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BACON'S
HISTORY OF THE REIGN
OF
KING HENRY VII.

WITH NOTES

BY

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EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

Cambridge :

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

London : C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.

1889

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INTRODUCTION.

I. *Of the Author.*

FRANCIS BACON, afterwards Baron Verulam and Viscount St Albans, was born 22nd Jan., 1560—1, at York House, in the Strand. His father was Sir Nicholas Bacon, Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, and his mother, who was the second wife of Sir Nicholas, was Anne, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. She was a lady of considerable learning, as was shewn by her translation of Jewel's Apology from Latin into English. Bacon's youth was passed partly in London, and partly at the country residence of the family at Gorham-bury near St Albans. At twelve years old he became a member of Trinity College, Cambridge, and continued his studies in that University until his sixteenth year. The father designed his son for diplomatic life, and therefore after entering him of Gray's Inn, sent him to France as one of the suite of Sir Amyas Paulet, who went to Paris as English ambassador in September, 1576. But after little more than two years of such life, the prospects of young Bacon became utterly changed by the sudden death of his father in February, 1578—9. By this event Bacon was compelled to return to London, and settled down at Gray's Inn to the study of the law as the profession by which he was to live, his father's death having occurred before it had been possible for him to make provision for the children of his second marriage. Bacon was admitted to the bar in 1582, but strove, along with his legal occupations, to carry on those studies in which his soul delighted, and con-

ceived at this early time the plan of his great work, and began to put some contributions towards it into form, to the first of which he gave the ambitious title of "*Temporis Partus Maximus.*" Two years later he became a member of Parliament, his first constituency being Melcombe Regis in Dorsetshire, and his parliamentary duties for various boroughs (Taunton, Liverpool, Middlesex, Ipswich, St Albans, &c.) continued without a break for more than thirty years. In 1589 the gift of the reversion of the sinecure office of Clerk of the Council in the Star Chamber seemed to promise an income which would relieve him from the necessity of following the law as his career, but the office did not become vacant for nearly twenty years, and thus the world was deprived in great part of those services to philosophic research which unbroken leisure would have enabled Bacon to render. Endeavours were made, between 1594 and 1596, to obtain for him one of the offices of Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, or Master of the Rolls, which were all vacant during those two years, but the reign of Elizabeth came to an end before such fortune fell to Bacon's lot.

It was in January, 1597, that he published the first edition of his Essays, the first of those works by which his name became famous in the list of English men of letters. This edition comprised only ten essays, nor were the essays increased to their present number or brought into their present form till the third edition in 1625. These short compositions are masterpieces both of thought and expression; every sentence is replete with ideas enough for a sermon, and each expression is as polished as if the author had designed it to become a maxim. In 1605 appeared, in English, his two books, "*Of the Proficiency and Advancement of Learning.*" They were dedicated to King James, and form the basis of what was afterwards expanded into the nine books (in Latin), "*De Augmentis Scientiarum.*" This was meant to form one section of the great work which Bacon planned, but never was able to complete, the "*Instauratio Magna,*" or a great reconstruction of Science.

In 1606 Bacon married Alice Barnham, the daughter of a London merchant, and in the next year he was made Solicitor-General. Soon after (in 1608), when it was not so much needed, the long expected Clerkship of the Star-chamber fell vacant, and thus an addition of from £1500 to £2000 a year was made to Bacon's income. We cannot here do more than enumerate his further legal promotions and the names of his chief works. In 1613 he was advanced to be Attorney-General, in 1617 to be Lord Keeper, and in the January of the following year he was made Lord Chancellor. In this year too, on July 9, he became a Peer, taking the title of Baron Verulam, from the ancient name of the borough near which he had lived in youth and with which a long period of his parliamentary life had also been connected. In 1620 he presented to the king his "*Novum Organum*," a work (a fragment only of his great design) on which he had been engaged, in such leisure as he could find, for thirty years, and which forms the second, and most complete, section of the "*Instauratio*." In January, 1620—1, he was created Viscount St Albans; but his career, which for more than a dozen years had been growing more and more illustrious, was soon to be terribly changed. On the 15th March in this year he was charged, in the Report of a Parliamentary Committee, with certain acts of corruption in the administration of justice, and the enquiry terminated on May 3rd in a sentence which removed him for ever from official life. In a brief notice like the present no examination of Bacon's conduct can be given, either in the prosecution of the Earl of Essex, for his part in which he has been severely censured, or in those matters which brought about his fall. But it is due to the memory of so great a man to record that the latest and most complete examinations into his whole conduct prove that neither in one case nor in the other does Bacon deserve the blame which has been cast upon him. He was desirous to serve Essex so long as he could be true to the calls of friendship without being false to his higher duty as a citizen. And in his office of judge the faults which he admitted were faults of his age and not of the man.

He did no more than fall in with a practice which had prevailed for generations, and concerning which every judge on the bench was as guilty as himself. No instance can be pointed out among his judgments where justice was warped by his favour to either side, nor in connection with which any one has ever arisen to say that Bacon's decision was bought.

The remainder of Bacon's life was given to literature and philosophy, and, among his other works, the "*History of King Henry VII*" was put forth in 1622. With the exception of Sir Walter Raleigh's "*History of the World*," and Knolles' "*History of the Turks*," there is no historical work produced at or near this period which will in any degree bear comparison with the polished style of Bacon. That the student may compare with this work the historical writings of those who were Bacon's immediate predecessors, some passages have been inserted in the notes pp. 287 and 296 from Hall's and Grafton's Chronicles. The perusal of a few lines will suffice to shew what a great stride had been made in English prose composition during the reign of Elizabeth, and to what a degree of perfection it had been brought by the powers of such writers as Bacon and Hooker.

Beside the History of Henry VII, Bacon, during this retirement at the close of his life, wrote the "*New Atlantis*," an incomplete work, which may be called a philosophical romance, and which describes an imaginary realm where the perfection of which Plato only gave an augury in his "*Republic*," was set forth as achieved. He also wrote several separate treatises intended to take their places in the completed "*Instauratio*," among which may especially be mentioned the "*Silva Silvarum; or, Natural History in Ten Centuries*," which was to make a part of the third division in the "*Instauratio*," which division had received from its designer the title of the "*Phænomena of the Universe*." He also worked at a scheme which he had previously laid before King James for a Digest of the Laws of England. He collected a volume of witty sayings from all quarters, which he sent forth with the title of "*Apophthegmata*," and he issued a third edition of his

Essays. This was the last work which he was able to accomplish. It came forth in 1625, and on April 9th (Easter-Day), 1626, Francis Bacon died.

For more information on the details of Bacon's life, the student may consult the life of him put forth by Dr Rawley, who was his chaplain; also the carefully written life in the edition of Bacon's Works by Mr Spedding; and a short digest of the main events of Bacon's career, both legal, political and literary, will be found appended to Mr W. Aldis Wright's Edition of "*The Advancement of Learning*" (Clarendon Press Series).

II. *Of the History.*

Though the History of Henry VII was put into the form in which we possess it in 1621 and the following year, immediately after Bacon's downfall, and was probably undertaken as a solace in this great reverse of fortune, the thought of such a work had been long before his mind. Mr Spedding has published in his edition of Bacon's works, (Vol. VI. pp. 17 seqq.) a fragment of such a history, of the existence of which Speed¹, whose history was published in 1609, knew and had made good use. This fragment was probably composed when Bacon conceived the idea of putting forth a history of England that should begin with the union of the Houses of York and

¹ John Speed (1552—1629) was one of the most industrious writers of this period on the subjects of antiquities and history, and his compilations, derived in great part from the collections in the libraries of Sir Robert Cotton, and the contributions of Sir Henry Spelman and other antiquaries, are of considerable value. Speed was originally a tailor and so had not great advantages from education, but yet his "*History of Great Britaine*" was long the best in existence. He wrote also the "*Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain*," and a work on the Genealogies of Holy Scripture under the title of "*A cloud of Witnesses.*"

Lancaster, and be brought down as closely as was possible to the times at which he was writing.

For such an undertaking the materials at the command of any writer were various. First, was the work of Fabyan¹, which is a sort of Annals, whereof the most important parts concern the city of London, in which its author passed the most of his life. Of this work Bacon does not seem to have largely availed himself. But of the Latin History of Polydore Vergil² he seems to have made great use, and to have been led by its inaccuracies into several errors, which in some few points, to be noticed hereafter, have impaired the otherwise accurate character of his work. The mistakes of Polydore are such as might be expected in the work of a foreigner writing a history of England. Bacon seems also to have consulted another Latin writer, Bernard André³, for some few points in his history. The three chronicles also, of Hall⁴, Grafton⁵, and Stow⁶ sup-

¹ Robert Fabyan (d. 1512) was an alderman, and in 1493 was chosen one of the sheriffs of London. He is in some sort connected with our history of Henry VII, as in 1496 he was one of a deputation chosen to ride to the king "for redress of the new impositions raised and levied upon English cloth" in the lands of the Archduke Philip. This was an impost of a florin for every piece of English cloth imported into the Netherlands. The duty was withdrawn in 1497. Fabyan's work "*The Concordance of Histories*," which at first is a mere compilation from monkish chronicles, becomes towards its close a very important record of many events which, in London, came under the writer's immediate observation.

² Polydore Vergil (d. about 1555) was an Italian ecclesiastic, born at Urbino. He was sent over to England for the collection of Peter's Pence, and while in England was preferred to the Archdeaconry of Wells. His History of England in Latin consists of twenty-seven books, and was begun by him in the latter years of Henry VII, and finished in the following reign.

³ Bernard André (d. about 1521) was born at Toulouse and was an Augustinian friar. He was present in London when Henry VII entered the city after the Battle of Bosworth Field. In 1496 he became tutor to Prince Arthur, and wrote a Latin Life of Henry VII, and also in the same language some short notices of events in the reign of Henry VIII.

⁴ Edward Hall (d. 1547) was a lawyer, and ultimately became one of the judges of the Sheriff's Court. His History of the "*Union of the Two Noble and Illustre families of Lancastre and Yorke*" brings the

plied him with material which he used in such wise as best suited his purpose. He has also drawn some few matters from Sir Thomas More's¹ "*History of the Life and Death of King Edward V, and of the usurpation of Richard III.*" Bacon must also have made some use of the manuscript treasures of Sir Robert Cotton, even though under the sentence which was imposed upon him he was excluded from London. The result proves abundantly how much greater was the genius which he brought to his labour than that of any of his predecessors in the field of historical labour. But it is clear that with materials of such a character, and so irregularly and imperfectly collected, the same correctness of statements is not to be looked for as might fairly be expected when Rymer has made all the texts of treaties and details of negotiation easily accessible, and the Calendars of State Papers form a trusty guide through the maze of conflicting statements. In several places in the notes such errors as have, from this want of trustworthy information, found their way into the text of Bacon's History, have been noticed, but the details of Henry VIIth's connection with France and Brittany, and the character of his intervention history down to the year 1532. It was not published till 1548, the year after the death of the author, and had been completed by Grafton.

