rich beds, and much stufte was consumed.

1505.

Abr. Fl. ex. I. S. pag. 878.

Conduit at Bishops gate builded.

Richmond on fire.

In this verie season, and the yeare of our Lord 1506, Elizabeth quéene of Castile died without issue male, by reason whereof the inheritance of Castile (bicause that kingdome is not partible) descended to ladie Iane hir eldest daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was married to Philip archduke of Austrich. Wherefore the yeare following, about the sixt day of Ianuarie, hauing a great nauie prepared, he intituled now king of Castile, sailed out of Flanders with his wife towards Spaine; but by a mightie tempest of wind and foule weather, the whole nauie was dispersed and sparkled abroad in diuerse places on the coasts of England. The kings ship with two other vessels were blowne by tempest on the west part of the realme, to the port of Weimouth in Dorsetshire. The king being wearied with the tossing of the seas, as one not accustomed thereto, contrarie to the mind of his counsellors, came on land to refresh himselfe.

An. Reg. 21.

1506.

Philip archduke of Austrich landeth in the west parts of England.

When it was knowne that strange ships were arriued in that place, there came thither a great number, as well of gentlemen as commons of the countrie, to beat them backe if they proued to be enimies. But when they perceiued that the king of Spaine was there driuen on land by force of weather, sir Thomas Trenchard knight, chéefe of that companie, went with great humblenesse vnto him, and did what he could to haue him to his house, being not farre off, and so to cause him to stay, till such time as king Henrie might be certified of his arriuall; to whome with all spéed he sent diuerse posts to aduertise him of king Philips landing. In this meane while came people in from all sides, vpon knowlege of this strange princes comming. And among other there came sir Iohn Carew, with a goodlie band of piked men. Which sir Iohn and sir Thomas Trenchard intreated the king of Castile not to depart, vntil such time as he had spoken with the king.

The king of Castile excused him by necessitie of his weightie enterprise: but when he perceiued that if he would proffer to go once aboard to his ships againe, he might be letted, and was like so to bée; hée thought good rather to assent to their humble request and to séeme to gratifie them; than by denieng it to procure their euil willes, and yet neuer the néer of his purpose. When king Henrie was informed of his landing, he was right glad therof, and wrote vnto sir Iohn Carew, and to sir Thomas Trenchard, that they should interteine him in the most honorable sort they could deuise, till he might come himselfe in person to welcome him. Beside this, he sent the earle of Arundell with manie lords and knights to attend vpon him. Which earle (according to the kings letters) receiued him with thrée hundred horsses, all by torchlight, to the great admiration of the strangers.

The king of Castile interteined honorable.

King Philip séeing no remedie but that he must néeds tarie, would no longer gaze after king Henries comming, but tooke his iournie toward Windsore castell, where the king laie: and fiue miles from Windsore the prince of Wales, accompanied with fiue earles, and diuerse lords and knights, and other to the number of fiue hundred persons gorgiouslie apparelled, receiued him after the most honorable fashion. And within halfe a mile of Windsore, the king, accompanied with the duke of Buckingham, and a great part of the nobilitie of this realme, welcomed him, & so conueied him to the castell of Windsore, where he was made companion of the noble order of the garter. After him came to Windsore his wife quéene Iane, sister to the princesse Dowager, late

wife to prince Arthur.

After the two kings had renewed & confirmed the league and amitie betwixt them, king Henrie desired to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke to be deliuered into his hands. To whome the king of Castile answered that he verelie was not within his dominion: and therefore it laie not in him to deliuer him. In déed he was loth to be the author of his death that came to him for succour, and was receiued vnder his protection: yet vpon the earnest request and assured promise of king Henrie (that he would pardon him of all executions and paines of death) he granted to king Henries desire; and so incontinentlie caused the said earle secretlie to be sent for. After this, to protract time till he were possessed of his preie, king Henrie conueied the king of Castile vnto the citie of London, that he might see the head citie of his realme.

King Henrie desireth to haue Edmund de la Poole earle of Suffolke deliuered into his hands.

Then he led him from Bainards castell by Cheape to Barking; and so returned by Watling stréet againe: during which time there was shot out of the Tower a woonderfull peale of ordinance. But he would not enter into the Tower, bicause (as ye haue heard before) he had aduowed not to enter the fortresse of anie forren prince, in the which a garrison was mainteined. From London the king brought him to Richmond, where manie notable feates of armes were prooued both of tilt, turnie, and barriers. In the meane season the erle of Suffolke, perceiuing what hope was to be had in forreine princes, and trusting that after his life to him once granted, king Henrie would bréeflie set him at his full libertie, was in maner contented to returne againe into his natiue countrie.

The king of Castiles vow inuiolablie kept.