⁵ Richard Grafton produced in 1569 what he calls "*A Chronicle at large and meere History of the affayres of Englande and Kinges of the same, deduced from the Creation of the worlde, &c.*" Grafton had more facilities than his contemporaries for the production of his works, for he was a printer as well as an author.

⁶ John Stow (1525—1605) was a most diligent, accurate, and impartial recorder of public events. He, like Speed, was a tailor, but his decided turn for antiquarian research soon asserted its power, and he abandoned his trade, and is said to have travelled on foot through a large part of England for the purpose of a personal inspection of the historical treasures of the cathedrals and large libraries. He published a "*Summary of English Chronicles*" and "*A Survey of London*," which latter is the best known of his works. He wrote, but was never able to publish, a large *Chronicle or History of England*. He fell into great poverty towards the end of his life.

¹ Sir Thomas More (1478—1535), the famous author of the *Utopia*, and the friend of Colet and Erasmus. Afterwards he was made Lord Chancellor, and was put to death for his religious opinions along with Bishop Fisher.

in support of the Duke of Brittany, seem to need more comment to put them in their true light than could be given in a note.

It was late in the summer of 1487 that the ambassadors of Charles VIII came to England to pray for the King's assistance for France against Brittany, "or at least that he would stand neutral." Now it is to be noted that in Bacon's account of the king's reply it is stated that he "was utterly unwilling to enter into war with France." It is probable that the reason for this unwillingness is to be discovered in the entries in the Calendar of Patent Rolls for this third year of the king's reign. We find there notices of preparation (Feb. 1487-8) of forces against the King's enemies congregating on the sea. Now that the danger apprehended was connected with Ireland we may gather from subsequent entries where mention is made (May 25th) of those who "come from Ireland to treat on matters concerning the sound rule of peace in that land," and at the same place is found a list of general pardons for Irishmen. So that Henry's mind was full of his own affairs at the time of the French embassy. But he sent Urswick over to France and to Brittany likewise, and as Bacon's narrative represents the story (p. 49), it was after the mission of Urswick that the siege of Nantes took place. But we know now that the siege of Nantes was commenced on June 19th, 1487 (only three days after the battle of Stoke), and raised on the 6th of August following, at which time the King was too busily concerned with his own disturbed realm either to receive or send ambassadors to France. We see therefore that when the French ambassadors did come Henry would be aware that the French had just before been compelled to raise the siege of Nantes, and might be pardoned for supposing that the strength of Brittany was sufficient to hold out for some time, and that therefore there would be an opportunity for negotiations so as to conclude the difficulty without engaging England in a war, for which, owing to recent troubles, she was little fit.

Lord Woodville's crossing into Brittany, which we know from the Paston Letters (May, 1488) the king had counter-

manded, took place in time for the small succours, which that nobleman brought with him, to be present at the battle of St Aubin, July 28th, 1488. But these were the only English engaged in the cause of Brittany up to that date, and by the treaty of Verger (21 Aug., 1488) hostilities between France and Brittany were brought to a close.

It was in the following November, "after keeping his All Hallow-tide at Windsor" (see Herald's narrative, Cott. MSS. Jul. XII. fol. 49, quoted by Mr Spedding), that Henry summoned not a parliament, as stated in the text (p. 53), but a great council at Westminster, to debate on what was to be done in the matter of Brittany. For the duke of Brittany had died on Sept. 9th, 1488, and Charles's claim of wardship now began to be asserted over the young duchess Anne. We find from Rymer (XII. 347 seqq.) that ambassadors were sent in December after this great council to France, Brittany, Spain, and Flanders, and Henry's third parliament met Jan. 13th, 1488—9, and voted supplies for the succour of Brittany. It seems therefore that the result of the battle of St Aubin, which had upset all Henry's calculations about the power of Brittany, ended the first part of the war of France against that duchy, and in that Henry had taken no active part, and it was not until the death of the Duke that any new claim was put forward by Charles, and then Henry felt that he must prepare for the helping of Brittany. The speech therefore put into the mouth of Chancellor Morton as uttered at the great council in November (p. 53) is wrongly conceived. The army of the French king was not before Nantes, but making its way through Brittany, and taking town after town by way of enforcing Charles's claim to be the guardian of the young Duchess. This, Bacon, misled by Polydore, did not know, and so could not put into the mouth of his speaker.

The statement likewise (p. 60) about the sending of new solemn ambassadors to France just at the time of the battle of St Aubin is another error. These ambassadors (Urswick and Frion being members of the embassy) were sent Dec. 11th, 1488, to treat about terms between France and England and

Brittany, a course needful enough for the succour of the duchy, and preparatory to the sending of an army if nothing came of the embassy.

All the account therefore (pp. 60—61) of Henry's conduct in sending succours to Brittany immediately after the battle of St Aubin, which succours came too late, and returned almost immediately, is entirely incorrect. No English troops, except those with Lord Woodville, had been sent at all, nor was Henry in a position to send any till the commencement of the next year, when he did dispatch a force, which arrived in Brittany in April, 1489, and was acting in behalf of the duchy, while other English succours were engaged in Flanders in the cause of Maximilian. We learn also from Rymer (XII. 337) that in the August of that year reinforcements were being sent to these troops in France, and that commissions were issued for raising soldiers "destined for Brittany" may be seen from the Calendar of Patent Rolls for the 14th, 15th, and 16th of August, 1489. The effect of these double operations of English troops in Flanders and Brittany was that Charles consented to make peace with Maximilian at the treaty of Frankfort, and agreed thereby to give back to Brittany all the towns which had been taken since the death of the Duke, and to this treaty Anne of Brittany gave her acceptance in Nov., 1489. During all this time the project of marriage between Maximilian and Anne was maintained, and it was probably about this period that the proxy marriage (see p. 77) took place; and had Maximilian really taken the Duchess to wife, as he might have done, there would have been an end to Charles's scheme of annexing Brittany to the French crown. But taking advantage of the remissness of the Archduke, Charles effected by marriage what he had not been able to achieve by war.

It was in the winter of this year 1489—90 that the commissioners from France came to England and made the propositions contained in the speech recorded on pp. 79 seqq., in consequence of which Henry appears to have made up his mind that he must go to war with France, and during the whole of that year he was busily engaged in levying troops and forming

a confederation with Maximilian and Ferdinand and Isabella to make actual war against Charles if he should invade them or the territories of the duchess of Brittany¹. Public proclamation of this convention was made in England, on 17th Sept., 1490. Now it was not till 6th Dec., 1491, that Charles married Anne, and so brought matters to an end, so far as the possession of Brittany was concerned. The proceedings of the year and a quarter which intervened between these two dates seem to have been somewhat as follows. The Duchess on the strength of the proxy marriage, and in consequence of the convention just mentioned, assumed the title of Queen of the Romans (cf. D'Argentré, XIII. 57), and this caused Charles, from whom all knowledge of the marriage had been kept secret, to determine on taking some decisive step. He renewed the hostilities which had been suspended since the treaty of Frankfort, and in February, 1490—1, made himself master of the town of Nantes, the siege of which on a former occasion he had been obliged to raise. (See Rymer, 12 June, 1490, for an account of the commencement of this second investment of the town.) The tidings of this new movement on the part of the French king roused Maximilian to send his embassy (see p. 89) to England, and in the middle of the year 1491 Henry called not a parliament, as it seems, but, in accordance with a former precedent, a great Council as precursor of a parliament (for the parliament proper did not meet till 17th October, 1491), and to them he made his speech about his intention to go to war with France. The subsidies needful seem to have been voted (conditionally no doubt) by this assembly, for a commission for levying them exists dated 7th July, 1491. The narrative of Bacon is easily intelligible from this point (p. 93). The parliament when it assembled was in every sense merely a war parliament. The troops prepared were sent over as described,

¹ For the numerous authorities which may be cited in evidence of the activity of Henry in his preparations for war with France, see Spedding, VI. 110, to whose guidance for an explanation of these events the editor desires here to make very full acknowledgment. Mr Spedding's notes leave little to be said on points connected with the elucidation of the history.

on Sept. 9, 1492 (p. 100), and the failure of all assistance from Maximilian, as well as the conclusion of a peace between Ferdinand and Charles, made the overtures of peace from the French king and the conditions therein contained appear, as Bacon has it, "to the king's taste." The treaty of Estaples was concluded on Sunday, Nov. 3, 1492. For the better appreciation of the sequence of events throughout the reign a table is appended of the principal events of the reign of Henry VII, ranged according to the regnal years of the king, which are so frequently alluded to in the text without the date A.D. being given. Of course it will be seen that as the reign of Henry commenced Aug. 22nd, 1485, his first regnal year did not end till Aug. 21st, 1486, and therefore an event in his first year may have occurred in the latter half of 1485, or in the former half of 1486, and so for every other year. It will also be observed that between the 1st of January and the 25th of March in any year the date is given with double figures; thus: Marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, Jan. 18th, 1485—6. The reason for this notation is, that the *historical* year has for a very long period begun on January 1st, but the calculation of years used in *ecclesiastical* and *legal* documents made the year to commence on March 25th, until the two beginnings of the year were brought into conformity on Jan. 1st, 1753. In the date above quoted, of Henry's marriage, the historical entry thereof would speak of it as having taken place Jan. 18th, 1486, but the ecclesiastical year 1486 had not yet commenced, and therefore in the registers of the Church or of the courts of law this day would be entered as part of the year 1485. To express this the form 1485—6 is used. It will be seen that in the notes large use has been made of the Latin translation of the Life of Henry VIIth, which was certainly made under Bacon's supervision, and perhaps partly by himself (as is indicated in the dedication which precedes the *Sermones Fideles*), and was designed to make the history accessible to foreigners who knew no English. It appeared that no better method could be adopted for explaining the language of our author, than this use of what may be called his own commentary on the work.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Regnal Years of Henry VII.		
I.	Battle of Bosworth Field	22 ¹ Aug. 1485.
	Issue of Commissions to the Northern Counties in anticipation of a war with Scotland	25 Sep. —
	Coronation of Henry VII	30 Oct. —
	Henry's <i>first</i> Parliament	7 Nov. —
	Marriage of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York	18 Jan. 1485—6.
	Truce with Scotland for three years	3 July, 1486.
II.	Birth of Prince Arthur	Sept. —
	Council at Shene	Feb. 1486—7.
	Lambert Simnel lands in Lancashire	4 June, 1487.
	Battle of Stoke	16 June, —
	Siege of Nantes commenced	19 June, —
	" " afterwards raised	6 Aug. —
III.	Embassy sent to England from Charles VIII about	Sept. —
	Henry's <i>second</i> ² Parliament	9 Nov. —
	Coronation of Queen Elizabeth	25 Nov. —
	Murder of James III of Scotland	11 June, 1488.
	Battle of St Albans (St Aubin)	28 July, —

¹ It is worth notice that August 21 (the day before the battle of Bosworth) is mentioned as the first day of the King's reign, in the act concerning those attainders spoken of in the text, p. 16. l. 19. Whether this be an accident or an intentional ante-dating of Henry's reign it is impossible to discover. (See Statutes at large 1 Hen. VII. c. 6.)

² The acts of this parliament are confused in Bacon's narrative with those of the third Parliament (see notes). He seems to have had no information about this parliament of 1487.

	Treaty of Verger ¹	21 Aug. 1483.
IV.	Death of the Duke of Brittany	9 Sep. —
	Great Council at which the Speech of Chancellor Morton (p. 53) was made	Nov. —
	Solemn Embassy from England to France	11 Dec. —
	Henry's <i>third</i> ² Parliament	13 Jan. 1488—9.
	First succours sent by Henry to Brittany	March, —
	Northern subsidy riot	April, 1489.
V.	Embassy from Charles VIII to England	Nov. —
	Third Parliament ends	27 Feb. 1489—90.
VI.	Prince Henry (afterwards Hen. VIII) born	22 June, 1491.
VII.	Henry's <i>fourth</i> Parliament	17 Oct. —
	Charles VIII marries Anne of Brittany	6 Dec. —
	Thanksgiving in St Paul's for the Conquest of Granada	6 April, 1492.
	Pope Innocent VIII died	25 July, —
	Pope Alexander VI elected	11 Aug. —
VIII.	English troops sent over to France	9 Sept. —
	Henry VII goes over to France	6 Oct. —
	Treaty of Estaples	3 Nov. —
	Embassy of Poynings and War- ham to Flanders	July, 1493.
IX.	Commerce with Flanders for- bidden	18 Sep. —
	Raid by the Scots on the North- ern border	Nov. —
X.	Poynings made Lord Deputy of Ireland	13 Sep. 1494.
	Execution of Sir William Stanley	16 Feb. 1494—5.
	Italian league against Charles VIII	25 March, 1495.
	King Henry visits his mother at Latham	25 June, —
	Warbeck on the coast of Kent	3 July, —

¹ This was the treaty under which the hostile operations of France against Brittany were terminated till after the death of the Duke of Brittany.

² This parliament was prorogued on 23rd February and met again on the 14th October following.

XI.	Henry's <i>fifth</i> Parliament	14 Oct. 1495.
	Warbeck arrives at Stirling	20 Nov. —
XII.	Commissioners sent from Flan- ders to England (<i>intercursus magnus</i>)	Feb. 1495—6.
	Intercursus magnus ratified	April, 1496.
XIII.	Henry VII ratifies the Italian league	13 Sept. —
	Great Council at Westminster	24 Oct. —
XIV.	Cap of Maintenance sent from the Pope	1 Nov. —
	Henry's <i>sixth</i> Parliament	16 Jan. 1496--7.
XV.	Subsidy granted	Feb. —
	Cornish rebellion begins	May, 1497.
XVI.	Encampment on Blackheath	16 June, —
	Battle of Blackheath	17 June, —
XVII.	Lord Audley beheaded	28 June, —
	Cabot's first voyage	June, —
XVIII.	The Scotch attack Norham	July, —
	Warbeck leaves Scotland	6 July, —
XIX.	Perkin besieges Exeter	17 Sept. —
	Treaty with Scotland concluded	30 Sept. —
XX.	King Henry at Exeter	7 Oct. —
	Warbeck carried in procession in London	20 Nov. —
XXI.	Palace of Shene burnt	21 Dec. —
	Irish Parliament meets	28 March, 1498.
XXII.	Charles VIII of France dies	7 April, —
	Warbeck's confession read pub- licly	9 June, —
XXIII.	Prince Edward born	Feb. 1498—9.
	Ralph Wilford hanged	13 Feb. 1499
XXIV.	Treaty with Scotland (containing arrangements about letters com- mendatory)	12 July, —
	Fox commissioned to treat of a marriage with Scotland, King James with Princess Margaret	11 Sept. —
XXV.	Perkin Warbeck executed at Ty- burn	23 Nov. —
	Earl of Warwick beheaded	29 Nov. —
XXVI.	Prince Edmund died	12 June, 1500.
	Death of Cardinal Morton	Oct. —
XXVII.	Earl of Suffolk leaves England	Aug. 1501.
	Marriage of Prince Arthur with	

	the Princess Catharine of Aragon	14 Nov., 1501
	Arrest of the friends of the Earl of Suffolk	March, 1501—2.
	Death of Prince Arthur	2 April, 1502.
	Sir James Tirrell executed	6 May, —
XVIII.	Marriage of Princess Margaret to King James IV.	25 Jan. 1502—3.
	Prince Henry created Prince of Wales	18 Feb. —
XIX.	Henry's <i>seventh</i> Parliament	16 Jan. 1503—4.
XX.	Death of Queen Isabella of Spain	26 Nov. 1504.
	English Ambassadors at Segovia	14 July, 1505.
XXI.	Earl of Suffolk brought to London	March, 1505—6.
XXII.	Death of Philip of Castile	25 Sept. 1506.
XXIII.		
XXIV.	Treaty for marriage of Princess Mary with Charles of Castile	17 Dec. 1508.
	Henry VII. dies	22 April, 1509.

THE
HISTORY of the REIGN
OF
King HENRY the Seventh.

TO THE
Most Illustrious and Most Excellent
P R I N C E
C H A R L E S,
P R I N C E of W A L E S,
D U K E of C O R N W A L L,
E A R L of C H E S T E R, etc.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HIGHNESS,

I N part of my acknowledgment to your Highness,
I have endeavoured to do honour to the memory
of the last King of England, that was ancestor to
the King your father and yourself; and was that 5
King to whom both unions may in a sort refer: that
of the roses being in him consummate, and that of
the kingdoms by him begun: besides, his times
deserve it. For he was a wise man, and an excellent
King; and yet the times were rough, and full of 10
mutations, and rare accidents. And it is with times,
as it is with ways: Some are more up-hill and down-
hill, and some are more flat and plain; and the one

is better for the liver, and the other for the writer. I have not flattered him, but took him to life as well as I could, sitting so far off, and having no better light. It is true, your Highness hath a living pattern, incomparable, of the King your father : But it is not amiss for you also to see one of these ancient pieces. God preserve your Highness.

Your Highness's most humble

and devoted servant,

FRANCIS ST. ALBAN.

THE
HISTORY of the REIGN
OF
King HENRY the Seventh.

AFTER that Richard, the third of that name, King in fact only, but tyrant both in title and regiment, and so commonly termed and reputed in all times since, was, by the divine revenge favouring the design of an exiled man, overthrown and slain at Bosworth-field; there succeeded in the kingdom the earl of Richmond, thenceforth styled Henry the seventh. The King, immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te Deum laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted King. Meanwhile the body of Richard, after many indignities and reproaches, the *diriges* and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants, was obscurely buried. For though the King of his nobleness gave charge unto the friars of Leicester to see an honourable interment to be given to it, yet the religious people themselves, (being not free from the humours of the vulgar,) neglected it; wherein nevertheless they did not then incur

any man's blame or censure: no man thinking any ignominy or contumely unworthy of him, that had been the executioner of King Henry the sixth, that innocent Prince, with his own hands; the contriver of the death of the duke of Clarence his brother; the murderer of his two nephews, one of them his lawful King in the present, and the other in the future, failing of him, and vehemently suspected to have been the imprisoner of his wife, thereby to make vacant his bed, for a marriage within the degrees forbidden. And although he were a Prince in-military-virtue-approved, jealous of the honour of the English nation, and likewise a good law-maker, ~~for the ease and solace of the common people~~; yet his cruelties and parricides, in the opinion of all men, weighed down his virtues and merits; and, in the opinion of wise men, even those virtues themselves were conceived to be rather feigned ~~and affected~~ things to serve his ambition, than true qualities ingenerate in his judgment or nature. And therefore it was noted by men of great understanding, who seeing his after-acts, looked back upon his former proceedings, that even in the time of King Edward his brother he was not without secret trains ~~and mines~~ to turn envy and hatred upon his brother's government; as having an expectation and a kind of divination, that the King, by reason of his many disorders, could not be of long life, but was like to leave his sons of tender years; and then he knew well, how easy a step it was, from the place of a protector and first Prince of the blood to the crown. And that out of this deep root of ambition it sprung, that as well at the treaty-of-peace that passed between Edward the fourth and Lewis the eleventh of France, concluded by interview of both Kings at Piqueny, as upon all other occasions, Richard, then duke of Gloucester, stood ever upon the side of honour, raising his own reputation to the disad-

vantage of the King his brother, and drawing the eyes of all, especially of the nobles and soldiers, upon himself; as if the King, by his voluptuous life and mean marriage, were become effeminate and less sensible of honour and reason of state than was fit for a King. And as for the politic and wholesome laws which were enacted in his time, they were interpreted to be but the brocage of an usurper, thereby to woo and win the hearts of the people, as being conscious to himself, that the true obligations of sovereignty in him failed, and were wanting. But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest King in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot, and concurrent in his person, three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the lady Elizabeth, with whom, by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title, both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field. The first of these was fairest, and most like to give contentment to the people, who by two and twenty years reign of King Edward the fourth had been fully made capable of the clearness of the title of the white rose or house of York; and, by the mild and plausible reign of the same King toward his latter time, were become affectionate to that line. But then it lay plain before his eyes, that if he relied upon that title, he could be but a King at courtesy, and have rather a matrimonial than

a regal power; the right remaining in his Queen, upon whose decease, either with issue, or without issue, he was to give place and be removed. And though he should obtain by parliament to be continued, yet he knew there was a very great difference between a King that holdeth his crown by a civil act of estates, and one that holdeth it originally by the law of nature and descent of blood. Neither wanted there even at that time secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength and turned to great troubles, that the two young sons of King Edward the fourth, or one of them, which were said to be destroyed in the Tower, were not indeed murdered, but conveyed secretly away, and were yet living: which, if it had been true, had prevented the title of the lady Elizabeth. On the other side, if he stood upon his own title of the house of Lancaster, inherent in his person, he knew it was a title condemned by parliament, and generally prejudged in the common opinion of the realm, and that it tended directly to the disinherison of the line of York, held then the indubitate heirs of the crown. So that if he should have no issue by the lady Elizabeth, which should be descendants of the double line, then the ancient flames of discord and intestine wars, upon the competition of both houses, would again return and revive.

As for conquest, notwithstanding Sir William Stanley, after some acclamations of the soldiers in the field, had put a crown of ornament, which Richard wore in the battle and was found amongst the spoils, upon King Henry's head, as if there were his chief title; yet he remembered well upon what conditions and agreements he was brought in; and that to claim as conqueror, was to put as well his own party, as the rest, into terror and fear; as that which gave him power of disannulling of laws, and disposing of mens for-

tunes and estates, and the like points of absolute power, being in themselves so harsh and odious, as that William himself, commonly called the conqueror, howsoever he used and exercised the power of a conqueror to reward his Normans, yet he forbore to use that claim in the beginning, but mixed it with a titular pretence, grounded upon the will and designation of Edward the confessor. But the King, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage, and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute; not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown; and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the King presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the style of King in his own name, without mention of the lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted; which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles. The King, full of these thoughts, before his departure from Leicester, dispatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkshire, where were kept in safe custody, by King Richard's commandment, both the lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward, and Edward Plantagenet, son and heir to

George duke of Clarence. This Edward was by the King's warrant delivered from the constable of the castle to the hand of Sir Robert Willoughby; and by him with all safety and diligence conveyed to the Tower of London, where he
5 was shut up close prisoner. Which act of the king's, being an act merely of policy and power, proceeded not so much from any apprehension he had of doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's cross, for the bastarding of Edward the fourth's issues, in which case this young gentleman was to succeed, for that
10 fable was ever exploded, but upon a settled disposition to depress all eminent persons of the line of York. Wherein still the King, out of strength of will or weakness of judgment, did use to shew a little more of the party than of the King.