When all pacts and couenants betwéene the kings of England and Castile were appointed, concluded, and agréed; king Philip tooke his leaue of king Henrie, yéelding to him most heartie thanks for his high chéere and princelie intertainment. And being accompanied with diuers lords of England, he came to the citie of Excester, and so to Falmouth in Cornewall, and there taking ship sailed into Spaine, where shortlie after he died being thirtie yeares of age. He was of stature conuenient, of countenance amiable, of bodie somewhat grosse, quicke witted, bold and hardie stomached. The tempest that he suffered on the sea was huge, and woonderfull also vpon the land, insomuch that the violence of the wind blew downe an eagle of brasse, being set to shew on which part the wind blew, from a pinnacle or spire of Paules church, and in the falling, the same eagle brake and battered an other eagle that was set vp for a signe at a tauerne doore in Cheapeside.

The death & description of Philip king of Spaine.

Herevpon men that were giuen to gesse things that should happen by marking of strange tokens, déemed that the emperour Maximilian, which gaue the eagle, should suffer some great misfortune: as he did shortlie after by the losse of his sonne, the said king Philip. ¶ And suerlie these prodigious accidents are not to be omitted as matter of course; for they haue their weight, and shew their truth in the issue. Examples in this booke be diuerse, among which one is verie memorable, mentioned in the thirtie & ninth yeare of Henrie the sixt. At what time the duke of Yorke making an oration to the lords of the parlement, for the iustifieng of his title to the crowne, it chanced that a crowne which hoong in the middle of the nether house (to garnish a branch to set lights vpon) without touch of man or blast of wind suddenlie fell downe. About which season also fell downe the crowne which stood on the top of Douer castell. Which things were construed to be signes that the crowne of the realme should some waie haue a fall; and so it came to passe.

Prodigious tokens or accidents haue their issue in truth.

Sée pag. 264.

And bicause the euent of these foreshewes had their truth, as manie more of the like nature; it shall not be amisse here to ad (by waie of digression) what hath béene obserued in former ages by forren writers in and about such foretokens. The consent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to Italie their calamities to come: for that such as made profession to haue iudgement either by science or diuine inspiration in the things to come, assured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations and more strange and horrible accidents, than for manie worlds before had béene discerned in anie part or circuit of the earth. There were séene in the night in Pouille thrée suns in the middest of the firmament, but manie clouds about them, with right fearefull thunders and lightnings. In the territorie of Aretze, were visiblie séene passing in the aire, infinit numbers of armed men vpon mightie horsse, with a terrible noise of drums and trumpets. The images & figures of saints did sweat in manie parts of Italie.

Abr. Flem. ex. Guic. pag. 40.

Thrée sunnes séene at once in the night.

In euerie place of the countrie were brought foorth manie monsters of men and other creatures, with manie other things against the order of nature concurring all at one time, but in diuerse places: by means wherof the people were caried into incredible feares, being alreadie amazed with the brute of the French powers & furie of that nation, with which (according to the testimonie of histories) they had aforetime run ouer all Italie, sacked and made desolate with fire and sword the citie of Rome, and subdued in Asia manie prouinces; and generallie no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit these iudgements are oftentimes fallible, and rather coniectures vncerteine, than effects happening: yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the spirits of fraile men, an absolute faith, credit, & religion. So that there is in foreshewes matter of moment worthie to be obserued, howsoeuer the world lulled asléep in the lap of securitie is touched with no feare of change. But alas the Heathen could see the contrarie, and therefore said:

Omnia mortali mutantur lege creata,
Nec se cognoscunt terræ veteribus annis
Exutas variam faciem per secula gentes.]

Manil. lib. Astr. 1.

But to returne to our owne storie. Shortlie after the departing of king Philip, the king of England began to suspect sir George Neuill lord of Aburgauenie, and sir Thomas Gréene of Gréenes Norton, as partakers in the beginning of the conspiracie with the earle of Suffolke; and so vpon that suspicion they were commanded to the Tower. But shortlie after, when they had béene tried and purged of that suspicion, he commanded them both to be set at libertie. But sir Thomas Gréene fell sicke before, and remained in the Tower, in hope to be restored to his health as well as to his libertie, but by death he was preuented. [And here bicause it is good to sée the consent of histories in the report of accidents, it shall not be amisse to repeat the entier relation of a late writer stranger touching this casualltie which befell to king Philip, in such sort to be cast vpon the English coasts; as also the promise of the said king to deliuer the duke of Suffolke into the hands of king Henrie, with the cause (as it is supposed) why the king desired to haue him within his owne reach.

¶ King Philip was imbarked to saile out of Flanders into Spaine with a great armie by sea; and to reduce his going to a more facilitie and safetie (for he feared least his father in law by the aid of the French would hinder his passage) he practised the Spanish subtilties, and agréed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the most part of affaires, and that they shuld take in common the title of king of Spaine, according to the example in the quéenes time: and lastlie, that the revenues and tributes should be diuided in an order certeine & indifferent. By reason of which accord, his father in law, notwithstanding he was not assured of the obseruation, sent him into Flanders manie ships to furnish his voiage: with the which, hauing imbarked his wife, and Ferdinand his second sonne, he tooke his course into Spaine with forward winds, which, within two daies turning cleane contrarie, after his nauie had runne a dangerous fortune, and made a wearie resistance against the furie of the sea, his ships were cast vpon sundrie coasts of England and Britaine; his owne person with two or thrée ships being driuen with manifest perill vpon England into the hauen of Southampton.

Abr. Fl. ex. Guic. pag. 353.

King Philip saileth out of Flanders into Spaine.

King Philip cast by casualltie of sea vpon the coasts of England.

Whereof Henrie the seuenth then king of that nation being aduertised, sent to him with spéed manie barons to doo him honour, and desire him to come to his court, then at London: a request which Philip could not denie, the king of Englands demand béeing no lesse honourable, than his owne estate full of necessitie and nakednesse. He remained in the court of England, vntill all his nauie was reassembled, and eftsoones rigged, making in the meane while betwéene them new capitulations: wherein albeit Philip in all other things held himselfe vsed as a king, yet in this one thing complained, that he was constreined as a prisoner, to consent to redeliuer to K. Henries hands the duke of Suffolke, whom he held prisoner within the castell of Namur, and whom the king of England desired much to haue in his power, for that he quarrelled the title of the crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to apperteine to him: onelie the king of England assured Philip by the faith and word of a king, that he would not put him to death. Which he did as iustlie performe, as he had honorablie promised, kéeping him in prison so long as he liued, and afterwards was beheaded vnder the reigne and commandement of his sonne.]

Philip promiseth to redeliuer to K. Henrie the duke of Suffolke.

This yeare the king began to be diseased of a certeine infirmitie, which thrise euerie yeare, but specially in the springtime sore vexed him. And bicause for the most part the harme that chanceth to the prince, is parted with his subiects, the sweating sicknesse, which (as ye haue heard in the first yeare of the king) first afflicted the people of this realme, now assailed them againe; howbeit by the remedie found at the beginning of it, nothing the like number died thereof now this second time, as did at the first time till the said remedie was inuented. But now the third plage equall to the pestilence insued, by the working of the maisters of the forfeitures, and such informers as were appointed thereto. By whose meanes manie a rich & wealthie person by the extremitie of the lawes of the realme were condemned and brought to great losse and hinderance.

An. Reg. 22.

The sweting sicknesse eftsoones returneth.

A great part of which their vndooings procéded by the inconuenience of such vnconscionable officers, as by the abuse of exigents outlawed those that neuer heard, nor had knowledge of the sutes commensed against them, of which hard and sharpe dealing (the harme that thereof insueth considered) if the occasion might be taken awaie by some other more reasonable forme and order of law deuised, whereby the parties might haue personall warning, it would both preserue manie an innocent man. from vnderdeserued vexation, and danger of vnmercifull losse of goods; and also redound highlie to the commendation of the prince, and such other as chanced to be reformers of that colourable law, where they be called onelie in the counties without other knowledge giuen to them or theirs at their dwelling houses.

But now to returne. Such maner of outlawies, old recognisances of the peace, and good abearings, escapes, riots, & innumerable statutes penall, were put in execution, and called vpon by Empson and Dudleie; so that euerie man, both the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing either lands or substance, were invited to that plucking banquet. For these two rauening woolues had a gard of false periured persons apperteining to them, which were impanelled in euerie quest. Learned men in the law, when they were required of their aduise, would say; To agréed is the best counsell

Ed. Hall in Hen. 7 fol. 59.

that I can giue you. By this vndue meanes, these couetous persons filled the kings coffers, and inriched themselues. And at this vnreasonable and extort dooing, noble men grudged, meane men kicked, poore men lamented, preachers openlie at Poules crosse and other places exclaimed, rebuked, and detested. Howbeit the good king in his last daies conserued and pardoned his poore subiects of such vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

Sir Gilbert Talbot knight, and Richard Bere abbat of Glastenburie, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Poules, were sent as ambassadors from the K. to Rome, to declare to Pius the third of that name newlie elected pope in place of Alexander the sixt deceased what ioy and gladnesse had entered the kings heart for his preferment. But he taried not the coming of those ambassadors, for within a moneth after that he was installed, he rendered his debt to nature, and so had short pleasure of his promotion [not beguiling the hopes which the cardinals concerned of him at the time of his creation, the six & twentieth day after his election, which was in short time to die. This popes name was Francis Piccolomini cardinall of Sienna, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreame age, and present sicknesse: a cardinall sure of vnspotted report, and for his other conditions not vnworthie that degré; who to renew the memorie of Pius secundus his vnclé, tooke vpon him the name of Pius the third.

1507.

Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag. 314.

Pag. 312.

He succéded Alexander the sixt, who went to supper in a vineyard néere the Vatican to reioise in the delight & plesure of the fresh aire, & was suddenlie caried for dead to the bishops palace; his sonne also communicating in the same accident, but with better fortune. For the day folowing, which was the eighteenth day of August, the dead corps of the pope (according to custome) was borne into the church of saint Peter, blacke, swolne, and most deformed; most manifest signes of poison. But Valentinois, what by the vigour and strength of his youth, and readie helpe of strong medicines and counterpoisons, had his life saued, remaining notwithstanding oppressed with long and gréeuous sicknesse: it was assuredlie beléueed that the accident procéded of poison, the discourse whereof (according to common report) was in this sort.