15 For the lady Elizabeth, she received also a direction to repair with all convenient speed to London, and there to remain with the Queen dowager her mother; which accordingly she soon after did, accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour. In the mean season the King set
20 forwards by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of the people as he went, which indeed were true and unfeigned, as might well appear in the very demonstrations and fulness of the cry. For they thought generally, that he was a Prince, as ordained
25 and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which although they had had, in the times of Henry the fourth, Henry the fifth, and a part of Henry the sixth, on the one side, and the times of Edward the fourth on the other, lucid intervals and
30 happy pauses; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities. And as his victory gave him the knee, so his purpose of

marriage with the lady Elizabeth gave him the heart; so that both knee and heart did truly bow before him.

He on the other side with great wisdom, not ignorant of the affections and fears of the people, to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest, had given order, that there should be nothing in his journey like unto a warlike march or manner; but rather like unto the progress of a King in full peace and assurance. 5

He entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him. 10

The mayor and companies of the city received him at Shoreditch; whence with great and honourable attendance, and troops of noblemen, and persons of quality, he entered the city; himself not being on horseback, or in any open chair or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state, and strike a reverence into the people, than to fawn upon them. 20

He went first into St. Paul's church, where, not meaning that the people should forget too soon that he came in by battle, he made offertory of his standards, and had orisons and *Te Deum* again sung; and went to his lodging prepared in the bishop of London's palace, where he stayed for a time. 25

During his abode there, he assembled his council and other principal persons, in presence of whom he did renew again his promise to marry with the lady Elizabeth. This he did the rather, because having at his coming out of Britain given artificially, for serving his own turn, some hopes, in case he obtained the kingdom, to marry Anne, inheritress to the duchy of Britain, whom Charles the eighth

of France soon after married, it bred some doubt and suspicion amongst divers that he was not sincere, or at least not fixed in going on with the match of England so much desired: which conceit also, though it were but talk and discourse, did much afflict the poor lady Elizabeth herself. But howsoever he both truly intended it, and desired also it should be so believed, the better to extinguish envy and contradiction to his other purposes, yet was he resolved in himself not to proceed to the consummation thereof, till his coronation and a parliament were past. The one, lest a joint coronation of himself and his Queen might give any countenance of participation of title; the other, lest in the entailing of the crown to himself, which he hoped to obtain by parliament, the votes of the parliament might any ways reflect upon her.

About this time in autumn, towards the end of September, there began and reigned in the city, and other parts of the kingdom, a disease then new: which by the accidents and manner thereof they called the sweating sickness. This disease had a swift course, both in the sick body, and in the time and period of the lasting thereof; for they that were taken with it, upon four and twenty hours escaping, were thought almost assured. And as to the time of the malice and reign of the disease, ere it ceased; it began about the one and twentieth of September, and cleared up before the end of October, insomuch as it was no hindrance to the King's coronation, which was the last of October; nor, which was more, to the holding of the parliament, which began but seven days after. It was a pestilent fever, but, as it seemeth, not seated in the veins or humours, for there followed no carbuncle, no purple or livid spots, or the like, the mass of the body being not tainted; only a malign vapour flew to the heart, and seized the vital spirits; which

stirred nature to strive to send it forth by an extreme sweat. And it appeared by experience, that this disease was rather a surprise of nature than obstinate to remedies, if it were in time looked unto. For if the patient were kept in an equal temper, both for clothes, fire, and drink, moderately 5 warm, with temperate cordials, whereby nature's work were neither irritated by heat, nor turned back by cold, he commonly recovered. But infinite persons died suddenly of it, before the manner of the cure and attendance was known. It was conceived not to be an epidemic disease, but to 10 proceed from a malignity in the constitution of the air, gathered by the predispositions of seasons; and the speedy cessation declared as much.

On Simon and Jude's eve, the King dined with Thomas Bouchier, archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal; and from 15 Lambeth went by land over the bridge to the Tower, where the morrow after he made twelve knights bannerets. But for creations he dispensed them with a sparing hand. For notwithstanding a field so lately fought, and a coronation so near at hand, he only created three: Jasper, earl of Pem- 20 broke, the King's uncle, was created duke of Bedford; Thomas, the lord Stanley, the King's father-in-law, earl of Derby; and Edward Courtney, earl of Devon; though the King had then nevertheless a purpose in himself to make more in time of Parliament; bearing a wise and decent 25 respect to distribute his creations, some to honour his coronation, and some his parliament.

The coronation followed two days after, upon the thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord 1485; at which time Innocent the eighth was Pope of Rome; Frederick the third 30 Emperor of Almain; and Maximilian his son newly chosen King of the Romans; Charles the eighth King of France; Ferdinando and Isabella Kings of Spain; and James the third,

King of Scotland: with all which Kings and States the King was at that time in good peace and amity. At which day also, as if the crown upon his head had put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band
5 of fifty archers, under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard: and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of what he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an
10 ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after.

The seventh of November the King held his parliament at Westminster, which he had summoned immediately after his coming to London. His ends in calling a parliament,
15 and that so speedily, were chiefly three; first, to procure the crown to be entailed upon himself. Next, to have the attainders of all of his party, which were in no small number, reversed, and all acts of hostility by them done in his quarrel remitted and discharged; and on the other side,
20 to attain by parliament the heads and principals of his enemies. The third, to calm and quiet the fears of the rest of that party by a general pardon; not being ignorant in how great danger a King stands from his subjects, when most of his subjects are conscious in themselves that they stand in
25 his danger. Unto these three special motives of a parliament was added, that he, as a prudent and moderate Prince, made this judgment, that it was fit for him to hasten to let his people see, that he meant to govern by law, howsoever he came in by the sword; and fit also to reclaim them to know
30 him for their King, whom they had so lately talked of as an enemy or banished man. For that which concerned the entailing of the crown, more than that he was true to his own will, that he would not endure any mention of the lady

Elizabeth, no not in the nature of special entail, he carried it otherwise with great wisdom and measure : for he did not press to have the act penned by way of declaration or recognition of right ; as, on the other side, he avoided to have it by new law or ordinance, but chose rather a kind of middle way, by way of establishment, and that under covert and indifferent words ; “ that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King,” etc., which words might equally be applied, that the crown should continue to him ; but whether as having former right to it, which was doubtful, or having it then in fact and possession, which no man denied, was left fair to interpretation either way. And again, for the limitation of the entail, he did not press it to go farther than to himself and to the heirs of his body, not speaking of his right heirs ; but leaving that to the law to decide : so as the entail might seem rather a personal favour to him and his children, than a total disinherison to the house of York. And in this form was the law drawn and passed. Which statute he procured to be confirmed by the Pope’s bull the year following, with mention nevertheless, by way of recital, of his other titles, both of descent and conquest. So as now the wreath of three, was made a wreath of five ; for to the three first titles of the two houses, or lines, and conquest, were added two more, the authorities parliamentary and papal.

The King likewise, in the reversal of the attainders of his partakers, and discharging them of all offences incident to his service and succour, had his will ; and acts did pass accordingly. In the passage whereof, exception was taken to divers persons in the house of commons, for that they were attainted, and thereby not legal, nor habilitate to serve in parliament, being disabled in the highest degree ; and that it should be a great incongruity to have them to make laws,

who themselves were not inlawed. The truth was, that divers of those, which had in the time of King Richard been strongest, and most declared for the King's party, were returned knights and burgesses for the parliament; whether
5 by care or recommendation from the state, or the voluntary inclination of the people; many of which had been by Richard the third attainted by outlawries, or otherwise. The King was somewhat troubled with this; for though it had a grave and specious shew, yet it reflected upon his party.
10 But wisely not shewing himself at all moved therewith, he would not understand it but as a case in law, and wished the judges to be advised thereupon; who for that purpose were forthwith assembled in the exchequer-chamber, which is the council-chamber of the judges, and upon deliberation
15 they gave a grave and safe opinion and advice, mixed with law and convenience; which was, that the knights and burgesses attainted by the course of law should forbear to come into the house, till a law were passed for the reversal of their attainders.

20 It was at that time incidently moved amongst the judges in their consultation, what should be done for the king himself, who likewise was attainted? But it was with unanimous consent resolved, "That the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood: and that from the time the King did
25 assume the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged." But nevertheless, for honour's sake, it was ordained by parliament, that all records, wherein there was any memory or mention of the King's attainer, should be defaced, cancelled, and taken off
30 the file.

But on the part of the King's enemies there were by parliament attainted, the late duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the third; the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Surrey,

viscount Lovel, the lord Ferrers, the lord Zouch, Richard Ratcliffe, William Catesby, and many others of degree and quality. In which bills of attainders, nevertheless, there were contained many just and temperate clauses, savings, and provisoes, well shewing and fore-tokening the wisdom, stay, and moderation of the King's spirit of government. And for the pardon of the rest, that had stood against the King, the King, upon a second advice, thought it not fit it should pass by parliament, the better, being matter of grace, to impropriate the thanks to himself: using only the opportunity of a parliament time, the better to disperse it into the veins of the kingdom. Therefore during the parliament he published his royal proclamation, offering pardon and grace of restitution to all such as had taken arms, or been participant of any attempts against him; so as they submitted themselves to his mercy by a day, and took the oath of allegiance and fidelity to him. Whereupon many came out of sanctuary, and many more came out of fear, no less guilty than those that had taken sanctuary.

As for money or treasure, the King thought it not seasonable or fit to demand any of his subjects at this parliament; both because he had received satisfaction from them in matters of so great importance, and because he could not remunerate them with any general pardon, being prevented therein by the coronation-pardon passed immediately before: but chiefly, for that it was in every man's eye, what great forfeitures and confiscations he had at that present to help himself; whereby those casualties of the crown might in reason spare the purses of the subject; especially in a time when he was in peace with all his neighbours. Some few laws passed at that parliament, almost for form sake: amongst which there was one, to reduce aliens, being made denizens, to pay strangers customs; and another, to draw to

himself the seizures and compositions of Italians goods, for not employment, being points of profit to his coffers, whereof from the very beginning he was not forgetful ; and had been more happy at the latter end, if his early providence, which
5 kept him from all necessity of exacting upon his people, could likewise have attempered his nature therein. He added, during parliament, to his former creations, the ennoblement or advancement in nobility of a few others; the lord Chandos of Britain, was made earl of Bath ; Sir Giles
10 Daubeney, was made lord Daubeney; and Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Brook.