Pag. 307.

The duke Valentinois, who was to be present at that supper, had determined to poison Adrian cardinall of Cornette, reseruing that time and place to execute his bloudie resolution: for it is most certaine that in his father and him were naturall customes to vse poison, not onelie to be reuenged of their enimies, or to be assured of suspicions; but also vpon a wicked couetousnesse, to despoile rich men of their goods, whether they were cardinals or courtiers, although they had neuer doone them wrong, as hapned to the cardinall saint Ange, who was verie rich. This maner of rage they would vse also against their greatest friends & familiars, and such as had bin their most faithfull seruants, such as were the cardinals of Capua and Modeno: a recompense vnworthie the merits of good men, and not disagréable to the disposition of such a father and sonne, whereof the one made all things lawfull by vile dispensation; and with the other nothing was dishonest wherein was opportunitie to his purposes. The duke Valentinois sent before certaine flagons with wine infected with poison, which he gaue to a seruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no person should touch them.

A practice of custome by poison to an ill purpose vsed.

A commandement preiudiciall to his maister, as the ignorance of the seruant was the instrument in the euill that happened both to the father and son. Such is the sufferance of God, who in the execution of his iudgments raiseth one murderer to kill another, & breaketh the brands of the fire vpon the head of him that first kindled it: for the pope comming by aduerture somewhat before supper, and ouercome with the drought and immoderate heat of the time, called for drinke. And bicause his owne prouision was not yet brought from the palace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his kéeping for a wine most excellent, gaue the pope to drinke of the same wine which Valentinois had sent; who arriuing while his father was drinking drunke also of the same wine, being but iust that they both should tast of the same cup which they had brued for the destruction of others. All the towne of Rome ran with great gladnesse to saint Peters about the dead bodie of the pope, their eies not satisfied to see ded and destroyed a serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poisoned infidelitie, together with all the horrible examples of crueltie, luxurie, and monstruous couetousnesse, selling without distinction both holie things and prophane things, had infected the whole world.

The pope poisoned with the wine that his owne son had sent to poison the cardinall of Cornette.

And yet was he accompanied with a most rare, & almost perpetuall prosperitie euen from his yong age, to the end of his life; desiring alwaies great things, and obtaining most often that he desired. An example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of those men, who presuming to know and see perfectlie with humane eies the depth of Gods iudgements, doo assure, that what happeneth either good or ill to mortall men, procéedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we saw not dailie manie good men vniustlie tormented, & wicked persons about their diseruings liue in ease and honour: wherein who makes an other interpretation, derogates the iustice and power of God, the greatnesse of which being not to be contened within any scripts or tearms present, knoweth how well and largely to discerné in an other time and place the iust from the vniust, and that with rewards and eternall punishments. In the meane time he powreth out his vengeance vpon the imaginers of mischéefe in this life; so prouiding, as that they are caught in their owne snares, and ouertaken with such destruction as they had prepared for others, according to that saieng of the Psalmist:

Effodit puteum, foueámque eduxit ab imo,

Et miser in latebras incidit ipse suas.
In verticem ipsius recurrit
Pernicies, reciduntque fraudes.]

*Rob. Hess. & G. Buch.
in Psal. 7.*

At the same time died Giles lord Daubeneie the kings chéefe chamberleine, whose office Charles, bastard sonne to Henrie last duke of Summerset occupied and enioied; a man of good wit, and great experience. Soone after, the king caused Guidebald duke of Urbine to be elected knight of the order of the garter, in like maner as his father duke Frederike had béene before him, which was chosen and admitted into the order by king Edward the fourth. Sir Gilbert Talbot, and the other two ambassadors being appointed to kéepe on their iournie vnto pope Iulie the second, elected after the death of the said Pius the third, bare the habit and collar also vnto the said duke Guidebald; which after he had receiued the same, sent sir Balshasar Castalio, knight, a Mantuan borne, as his orator vnto king Henrie, which was for him installed, according to the ordinances of the order.

The lord Daubenie
dieth.

An. Reg. 23.

Guidebald duke of
Urbine in Italie made
knight of the garter.

This yeare that worthie prelate Thomas Sauage archbishop of Yorke departed this life at his castell of Cawood: a man beside the worthinesse of his birth highlie estéemed with his prince for his fast fidelitie and great wisdom. He bestowed great cost in repairing the castell of Cawood and the manor of Scrobie. His bodie was buried at Yorke, but he appointed by his testament, that his hart should be buried at Macclesfield in Cheshire, where he was borne, in a chapell there of his foundation, ioining to the south side of the church, meaning to haue founded a college there also, if his purpose had not béene preuented by death. After him succéeded doctor Benbridge in the archbishops sée of Yorke, being the fiftie and sixt archbishop that had sat in that sée.

Thomas Sauage
archbishop of
Canturburie deceased.

About this same time Lewes the French king, the twelwe of that name (who succéeded Charles the eighth that died at Amboise the night before the eighth daie of Aprill, of a catarrhe, which the physicians call an apoplexie, the same rising in him with such abundance, as he beheld a match plaied at tennisse, that in a few houres he ended at the same place his life: during the which, he had with greater importunitie than vertue troubled the whole world with great appearance of danger to kindle eftsoones new fiers of innouation and troubles) married his eldest daughter named Clare, vnto Francis de Valois Dolphin of Vienne, and duke of Angolesme, which ladie was promised vnto Charles the king of Castile: wherevpon by ambassadors sent to and fro betwixt king Henrie and the said king of Castile, a mariage was concluded betwixt the said king of Castile, and the ladie Marie, daughter to king Henrie, being about the age of ten yeares. For conclusion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, & other ambassadors were sent into England from the emperor Maximilian which with great rewards returned.

*Abr. Fl. ex Guic. pag.
184.*

¶ William Browne mercer maior of London, this yeare deceased, and fourthwith sir Laurence Ailmer draper was chosen and sworne, and went home in a graie cloake, with the sword borne before him, on the eight and twentieth daie of March. Item he tooke his oth at the Tower, and kept no feast. William Capell was put in sute by the king for things by him doone in his maioraltie. Also Thomas Knelsworth that had béene maior of London, and his shiriffes, were sent to the kings Bench, till they were put to their fines of fouretéene hundred pounds. In the moneth of Iune, the citie of Norwich was sore perished, & néere consumed with fier, that began in a Frenchmans house named Peter Iohnson, a surgian, in the parish of saint George.

1508.

*Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag.
879.*

William Capell sued by
the king.

Tho. Knelsworth
imprisoned.

Stephan Genings merchant tailor, maior of London, founded a frée grammar schoole at Wlfrunehampton in Staffordshire, with conuenient lodgings for the maister and vsher, in the same place where he was borne. He gaue lands sufficient for the maintenance, leauing the ouersight thereof to the merchant tailors in London, who haue hitherto iustlie dealt in that matter, and also augmented the building there. Maister Nichols, who married the onelie daughter and heire of the aforesaid Stephan Genings, gaue lands to mainteine the pauements of that towne. Also, Iohn Leneson esquier, about Anno 1556, gaue lands, whereof foure pounds should be dealt euerie yeare, on good fridaie, to the poore people of Wlfrunehampton, and six and twentie shillings eight pence yéerelie, towards the reparation of the church there.

Norwich on fier.

Frée schoole at
Wlfrunehampton.

Moreouer, about Anno 1566, sir Iohn Ligh, a préest, which had serued in that church there, the space of thréscore years, for fiue pounds, six shillings and eight pence the yeare, without anie other augmentation of his liuing, who would neuer take anie other benefice, or other preferment, gaue twentie pounds, to purchase twentie shillings the yeare lands, the same to be giuen yeerelie for euer to the poore of Wlfrunehampton vpon good fridaie; & twelue pounds thirtéene shillings foure pence, to purchase a marke a yeare lands, the same to be giuen to the poore of Chifnall, in the countie of Salope, where the said Ligh was borne. This man liued nigh one hundred years. He bestowed besides his owne labour which was great (in bearing of stones, &c.) about twentie pounds on the high waies about that towne of Wlfrunehampton.

Iohn Ligh of
Wlfrunehampton, his rare
example of charitie.

This towne of Wlfrunehampton, is now corruptlie called Wolnerhampton:

for in Anno 996, in king Ethelreds time (who wrote himselfe Rex Anglorum & princeps Northumbrorum Olympiade tertia regni sui, for so he wrote the count of his reigne then, which was the fiftéenth yeare) it was then called Hampton, as appeareth by an old charter written by the notary of the said king Ethelred, which charter I haue séene and read. And for that a noble woman named Wlfrune a Widow, some time wife to Althelme duke of Northampton, did obtaine of the said king to giue lands vnto the church there which she had founded, the said towne tooke the addition of the same Wlfrune, for that charter so named hir Wlfrune, and the towne Hampton.

Wlfrunehāpton,
corruptlie called
Wolnerhampton.

Ex charta regia.

In this yeare was finished the goodlie hospitall of the Sauoie néere vnto Charingcrosse, which was a notable foundation for the poore, doone by king Henrie the seauenth, vnto the which he purchased and gaue lands for the reléeuing of one hundred poore people. This was first named Sauoie place, by Peter earle of Sauoie, father to Boniface archbishop of Canturburie, about the nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the third, who made the said Peter erle of Richmond. This house belonged since to the duke of Lancaster, and at this time was conuerted to an hospitall, still reteining the first name of Sauoie. King Henrie also builded thrée houses of Franciscane friers, which are called obseruants, at Richmond, Gréenewich, and Newarke; and thrée other of the familie of Franciscane friers which are called conuentuals, at Canturburie, Newcastle, and Southampton.

Smart.

Hospitall of the Sauoie.