The King did also with great nobleness and bounty, which virtues at that time had their turns in his nature, restore Edward Stafford, eldest son to Henry duke of Buck-
15 ingham, attainted in the time of King Richard, not only to his dignities, but to his fortunes and possessions, which were great : to which he was moved also by a kind of gratitude, for that the duke was the man that moved the first stone against the tyranny of King Richard, and indeed made the
20 King a bridge to the crown upon his own ruins. Thus the parliament broke up.

The parliament being dissolved, the King sent forthwith money to redeem the marquis Dorset, and Sir John Bouchier, whom he had left as his pledges at Paris, for money which
25 he had borrowed, when he made his expedition for England. And thereupon he took a fit occasion to send the lord Treasurer and master Bray, whom he used as counsellor, to the lord mayor of London, requiring of the city a prest of six thousand marks : but after many parleys, he could
30 obtain but two thousand pounds ; which nevertheless the King took in good part as men use to do, that practise to borrow money when they have no need. About this time the King called unto his privy council John Morton and

Richard Fox, the one bishop of Ely, the other bishop of Exeter; vigilant men, and secret, and such as kept watch with him almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs, before he came to the crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune. This Morton soon after, 5 upon the death of Bouchier, he made archbishop of Canterbury. And for Fox, he made him lord Keeper of his privy-seal, and afterwards advanced him by degrees, from Exeter to Bath and Wells, thence to Durham, and last to Winchester. For although the King loved to employ and 10 advance bishops, because having rich bishopricks, they carried their reward upon themselves; yet he did use to raise them by steps, that he might not lose the profit of the first fruits, which by that course of gradation was multiplied. 15

At last, upon the eighteenth of January, was solemnized the so long expected and so much desired marriage, between the King and the lady Elizabeth: which day of marriage was celebrated with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, 20 than the days either of his entry or coronation; which the King rather noted than liked. And it is true, that all his life time, while the lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she died before him, he shewed himself no very indulgent husband towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, and 25 fruitful. But his aversion towards the house of York was so predominant in him, as it found place not only in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and bed.

Towards the middle of the spring, the King, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious 30 in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play, and

the enjoying of a kingdom: yet, as a wise and watchful King, he would not neglect any thing for his safety; thinking nevertheless to perform all things now, rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed, that
5 the northern parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard the third, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the King, in his
10 account of peace and calms, did much over-cast his fortunes, which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news, that the lord Lovel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Staf-
15 ford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell: which advertisement the King despised, and continued his journey to York. At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement, that the lord Lovel was at hand with
20 a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester, to assail it. The King, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth-
25 field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people, whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send
30 against the lord Lovel, to the number of three thousand men, ill armed, but well assured, being taken some few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted, under the conduct of

the duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in: which the duke, upon his approach to the lord Lovel's camp, did perform. And it fell out as the King 5 expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the lord Lovel, upon proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the lady Margaret. And his men, forsaken of their captain, 10 did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the lord Lovel, in whose success their chief trust was, despaired and dispersed. The two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon 15 view of their privilege in the King's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the King having by this journey purged a little the dregs 20 and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him, returned to London.

In September following, the Queen was delivered of her first son, whom the King, in honour of the British race, of which himself was, named Arthur, according to the name 25 of that ancient worthy King of the Britains, in whose acts there is truth enough to make him famous, besides that which is fabulous. The child was strong and able, though he was born in the eighth month, which the physicians do prejudge. 30

There followed this year, being the second of the King's reign, a strange accident of state, whereof the relations

which we have are so naked, as they leave it scarce credible; not for the nature of it, for it hath fallen out often, but for the manner and circumstance of it, especially in the beginnings. Therefore we shall make our judgment upon
5 the things themselves, as they give light one to another, and, as we can, dig truth out of the mine. The King was green in his estate; and, contrary to his own opinion and desert both, was not without much hatred throughout the realm. The root of all was the discountenancing of the
10 house of York, which the general body of the realm still affected. This did alienate the hearts of the subjects from him daily more and more, especially when they saw, that after his marriage, and after a son born, the King did nevertheless not so much as proceed to the coronation of the
15 Queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do. But much more when it was spread abroad, whether by error, or the cunning of malcontents, that the King had a purpose
20 to put to death Edward Plantagenet closely in the Tower: whose case was so nearly paralleled with that of Edward the fourth's children, in respect of the blood, like age, and the very place of the Tower, as it did refresh and reflect upon the King a most odious resemblance, as if he would be
25 another King Richard. And all this time it was still whispered every where, that at least one of the children of Edward the fourth was living: which bruit was cunningly fomented by such as desired innovation. Neither was the
30 King's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists; but contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance. Thus was fuel prepared for the spark: the spark, that afterwards kindled such a fire and combustion, was at the first contemptible.

There was a subtle priest called Richard Simon¹, that lived in Oxford, and had to his pupil a baker's son, named Lambert Simnell, of the age of some fifteen years, a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity, and grace of aspect. It came into this priest's fancy, hearing what men talked, and in hope to raise himself to some great bishopric, to cause this lad to counterfeit and personate the second son of Edward the fourth, supposed to be murdered; and afterward, for he changed his intention in the manage, the lord Edward Plantagenet, then prisoner in the Tower, and accordingly to frame him and instruct him in the part he was to play. This is that which, as was touched before, seemeth scarcely credible; not that a false person should be assumed to gain a kingdom, for it hath been seen in ancient and late times; nor that it should come into the mind of such an abject fellow, to enterprise so great a matter; for high conceits do sometimes come streaming into the imaginations of base persons; especially when they are drunk with news, and talk of the people. But here is that which hath no appearance: That this priest, being utterly unacquainted with the true person, according to whose pattern he should shape his counterfeit, should think it possible for him to instruct his player, either in gesture and fashions, or in recounting past matters of his life and education; or in fit answers to questions, or the like, any ways to come near the resemblance of him whom he was to represent. For this lad was not to personate one, that had been long before taken out of his cradle, or conveyed away in his infancy, known to few; but a youth, that till

¹ The priest's name was William Simonds, and the youth was the son of an organ-maker in Oxford, as the priest declared before the whole convocation of the clergy at Lambeth, Feb. 17, 1486. Vide *Reg. Morton. f. 34. MS. Sancroft.*

the age almost of ten years had been brought up in a court where infinite eyes had been upon him. For King Edward, touched with remorse of his brother the duke of Clarence's death, would not indeed restore his son, of whom we speak, 5 to be duke of Clarence, but yet created him earl of Warwick, reviving his honour on the mother's side; and used him honourably during his time, though Richard the third afterwards confined him. So that it cannot be, but that some great person that knew particularly and familiarly 10 Edward Plantagenet, had a hand in the business, from whom the priest might take his aim. That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the Queen dowager, from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy nego- 15 ciating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the King against King Richard the third been hatched; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and was at this time extremely discontent with the King, thinking her daughter, as the King 20 handled the matter, not advanced but depressed: and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play, as she could. Nevertheless it was not her meaning, nor no more was it the meaning of any of the better and sager sort that favoured this enterprise, and knew the 25 secret, that this disguised idol should possess the crown; but at his peril to make way to the overthrow of the King; and that done, they had their several hopes and ways. That which doth chiefly fortify this conjecture is, that as soon as the matter brake forth in any strength, it was one of the 30 King's first acts to cloister the Queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to take away all her lands and estate; and this by a close council, without any legal proceeding, upon far fetched pretences that she had delivered

her two daughters out of sanctuary to King Richard, contrary to promise. Which proceeding being even at that time taxed for rigorous and undue, both in matter and manner, makes it very probable there was some greater matter against her, which the King, upon reason of policy and to avoid envy, would not publish. It is likewise no small argument that there was some secret in it, and some suppressing of examinations, for that the priest Simon himself, after he was taken, was never brought to execution; no not so much as to public trial, as many clergymen were upon less treasons, but was only shut up close in a dungeon. Add to this, that after the earl of Lincoln, a principal person of the house of York, was slain in Stoke-field, the King opened himself to some of his council, that he was sorry for the earl's death, because by him, he said, he might have known the bottom of his danger.

But to return to the narration itself: Simon did first instruct his scholar for the part of Richard, duke of York, second son to King Edward the fourth; and this was at such time as it was voiced, that the King purposed to put to death Edward Plantagenet, prisoner in the Tower, whereat there was great murmur. But hearing soon after a general bruit that Plantagenet had escaped out of the Tower, and thereby finding him so much beloved amongst the people, and such rejoicing at his escape, the cunning priest changed his copy, and chose now Plantagenet to be the subject his pupil should personate, because he was more in the present speech and votes of the people; and it pieced better, and followed more close and handsomely, upon the bruit of Plantagenet's escape. But yet doubting that there would be too near looking, and too much perspective into his disguise, if he should shew it here in England; he thought good, after the manner of scenes in stage-plays and

masks, to shew it afar off; and therefore sailed with his scholar into Ireland, where the affection to the house of York was most in height. The King had been a little improvident in the matters of Ireland, and had not removed
5 officers and counsellors, and put in their places, or at least intermingled, persons of whom he stood assured, as he should have done, since he knew the strong bent of that country towards the house of York; and that it was a ticklish and unsettled state, more easy to receive distempers
10 and mutations than England was. But trusting to the reputation of his victories and successes in England, he thought he should have time enough to extend his cares afterwards to that second kingdom.

Wherefore through this neglect, upon the coming of
15 Simon with his pretended Plantagenet into Ireland, all things were prepared for revolt and sedition, almost as if they had been set and plotted beforehand. Simon's first address was to the lord Thomas Fitz-Gerard, earl of Kildare and deputy of Ireland; before whose eyes he did cast such
20 a mist, by his own insinuation, and by the carriage of his youth, that expressed a natural princely behaviour, as joined perhaps with some inward vapours of ambition and affection in the earl's own mind, left him fully possessed, that it was the true Plantagenet. The earl presently communicated the
25 matter with some of the nobles, and others there, at the first secretly; but finding them of like affection to himself, he suffered it of purpose to vent and pass abroad; because they thought it not safe to resolve, till they had a taste of the people's inclination. But if the great ones were in forwardness, the people were in fury, entertaining this airy
30 body or phantasm with incredible affection; partly, out of their great devotion to the house of York; partly out of a proud humour in the nation, to give a King to the realm of

England. Neither did the party, in this heat of affection, much trouble themselves with the attainder of George duke of Clarence; having newly learned by the King's example, that attainders do not interrupt the conveying of title to the crown. And as for the daughters of King Edward the 5 fourth, they thought King Richard had said enough for them; and took them to be but as of the King's party, because they were in his power and at his disposing. So that with marvellous consent and applause, this counterfeit Plantagenet was brought with great solemnity to the castle 10 of Dublin, and there saluted, served, and honoured as King; the boy becoming it well, and doing nothing that did bewray the baseness of his condition. And within a few days after he was proclaimed King in Dublin, by the name of King Edward the sixth; there being not a sword drawn in 15 King Henry his quarrel.

The King was much moved with this unexpected accident when it came to his ears, both because it struck upon that string which ever he most feared, as also because it was stirred in such a place, where he could not with safety 20 transfer his own person to suppress it. For partly through natural valour, and partly through an universal suspicion, not knowing whom to trust, he was ever ready to wait upon all his achievements in person. The King therefore first called his council together at the charter-house at 25 Shene; which council was held with great secrecy, but the open decrees thereof, which presently came abroad, were three.

The first was, that the Queen dowager, for that she, contrary to her pact and agreement with those that had 30 concluded with her concerning the marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with King Henry, had nevertheless delivered her daughters out of sanctuary into King Richard's hands,

should be cloistered in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and forfeit all her lands and goods.

The next was, that Edward Plantagenet, then close prisoner in the Tower, should be, in the most public and
5 notorious manner that could be devised, shewed unto the people: in part to discharge the King of the envy of that opinion and bruit, how he had been put to death privily in the Tower; but chiefly to make the people see the levity and imposture of the proceedings of Ireland, and that their
10 Plantagenet was indeed but a puppet or a counterfeit.

The third was that there should be again proclaimed a general pardon to all that would reveal their offences, and submit themselves by a day. And that this pardon should be conceived in so ample and liberal a manner, as no high-
15 treason, no not against the King's own person, should be excepted. Which though it might seem strange, yet was it not so to a wise King, that knew his greatest dangers were not from the least treasons, but from the greatest. These resolutions of the King and his council were immediately
20 put in execution. And first, the Queen dowager was put into the monastery of Bermondsey, and all her estates seized into the King's hands: whereat there was much wondering; that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein
25 the King had shewed no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the King and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the King's mind, be so severely handled.

30 This lady was amongst the examples of great variety of fortune. She had first from a distressed suitor, and desolate widow, been taken to the marriage bed of a bachelor King, the goodliest personage of his time; and even in his reign she

had endured a strange eclipse by the King's flight, and temporary depriving from the crown. She was also very happy, in that she had by him fair issue; and continued his nuptial love, helping herself by some obsequious bearing and dissembling of his pleasures, to the very end. She was much affectionate to her own kindred, even unto faction; which did stir great envy in the lords of the King's side, who counted her blood a disparagement to be mingled with the King's. With which lords of the King's blood joined also the King's favourite, the lord Hastings; who, notwithstanding the King's great affection to him, was thought at times, through her malice and spleen, not to be out of danger of falling. After her husband's death she was matter of tragedy, having lived to see her brother beheaded, and her two sons deposed from the crown, bastarded in their blood, and cruelly murdered. All this while nevertheless she enjoyed her liberty, state, and fortunes: but afterwards again, upon the rise of the wheel, when she had a King to her son-in-law, and was made grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex; yet was she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less strange pretences, precipitated and banished the world into a nunnery; where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her, or see her; and where not long after she ended her life: but was by the king's commandment buried with the King her husband at Windsor. She was foundress of Queen's college in Cambridge. For this act the King sustained great obloquy, which nevertheless, besides the reason of state, was somewhat sweetened to him by a great confiscation.

About this time also, Edward Plantagenet was upon a Sunday brought, throughout all the principal streets of London, to be seen of the people. And having passed the view of the streets, was conducted to Paul's church in

solemn procession, where great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion, that divers of the nobility, and others of quality, especially of those that the King most suspected, and knew the person of
5 Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the pageant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with so many, as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless in
10 Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the King; and gave out, that the King, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward
15 Plantagenet, and shewed him to the people; not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable.

The general pardon likewise near the same time came forth; and the King therewithal omitted no diligence, in
20 giving strait order for the keeping of the ports, that fugitives, malcontents, or suspected persons, might not pass over into Ireland and Flanders.

Mean while the rebels in Ireland had sent privy messengers both into England and into Flanders, who in both
25 places had wrought effects of no small importance. For in England they won to their party John earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, King Edward the fourth's eldest sister. This earl was a man of great wit and courage, and had his thoughts highly raised
30 by hopes and expectations for a time: for Richard the third had a resolution, out of his hatred to both his brethren, King Edward and the duke of Clarence, and their lines, having had his hand in both their bloods, to disable their

issues upon false and incompetent pretexts; the one of attainder, the other of illegitimation: and to design this gentleman, in case himself should die without children, for inheritor of the crown. Neither was this unknown to the King, who had secretly an eye upon him. But the King, 5 having tasted of the envy of the people for his imprisonment of Edward Plantagenet, was doubtful to heap up any more distastes of that kind, by the imprisonment of de la Pole also; the rather thinking it policy to conserve him as a co-rival unto the other. The earl of Lincoln was induced 10 to participate with the action of Ireland, not lightly upon the strength of the proceedings there, which was but a bubble, but upon letters from the lady Margaret of Burgundy, in whose succours and declaration for the enterprize there seemed to be a more solid foundation, both for repu- 15 tation and forces. Neither did the earl refrain the business, for that he knew the pretended Plantagenet to be but an idol. But contrariwise, he was more glad it should be the false Plantagenet than the true; because the false being sure to fall away of himself, and the true to be made sure of 20 by the King, it might open and pave a fair and prepared way to his own title. With this resolution he sailed secretly into Flanders, where was a little before arrived the lord Lovel, leaving a correspondence here in England with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man of great power and dependencies 25 in Lancashire. For before this time, when the pretended Plantagenet was first received in Ireland, secret messengers had been also sent to the lady Margaret, advertising her what was passed in Ireland, imploring succours in an enterprize, as they said, so pious and just, and that God had so 30 miraculously prospered the beginning thereof; and making offer, that all things should be guided by her will and direction, as the sovereign patroness and protectress of the

enterprise. Margaret was second sister to King Edward the fourth, and had been second wife to Charles, surnamed the Hardy, duke of Burgundy; by whom having no children of her own, she did with singular care and tenderness intend
5 the education of Philip and Margaret, grandchildren to her former husband; which won her great love and authority among the Dutch. This princess, having the spirit of a man, and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and
10 being childless, and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise, to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark, at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeed-
15 ing troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the house of Lancaster, and personally to the King, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the King's ascent to
20 the crown, and assurance therein. Wherefore with great violence of affection she embraced this overture. And upon counsel taken with the earl of Lincoln, and the lord Lovel, and some other of the party, it was resolved, with all speed the two lords, assisted with a regiment of two thousand
25 Almain, being choice and veteran bands, under the command of Martin Swart, a valiant and experimented captain, should pass over into Ireland to the new King; hoping, that when the action should have the face of a received and settled regality, with such a second person as the earl of
30 Lincoln, and the conjunction and reputation of foreign succours, the fame of it would embolden and prepare all the party of the confederates and malcontents within the realm of England to give them assistance when they should

come over there. And for the person of the counterfeit it was agreed, that if all things succeeded well he should be put down, and the true Plantagenet received; wherein nevertheless the earl of Lincoln had his particular hopes. After they were come into Ireland, and that the party took 5 courage, by seeing themselves together in a body, they grew very confident of success; conceiving and discoursing amongst themselves, that they went in upon far better cards to overthrow King Henry, than King Henry had to overthrow King Richard: and that if there were not a sword 10 drawn against them in Ireland, it was a sign the swords in England would be soon sheathed or beaten down. And first, for a bravery upon this accession of power, they crowned their new King in the cathedral church of Dublin; who formerly had been but proclaimed only; and then sat 15 in council what should farther be done. At which council, though it were propounded by some, that it were the best way to establish themselves first in Ireland, and to make that the seat of the war, and to draw King Henry thither in person, by whose absence they thought there would be great 20 alterations and commotions in England; yet because the kingdom there was poor, and they should not be able to keep their army together, nor pay their German soldiers, and for that also the sway of the Irishmen, and generally of the men of war, which, as in such cases of popular tumults 25 is usual, did in effect govern their leaders, was eager, and in affection to make their fortunes upon England; it was concluded with all possible speed to transport their forces into England. The King in the mean time, who at the first when he heard what was done in Ireland, though it troubled 30 him, yet thought he should be well enough able to scatter the Irish as a flight of birds, and rattle away this swarm of bees with their King; when he heard afterwards that the

earl of Lincoln was embarked in the action, and that the lady Margaret was declared for it; he apprehended the danger in a true degree as it was, and saw plainly that his kingdom must again be put to the stake, and that he must
5 fight for it. And first he did conceive, before he understood of the earl of Lincoln's sailing into Ireland out of Flanders, that he should be assailed both upon the east parts of the kingdom of England, by some impression from Flanders, and upon the north-west out of Ireland. And therefore
10 having ordered musters to be made in both parts, and having provisionally designed two generals, Jasper earl of Bedford, and John earl of Oxford, meaning himself also to go in person where the affairs should most require it, and nevertheless not expecting any actual invasion at that time,
15 the winter being far on, he took his journey himself towards Suffolk and Norfolk, for the confirming of those parts. And being come to St. Edmond's-Bury, he understood that Thomas marquis Dorset, who had been one of the pledges in France, was hasting towards him, to purge himself of
20 some accusations which had been made against him. But the King, though he kept an ear for him, yet was the time so doubtful, that he sent the earl of Oxford to meet him, and forthwith to carry him to the Tower; with a fair message nevertheless, that he should bear that disgrace with
25 patience, for that the King meant not his hurt, but only to preserve him from doing hurt, either to the King's service, or to himself; and that the King should always be able, when he had cleared himself, to make him reparation.

From St. Edmond's-Bury he went to Norwich, where he
30 kept his Christmas. And from thence he went, in a manner of pilgrimage, to Walsingham, where he visited our lady's church, famous for miracles, and made his prayers and vows for help and deliverance. And from thence he returned by

Cambridge to London. Not long after the rebels, with their King, under the leading of the earl of Lincoln, the earl of Kildare, the lord Lovel, and colonel Swart, landed at Fouldrey in Lancashire; whither there repaired to them Sir Thomas Broughton, with some small company of English. 5
The King by that time, knowing now the storm would not divide, but fall in one place, had levied forces in good number; and in person, taking with him his two designed generals, the duke of Bedford, and the earl of Oxford, was come on his way towards them as far as Coventry, whence he sent 10
forth a troop of light horsemen for discovery, and to intercept some stragglers of the enemies, by whom he might the better understand the particulars of their progress and purposes, which was accordingly done; though the King otherwise was not without intelligence from espials in the camp. 15

The rebels took their way toward York, without spoiling the country or any act of hostility, the better to put themselves into favour of the people, and to personate their King: who, no doubt, out of a princely feeling, was sparing and compassionate towards his subjects: but their snow-ball 20
did not gather as it went. For the people came not in to them; neither did any rise or declare themselves in other parts of the kingdom for them; which was caused partly by the good taste that the King had given his people of his government, joined with the reputation of his felicity; and 25
partly for that it was an odious thing to the people of England, to have a King brought in to them upon the shoulders of Irish and Dutch, of which their army was in substance compounded. Neither was it a thing done with any great judgment on the party of the rebels, for them to take their 30
way towards York: considering that howsoever those parts had formerly been a nursery of their friends: yet it was there, where the lord Lovel had so lately disbanded, and

where the King's presence had a little before qualified discontents. The earl of Lincoln, deceived of his hopes of the country's concurrence unto him, in which case he would have temporised, and seeing the business past retract, resolved to
5 make on where the King was, and to give him battle; and thereupon marched towards Newark, thinking to have surprised the town. But the King was somewhat before this time come to Nottingham, where he called a council of war, at which was consulted whether it were best to protract
10 time, or speedily to set upon the rebels. In which council the King himself, whose continual vigilancy did suck in sometimes causeless suspicions, which few else knew, inclined to the accelerating a battle: but this was presently put out of doubt, by the great aids that came in to him in
15 the instant of this consultation, partly upon missives, and partly voluntaries, from many parts of the kingdom.