*Rec. of Canturb.
church.*

¶ This yeare was Thomas Ruthall made bishop of Durham by Henrie the seauenth, touching whose place of birth (being at Cirencester now Cicester) and himselfe, I will not refuse to set downe what Leland (about the yeare 1542) hath written, not being vnfit héere to be recorded. Cirencester (saith he) in Latine called Corinium standeth on the riuer Churne. "There haue béene thrée parish churches, whereof saint Cicilies church is cleane downe, being of late but a chappell. Saint Laurence yet standeth, but it is no parish church. There be two poore almes women endued with land. There is now but one parish church in all Cirencester that is verie faire, the bodie of which church is all new worke, to the which Ruthall bishop of Durham (borne and brought vp in Cirencester) promised much, but (preuented by death) gaue nothing. One Anne Aueling aunt to doctor Ruthall by the mothers side, gaue one hundred markes to the building of that church. King Henrie the first made the hospitall of saint Iohns at Cirencester. Thus farre Leland."

Fr. Thin.

Thomas Ruthall bishop
of Durham.

The situation of
Cicester.

This man thus borne at Cicencester in Glocestershire, and made bishop of Durham, was afer the death of king Henrie the seauenth, one of the priuie councill to king Henrie the eight; in whose court he was so continuallie attendant, that he could not steale anie time to attend the affaires of his bishoprike. But yet not altogether carelesse (though not so much as he ought to haue béene) of the place and cause from whence and for which he receiued so great reuenues, as came vnto his hands from that sée. He repaired the third part of Tine bridge next vnto the south, which he might well doo; for he was accompted the richest subiect through the realme. To whome (remaining then at the court) the king gaue in charge to write a booke of the whole estate of the kingdome, because he was knowne to the king to be a man of sufficiencie for the discharge thereof, which he did accordinglie.

The bishop was one of
K. Henrie the eights
priuie councill.

The king cōmandeth
him to write a booke of
the whole estate of the
kingdom.

Afterwards, the king commanded cardinall Woolseie to go to this bishop, and to bring the booke awaie with him to deliuer to his maiestie. But sée the mishap! that a man in all other things so prouident, should now be so negligent: and at that time most forget himselfe, when (as it after fell out) he had most néed to haue remembred himselfe. For this bishop hauing written two bookes (the one to answer the kings command, and the other intreating of his owne priuate affaires) did bind them both after one sort in vellame, iust of one length, bredth, and thicnesse, and in all points in such like proportion answering one another, as the one could not by anie especiall note be discerned from the other: both of which he also laid vp together in one place of his studie.

Now when the cardinall came to demand the booke due to the king: the bishop vnaduisedlie commanded his seruant to bring him the booke bound in white vellame lieng in his studie in such a place. The seruant dooing accordinglie, brought foorth one of those bookes so bound, being the booke intreating of the state of the bishop, and deliuered the same vnto his maister, who receiuing it (without further consideration or looking on) gaue it to the cardinall to beare vnto the king. The cardinall hauing the booke, went from the bishop, and after (in his studie by himselfe) vnderstanding the contents thereof, he greatlie reioised, hauing now occasion (which he long sought for) offered vnto him to bring the bishop into the king's disgrace.

The bishops booke of
his priuat affaires
vnaduisedlie deliuered
in stéed of the kings.

Wherefore he went foorthwith to the king, deliuered the booke into his hands, and bréefelie informed the king of the contents thereof; putting further into the king's head, that if at anie time he were destitute of a masse of monie, he should not néed to séeke further therefore than to the cofers of the bishop, who by the tenor of his owne booke had accompted his proper riches and substance to the value of a hundred thousand

The bishops owne
booke
disaduantageable to
himselfe.

pounds. Of all which when the bishop had intelligence (what he had doon, how the cardinall vsed him, what the king said, and what the world reported of him) he was stricken with such gréeffe of the same, that he shortlie through extreame sorrow ended his life at London, in the yeare of Christ 1523. After whose death the cardinall, which had long before gaped after the said bishoprike, in singular hope to attaine therevnto, had now his wish in effect: which he the more easilie compassed, for that he had his nets alwaies readie cast, as assuring himselfe to take a trout: following therein a prophane mans cautelous counsell, and putting the same in practise; who saith:

The bishop dieth of a sorowfull and pensieve conceipt.

Casus vbiq; valet, semper tibi pendeat hamus,
Quo minimè credis gurgite piscis erit.

Ouid.

The sicknesse which held the king dailie more and more increasing, he well perceiued that his end drew néere, and therefore meaning to doo some high pleasure to his people, granted of his frée motion a generall pardon to all men, for all offenses doone & committed against anie his lawes or statutes; théeues, murtherers, & certeine other were excepted. He paied also the fées of all prisoners in the gaoles in and about London, abiding there onelie for that dutie. He paied also the debts of all such persons as laie in the counters of Ludgate for fortie shillings & vnder; and some he reléueed that were condemned in ten pounds. Herevpon were processions generallie vsed euerie daie in euerie citie and parish, to praie to almightie God for his restoring to health and long continuance of the same. Neuerthelesse, he was so wasted with his long maladie, that nature could no longer susteine his life, and so he departed out of this world the two and twentieth of Aprill, in his palace of Richmond, in the yéere of our Lord 1509. His corpse was conueied with all funerall pompe to Westminster, and there buried by the good quéene his wife in a sumptuous chapell, which he not long before had caused to be builded.