The principal persons that came then to the King's aid, were the earl of Shrewsbury, and the lord Strange of the nobility; and of knights and gentlemen, to the number of
20 at least threescore and ten persons, with their companies, making in the whole, at the least, six thousand fighting men, besides the forces that were with the King before. Whereupon the King, finding his army so bravely reinforced, and a great alacrity in all his men to fight, was confirmed in his
25 former resolution, and marched speedily, so as he put himself between the enemy's camp and Newark; being loth their army should get the commodity of that town. The earl, nothing dismayed, came forwards that day unto a little village called Stoke, and there encamped that night, upon
30 the brow or hanging of a hill. The King the next day presented him battle upon the plain, the fields there being open and champaign. The earl courageously came down and joined battle with him. Concerning which battle the rela-

tions that are left unto us are so naked and negligent, though it be an action of so recent memory, as they rather declare the success of the day, than the manner of the fight. They say, that the King divided his army into three battles; whereof the van-guard, only, well strengthened with wings, 5 came to fight: That the fight was fierce and obstinate, and lasted three hours, before the victory inclined either way; save that judgment might be made by that the King's van-guard of itself maintained fight against the whole power of the enemies, the other two battles remaining out of action, 10 what the success was like to be in the end: That Martin Swart with his Germans performed bravely, and so did those few English that were on that side; neither did the Irish fail in courage or fierceness; but being almost naked men, only armed with darts and skeins, it was rather an execution than 15 a fight upon them; insomuch as the furious slaughter of them was a great discouragement and appalement to the rest: That there died upon the place all the chieftains; that is, the earl of Lincoln, the earl of Kildare, Francis lord Lovel, Martin Swart, and Sir Thomas Broughton; all making 20 good the fight, without any ground given. Only of the lord Lovel there went a report that he fled, and swam over Trent on horseback, but could not recover the farther side, by reason of the steepness of the bank, and so was drowned in the river. But another report leaves him not there, but that 25 he lived long after in a cave or vault. The number that was slain in the field, was of the enemy's part four thousand at the least; and of the King's part, one half of his van-guard, besides many hurt, but none of name. There were taken prisoners, amongst others, the counterfeit Plantagenet, now 30 Lambert Simnell again, and the crafty priest his tutor. For Lambert, the King would not take his life, both out of magnanimity, taking him but as an image of wax, that others

had tempered and moulded ; and likewise out of wisdom, thinking that if he suffered death, he would be forgotten too soon ; but being kept alive, he would be a continual spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the like enchantments of
5 people in time to come. For which cause he was taken into service in his court to a base office in his kitchen ; so that, in a kind of *mattacina* of human fortune, he turned a broach, that had worn a crown ; whereas fortune commonly doth not bring in a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And
10 afterwards he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers. As to the priest, he was committed close prisoner, and heard of no more ; the King loving to seal up his own dangers.

After the battle the King went to Lincoln, where he
15 caused supplications and thanksgivings to be made for his deliverance and victory. And that his devotions might go round in circle, he sent his banner to be offered to our lady of Walsingham, where before he made his vows. And thus delivered of this so strange an engine, and new invention of
20 fortune, he returned to his former confidence of mind ; thinking now, that all his misfortunes had come at once. But it fell out unto him according to the speech of the common people in the beginning of his reign, that said, It was a token he should reign in labour, because his reign began
25 with a sickness of sweat. But howsoever the King thought himself now in a haven, yet such was his wisdom, as his confidence did seldom darken his foresight, especially in things near hand. And therefore, awakened by so fresh and unexpected dangers, he entered into due consideration,
30 as well how to weed out the partakers of the former rebellion, as to kill the seeds of the like in time to come : and withal to take away all shelters and harbours for discontented persons, where they might hatch and foster rebellions, which

afterwards might gather strength and motion. And first, he did yet again make a progress from Lincoln to the northern parts, though it were indeed rather an itinerary circuit of justice than a progress. For all along as he went, with much severity and strict inquisition, partly by martial law, and partly by commission, were punished the adherents and aiders of the late rebels. Not all by death, for the field had drawn much blood, but by fines and ransoms, which spared life, and raised treasure. Amongst other crimes of this nature, there was diligent inquiry made of such as had raised and dispersed a bruit and rumour, a little before the field fought, "that the rebels had the day; and that the King's army was overthrown, and the King fled." Whereby it was supposed that many succours, which otherwise would have come unto the King, were cunningly put off and kept back. Which charge and accusation, though it had some ground, yet it was industriously embraced and put on by divers, who having been in themselves not the best affected to the King's part, nor forward to come to his aid, were glad to apprehend this colour to cover their neglect and coldness, under the pretence of such discouragements. Which cunning nevertheless the King would not understand, though he lodged it, and noted it in some particulars, as his manner was.

But for the extirpating of the roots and causes of the like commotions in time to come, the King began to find where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the house of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people. And therefore being now too wise to disdain perils any longer, and willing to give some contentment in that kind, at least in ceremony, he resolved at last to proceed to the coronation of his Queen. And therefore at his coming to London, where he entered in state, and in a kind

of triumph, and celebrated his victory with two days of devotion, for the first day he repaired to Paul's and had the hymn of *Te Deum* sung, and the morrow after he went in procession, and heard the sermon at the cross, the Queen
5 was with great solemnity crowned at Westminster, the five and twentieth of November, in the third year of his reign, which was about two years after the marriage: like an old christening, that had stayed long for godfathers. Which
10 strange and unusual distance of time made it subject to every man's note, that it was an act against his stomach, and put upon him by necessity and reason of state. Soon after, to shew that it was now fair weather again, and that the imprisonment of Thomas marquis Dorset was rather upon suspicion of the time, than of the man, he, the said
15 marquis, was set at liberty, without examination or other circumstance. At that time also the King sent an ambassador unto Pope Innocent, signifying unto him this his marriage; and that now, like another Æneas, he had passed through the floods of his former troubles and travels, and
20 was arrived unto a safe haven: and thanking his Holiness that he had honoured the celebration of his marriage with the presence of his ambassador; and offering both his person and the forces of his kingdom, upon all occasions, to do him service.

25 The ambassador making his oration to the Pope, in the presence of the cardinals, did so magnify the King and Queen, as was enough to glut the hearers. But then he did again so extol and deify the Pope, as made all that he had said in praise of his master and mistress seem temperate
30 and passable. But he was very honourably entertained, and extremely much made on by the Pope: who knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable to the Christian world, was wonderfully glad to hear that there were such echoes of him

sounding in remote parts. He obtained also of the Pope a very just and honourable bull, qualifying the privileges of sanctuary, wherewith the King had been extremely galled, in three points.

The first, that if any sanctuary man did by night, or otherwise, get out of sanctuary privily, and commit mischief and trespass, and then come in again, he should lose the benefit of sanctuary for ever after. The second, that howsoever the person of the sanctuary man was protected from his creditors, yet his goods out of sanctuary should not. The third, that if any took sanctuary for case of treason, the King might appoint him keepers to look to him in sanctuary.

The King also, for the better securing of his estate against mutinous and malcontented subjects, whereof he saw the realm was full, who might have their refuge into Scotland, which was not under key, as the ports were; for that cause rather than for any doubt of hostility from those parts, before his coming to London, when he was at Newcastle, had sent a solemn ambassage unto James the third King of Scotland, to treat and conclude a peace with him. The ambassadors were, Richard Fox, bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcombe, comptroller of the King's house, who were honourably received and entertained there. But the King of Scotland labouring of the same disease that King Henry did, though more mortal, as afterwards appeared, that is, discontented subjects, apt to rise and raise tumult, although in his own affection he did much desire to make a peace with the King; yet finding his nobles averse, and not daring to displease them, concluded only a truce for seven years; giving nevertheless promise in private, that it should be renewed from time to time during the two Kings' lives.

Hitherto the King had been exercised in settling his affairs at home. But about this time brake forth an occasion that drew him to look abroad, and to hearken to foreign business. Charles the eighth the French King, by the virtue
5 and good fortune of his two immediate predecessors, Charles the seventh his grandfather and Lewis the eleventh his father, received the kingdom of France in more flourishing and spread estate than it had been of many years before ; being redintegrate in those principal members, which an-
10 ciently had been portions of the crown of France, and were afterward dissevered, so as they remained only in homage, and not in sovereignty, being governed by absolute Princes of their own, Anjou, Normandy, Provence, and Burgundy. There remained only Britain to be re-united, and so the
15 monarchy of France to be reduced to the ancient terms and bounds.

King Charles was not a little inflamed with an ambition to re-purchase and re-annex that duchy : which his ambition was a wise and well-weighed ambition ; not like unto the
20 ambitions of his succeeding enterprises of Italy. For at that time, being newly come to the crown, he was somewhat guided by his father's counsels, counsels not counsellors, for his father was his own council, and had few able men about him. And that King, he knew well, had ever dis-
25 tasted the designs of Italy, and in particular had an eye upon Britain. There were many circumstances that did feed the ambition of Charles with pregnant and apparent hopes of success : the duke of Britain old, and entered into a lethargy, and served with mercenary counsellors,
30 father of two only daughters, the one sickly and not like to continue : King Charles himself in the flower of his age, and the subjects of France at that time well trained for war, both for leaders and soldiers ; men of service being not yet worn

out since the wars of Lewis against Burgundy. He found himself also in peace with all his neighbour Princes. As for those that might oppose to his enterprise, Maximilian King of the Romans, his rival in the same desires (as well for the duchy, as the daughter) feeble in means; and King 5
Henry of England as well somewhat obnoxious to him for his favours and benefits, as busied in his particular troubles at home. There was also a fair and specious occasion offered him to hide his ambition, and to justify his warring upon Britain; for that the duke had received and succoured 10
Lewis duke of Orleans, and other of the French nobility, which had taken arms against their King. Wherefore King Charles, being resolved upon that war, knew well he could not receive any opposition so potent, as if King Henry should, either upon policy of state, in preventing the grow- 15
ing greatness of France, or upon gratitude unto the duke of Britain, for his former favours in the time of his distress, espouse that quarrel, and declare himself in aid of the duke. Therefore he no sooner heard that King Henry was settled by his victory, but forthwith he sent ambassadors unto him 20
to pray his assistance, or at least that he would stand neutral. Which ambassadors found the King at Leicester, and delivered their ambassage to this effect: They first imparted unto the King the success that their master had had a little before against Maximilian, in recovery of certain 25
towns from him: which was done in a kind of privacy, and inwardness towards the King; as if the French King did not esteem him for an outward or formal confederate, but as one that had part in his affections and fortunes, and with whom he took pleasure to communicate his business. After 30
this compliment, and some gratulation for the King's victory, they fell to their errand; declaring to the King, That their master was enforced to enter into a just and necessary