1509.

An. Reg. 24.

The death of king Henrie the seuenth.

He reigned thrée and twentie yeares, and more than seuen moneths, and liued two and fiftie yeares. He had by his quéene Elizabeth foure sonnes, and foure daughters, of the which thrée remained aliue behind him. Henrie his second son prince of Wales, which after him was king, Margaret quéen of Scots, and the ladie Marie promised to Charles king of Castile. He was a man of bodie but leane and spare, albeit mightie and strong therewith; of personage and stature somewhat higher than the meane sort of men, of a woonderfull beautie and faire complexion, of countenance merie and smiling, especially in his communication, his eies graie, his téeth single, and haire thin, of wit in all things quicke and prompt, of a princelie stomach and hautie courage. In great perils, doubtfull affaires, and matters of importance, supernaturall and in maner diuine; for he ordered all his dooings aduisedlie and with great deliberation.

What children he had.

The description of king Henrie the seuenth.

Besides this, he was sober, moderate, honest, courteous, bountious, and so much abhorring pride and arrogancie, that he was euer sharpe and quicke to them that were noted with that fault. He was also an indifferent and vpright iusticer, by the which one thing he allured to him the hearts of manie people, and yet to this seueritie of his he ioined a certeine mercifull pitie, which he did extend to those that had offended the penall lawes, and were put to their fines by his iustices. He did vse his rigour onelie (as he said himselfe) to dant, bring low, and abate the high minds and stout stomachs of the wealthie and wild people, nourished vp in seditious factions and ciuill rebellions, rather than for the gréedie desire of monie; although such as were scourged with americiaments cried out, and said it was rather for the respect of gaine, than for anie politike prouision. Indéed he left his coffers well stuffed, for he was no wastfull consumer of his riches by anie inordinat meanes.

Iustice mingled with mercie.

To conclude, he had asmuch in him of gifts both of bodie, mind and fortune, as was possible for anie potentate or king to haue. His politike wisdom in gouernance was singular, his wit alwaie quicke and readie, his reason pithie and substantiall, his memorie fresh and holding, his experience notable, his counsels fortunate and taken by wise deliberation, his spéech gracious in diuerse languages, his person (as before ye haue heard) right comelie, his naturall complexion of the purest mixture, leagues and confederations he had with all christian princes. His mightie power was dread euerie where, not onelie within his realme but without. Also his people were to him in as humble subjection as euer they were to king; his land manie a daie in peace and tranquillitie, his prosperitie in battell against his enimies was maruellous, his dealing in time of perils and dangers was cold and sober, with great hardinesse. If anie treason were conspired against him, it came out wonderfullie. His buildings most goodlie, and after the newest cast, all of pleasure.

Out of the bishop of Rochesters funerall sermon preached in Paules church at London.

And so this king liuing all his time in fortunes fauour, in high honour, wealth and glorie, for his noble acts and prudent policies is woorthie to be registred in the booke of fame, least time (the consumer of all worthie things) should blot out the memorie of his name here in earth, whose soule we trust liueth in heauen, enioieng the fruition of the godhead, & those pleasures prepared for the faithfull. [In memorie of whome, his manifold vertues, with the fortunate successe of his affaires, and the gracious descent of his loines, as they procured a famous report in nations farre and néere; so haue some at the contemplation of his princelinesse, and euerie waie crowned with felicitie, made memorials of his magnificence; to the immortalitie of his high praise and

vnblemishable renoume: among whome (for the truth of the report iustificable by the contents of this historie) one commeth to mind, which may well serue for an epitaph:

Septimus Henricus factis est nomen adeptus
Præclarum claris ventura in secula famæ:
Ciuiibus ille suis fuerat charissimus, hostes
Omnes iure ipsum metuebant: numinis almi
Relligiosus erat cultor, pietatis & æqui,
Versutos hominésque malos vehementiùs odit.
Viginti totos charus trésque ampliùs annos
Regibus externis in summo vixit honore:
Magnanimus, iustus rex, prudens atque modestus,
Henrico hæredi moriens sua regna reliquit,
Diuitiásque, immensum argenti pondus & auri.

¶The altar and sepulture of the same king Henrie the seuenth, wherein he now resteth, in his new chappell at Westminster, was made and finished in the yeare of our Lord 1519, by one Peter T. a painter of the citie of Florence, for the which he receiued one thousand pounds sterling for the whole stuffe and workemanship, at the hands of the king executors, Richard bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz Iames bishop of London, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Iohn bishop of Rochester, Thomas duke of Norffolke treasurer of England, Edward earle of Worcester the kings Chamberleine, Iohn F. knight, chiefe iustice of the kings Bench, Robert R. knight chiefe justice of the common plées, &c.

Abr. Fl. ex I. S. pag. 892.

Sepulture of Henrie the seuenth.

Executors to Henrie the seuenth.

Of learned men that liued in this kings daies (as maister Bale noteth them) these are recorded. First George Rppeleie a Carmelite frier at Boston, séene in the mathematikes, he wrote diuerse treatises, and after his decease was accounted a nekromancer; Iohn Erghom borne in Yorke, a blacke frier, a doctor of diuinitie professed in Oxford, studious of prophesies, as by the title of the works which he wrote it may appeare; Iohn Persiuall a Chartreux monke; Thomas Maillorie a Welshman borne, he wrote (I wote not what) of king Arthur, and of the round table; Iohn Rousse borne in Warwikeshire, a diligent searcher of antiquities, whervpon few libraries were any where to be séene in England and Wales, where he made not search for the same, and wrote sundrie treatises of historicall arguments. He deceased at Warwike the fourtéenth of Ianuarie in the yeare 1491, and was buried in our ladie church there.

Thomas Scroope, otherwise surnamed Bradleie, descended of the noble familie of the Scroops, professed sundrie kinds of religions, as that of the order of saint Benet, and saint Dominike, and likewise he became a Carmelite, and last of all he fell to and preached the gospell in haire and sackcloth, till he vnderstood himselfe to be in the displeasure of Walden and other, that could not awaie with such singularitie in him or other, sounding (as they tooke it) to the danger of bringing the doctrine of the Romish church in misliking with the people; for then he withdrew himselfe to his house againe, and there remained twentie yeares, leading an anchors life, but yet after that time he came abroad, and was aduanced to be a bishop in Ireland, and went to the Roades in ambassage, from whence, being returned, he went barefooted vp and downe in Norffolke, teaching in townes and in the countrie abroad the ten commandements, he liued till he came to be at the point of an hundred yeares old, & departed this life the fiftéenth day of Ianuarie in the yeare of our Lord 1491, and was buried at Lestolfe, in Suffolke.

Dromorensis episcopus.

Iohn Tonneis, a diuine and an Augustine frier in Norwich, wrote certaine rules of grammar, and other things printed by Richard Pinson; Gefferie surnamed the Grammarian; Iohn Alcocke bishop of Elie, changed a nunrie at Cambridge into a college named Iesus college, about the yéere of Christ 1496. The chiefe cause of suppressing the nunrie is noted to be, for that the abbesse and other of the conuent liued dissolute liues; Stephan Hawes a learned gentleman, and of such reputation, as he was admitted to be one of the priuie chamber to king Henrie the seuenth; William Bintrée, so called of a towne in Norffolke where he was borne, by profession a Carmelite frier in Burnham, a great diuine; William Gallion an Augustine frier in Lin, and at length became prouinciall of his order.

Robert Fabian a citizen and merchant of London, an historiographer, he was in his time in good estimation for his wisdom and wealth in the citie, so that he bare office and was shirriffe in the yeare 1493; William Celling, borne beside Feuersham in Kent, a monke of Canturburie; Thomas Bouchier descended of the noble linage of the earles of Essex, was first bishop of Elie, and after remooued from thense to Canturburie, succéeding Iohn Kemp in that archbishops sée, at length created by pope Paule the second a cardinall; Philip Bromierd a Dominicke frier a diuine; Iohn Miles a doctor of both the lawes, ciuill and canon, he studied in Oxenford in the college of Brasen nose, newlie founded in the daies of this king Henrie the seuenth by William Smith bishop of Lincolne; Richard Shirborne bishop of Chichester, and imploied in ambassage to diuerse princes, as a man most méet thereto for his singular knowledge in learning and eloquence.

Robert Viduus vicar of Thakestéed in Essex, and a prebendarie canon of Welles, an excellent poet; Peter Kenighall a Carmelit frier, but borne of worshipfull linage in France, hauing an Englishman to his father, was student in Oxenford, and became a notable preacher; Iohn Morton first bishop of Elie, and after archbishop of Canturburie the sixtie and fourth in number that ruled that sée, he was aduanced to the dignitie of a cardinall, and by king Henrie the seuenth made lord chancellor, a worthie councellor and a modest, he was borne of worshipfull parents in

Cheshire, & departed this life in the yeare of our Lord 1500; Henrie Medwall chapleine to the said Morton; Edmund Dudleie borne of noble parentage, studied the lawes of this land, and profited highlie in knowledge of the same, he wrote a booke intituled Arbor rei publicæ, the trée of the common wealth: of this man ye haue heard before in the life of this king, and more (God willing) shall be said in the beginning of the next king, as the occasion of the historie leadeth; Iohn Bokingham an excellent schooleman; William Blackeneie a Carmelit frier, a doctor of diuinitie, and a nekromancer.

Thus farre Henrie the seuenth, sonne to Edmund earle of Richmond.

Transcriber's Notes:

Simple spelling, grammar, and typographical errors in the prose were corrected.

Punctuation normalized.

Archaic, colloquial, and non-standard spellings retained as printed.

P. [528](#) changed 1468 to 1498.

*** END OF THE PROJECT GUTENBERG EBOOK CHRONICLES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND (3 OF 6): ENGLAND (7 OF 9) ***

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