war with the duke of Britain, for that he had received and succoured those that were traitors and declared enemies unto his person and state. That they were no mean, distressed, and calamitous persons that fled to him for refuge, 5 but of so great quality, as it was apparent that they came not thither to protect their own fortune, but to infest and invade his; the head of them being the duke of Orleans, the first Prince of the blood and the second person of France. That therefore, rightly to understand it, it was rather on 10 their master's part a defensive war than an offensive; as that that could not be omitted or forborn, if he tendered the conservation of his own estate; and that it was not the first blow that made the war invasive, for that no wise Prince would stay for, but the first provocation, or at least the first 15 preparation; nay, that this war was rather a suppression of rebels, than a war with a just enemy; where the case is, that his subjects, traitors, are received by the duke of Britain his homager. That King Henry knew well what went upon it in example, if neighbour Princes should patronize and 20 comfort rebels against the law of nations and of leagues. Nevertheless that their master was not ignorant, that the King had been beholden to the duke of Britain in his adversity; as on the other side, they knew he would not forget also the readiness of their King, in aiding him when 25 the duke of Britain, or his mercenary counsellors, failed him, and would have betrayed him; and that there was a great difference between the courtesies received from their master, and the duke of Britain: for that the duke's might have ends of utility and bargain; whereas their master's 30 could not have proceeded but out of entire affection; for that, if it had been measured by a politic line, it had been better for his affairs that a tyrant should have reigned in England, troubled and hated, than such a Prince, whose

virtues could not fail to make him great and potent, whensoever he was come to be master of his affairs. But howsoever it stood for the point of obligation which the King might owe to the duke of Britain, yet their master was well assured, it would not divert King Henry of England from doing that that was just, nor ever embark him in so ill-grounded a quarrel. Therefore, since this war, which their master was now to make, was but to deliver himself from imminent dangers, their King hoped the King would shew the like affection to the conservation of their master's estate, as their master had, when time was, shewed to the King's acquisition of his kingdom. At the least, that according to the inclination which the King had ever possessed of peace, he would look on, and stand neutral; for that their master could not with reason press him to undertake part in the war, being so newly settled and recovered from intestine seditions. But touching the mystery of re-annexing of the duchy of Britain to the crown of France, either by war, or by marriage with the daughter of Britain, the ambassadors bare aloof from it as from a rock, knowing that it made most against them. And therefore by all means declined any mention thereof, but contrariwise interlaced, in their conference with the King, the assured purpose of their master to match with the daughter of Maximilian; and entertained the King also with some wandering discourses of their King's purposes, to recover by arms his right to the kingdom of Naples, by an expedition in person; all to remove the King from all jealousy of any design in these hither parts upon Britain, otherwise than for quenching of the fire, which he feared might be kindled in his own estate.

The King, after advice taken with his council, made answer to the ambassadors: and first returned their compliment, shewing he was right glad of the French King's

reception of those towns from Maximilian. Then he familiarly related some particular passages of his own adventures and victory passed. As to the business of Britain, the King answered in few words; that the French King, and the duke
5 of Britain, were the two persons to whom he was most obliged of all men; and that he should think himself very unhappy, if things should go so between them, as he should not be able to acquit himself in gratitude towards them both; and that there was no means for him as a Christian King, and a
10 common friend to them, to satisfy all obligations both to God and man, but to offer himself for a mediator of an accord and peace between them; by which course he doubted not but their King's estate, and honour both, would be preserved with more safety and less envy than by a war;
15 and that he would spare no cost or pains, no if it were to go on pilgrimage, for so good an effect; and concluded, that in this great affair, which he took so much to heart, he would express himself more fully by an ambassage, which he would speedily dispatch unto the French King for that purpose.
20 And in this sort the French ambassadors were dismissed: the King avoiding to understand any thing touching the re-annexing of Britain, as the ambassadors had avoided to mention it: save that he gave a little touch of it in the word *entry*. And so it was, that the King was neither so shallow,
25 nor so ill advertised, as not to perceive the intention of the French for the investing himself of Britain. But first, he was utterly unwilling, howsoever he gave out, to enter into war with France. A fame of a war he liked well, but not an achievement; for the one he thought would make him
30 richer, and the other poorer; and he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, which he was therefore loth to arm, and put weapons into their hands. Yet notwithstanding, as a prudent and courageous Prince,

he was not so averse from a war, but that he was resolved to choose it, rather than to have Britain carried by France, being so great and opulent a duchy, and situate so opportunely to annoy England, either for coast or trade. But the King's hopes were, that partly by negligence, commonly 5 imputed to the French, especially in the court of a young King, and partly by the native power of Britain itself, which was not small; but chiefly in respect of the great party that the duke of Orleans had in the kingdom of France, and thereby means to stir up civil troubles, to divert the French 10 King from the enterprize of Britain. And lastly, in regard of the power of Maximilian, who was co-rival to the French King in that pursuit, the enterprize would either bow to a peace, or break in itself. In all which the King measured and valued things amiss, as afterwards appeared. He sent 15 therefore forthwith to the French King, Christopher Urswick, his chaplain, a person by him much trusted and employed: choosing him the rather, because he was a churchman, as best sorting with an embassy of pacification: and giving him also a commission, that if the French King consented to 20 treat, he should thence repair to the duke of Britain, and ripen the treaty on both parts. Urswick made declaration to the French King, much to the purpose of the King's answer to the French ambassadors here, instilling also tenderly some overture of receiving to grace the duke of 25 Orleans, and some taste of conditions of accord. But the French King on the other side proceeded not sincerely, but with a great deal of art and dissimulation in this treaty; having for his end, to gain time, and so put off the English succours under hope of peace, till he had got good 30 footing in Britain by force of arms. Wherefore he answered the ambassador, that he would put himself into the King's hands, and make him arbiter of the peace; and willingly

consented, that the ambassador should straightways pass into Britain, to signify this his consent, and to know the duke's mind likewise; well foreseeing, that the duke of Orleans, by whom the duke of Britain was wholly led, taking
5 himself to be upon terms irreconcilable with him, would admit of no treaty of peace. Whereby he should in one, both generally abroad veil over his ambition, and win the reputation of just and moderate proceedings; and should withal endear himself in the affections of the King of
10 England, as one that had committed all to his will: nay and, which was yet more fine, make faith in him, that although he went on with the war, yet it should be but with his sword in his hand, to bend the stiffness of the other party to accept of peace; and so the King should take no
15 umbrage of his arming and prosecution; but the treaty to be kept on foot to the very last instant, till he were master of the field.

Which grounds being by the French King wisely laid, all things fell out as he expected. For when the English
20 ambassador came to the court of Britain, the duke was then scarcely perfect in his memory, and all things were directed by the duke of Orleans, who gave audience to the chaplain Urswick, and upon his ambassage delivered made answer in somewhat high terms: That the duke of Britain having
25 been an host, and a kind of parent or foster-father to the King, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune did look for at this time from King Henry, the renowned King of England, rather brave troops for his succours, than a vain treaty of peace. And if the King could forget the good
30 offices of the duke done unto him aforetime; yet he knew well, he would in his wisdom consider of the future, how much it imported his own safety and reputation, both in foreign parts, and with his own people, not to suffer Britain,

the old confederates of England, to be swallowed up by France, and so many good ports and strong towns upon the coast be in the command of so potent a neighbour King, and so ancient an enemy: And therefore humbly desired the King to think of this business as his own: and there- 5
with brake off, and denied any farther conference for treaty.

Urswick returned first to the French King, and related to him what had passed. Who finding things to sort to his desire, took hold of them, and said; That the ambassador 10
might perceive now that, which he for his part partly imagined before. That considering in what hands the duke of Britain was, there would be no peace, but by a mixed treaty of force and persuasion: and therefore he would go on with the one, and desired the King not to desist 15
from the other. But for his own part, he did faithfully promise to be still in the King's power, to rule him in the matter of peace. This was accordingly represented unto the King by Urswick at his return, and in such a fashion, as if the treaty were in no sort desperate, but rather stayed for a 20
better hour, till the hammer had wrought and beat the party of Britain more pliant. Whereupon there passed continually packets and despatches between the two Kings, from the one out of desire, and from the other out of dissimulation, about the negotiation of peace. The French King 25
mean while invaded Britain with great forces, and distressed the city of Nantz with a strait siege, and as one, who though he had no great judgment, yet had that, that he could dissemble home, the more he did urge the prosecution of the war, the more he did, at the same time, urge the 30
solicitation of the peace. Insomuch as during the siege of Nantz, after many letters and particular messages, the better to maintain his dissimulation, and to refresh the treaty,

he sent Bernard D'Aubigny, a person of good quality, to the King, earnestly to desire him to make an end of the business howsoever.

5 The King was no less ready to revive and quicken the treaty; and thereupon sent three commissioners, the abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Tunstal, and chaplain Urswick formerly employed, to do their utmost endeavours to manage the treaty roundly and strongly.

10 About this time the lord Woodvile, uncle to the Queen, a valiant gentleman, and desirous of honour, sued to the King that he might raise some power of voluntaries under-hand, and without licence or passport (wherein the King might any ways appear) go to the aid of the duke of Britain. The King denied his request, or at least seemed
15 so to do, and laid strait commandment upon him, that he should not stir, for that the King thought his honour would suffer therein, during a treaty, to better a party. Nevertheless this lord, either being unruly, or out of conceit that the King would not inwardly dislike that, which he would not
20 openly avow, sailed directly over into the isle of Wight, whereof he was governor, and levied a fair troop of four hundred men, and with them passed over into Britain, and joined himself with the duke's forces. The news whereof, when it came to the French court, put divers young bloods
25 into such a fury, as the English ambassadors were not without peril to be outraged. But the French King, both to preserve the privilege of ambassadors, and being conscious to himself, that in the business of peace he himself was the greater dissembler of the two, forbad all injuries of fact
30 or word against their persons or followers. And presently came an agent from the King, to purge himself touching the lord Woodvile's going over; using for a principal argument, to demonstrate that it was without his privity, for that

the troops were so small, as neither had the face of a succour by authority, nor could much advance the Briton affairs. To which message although the French King gave no full credit, yet he made fair weather with the King, and seemed satisfied. Soon after the English ambassadors returned, having two of them been likewise with the duke of Britain, and found things in no other terms than they were before. Upon their return, they informed the King of the state of the affairs, and how far the French King was from any true meaning of peace; and therefore he was now to advise of some other course: neither was the King himself led all this while with credulity merely, as was generally supposed: but his error was not so much facility of belief, as an ill measuring of the forces of the other party.

For, as was partly touched before, the King had cast the business thus with himself. He took it for granted in his own judgment, that the war of Britain, in respect of the strength of the towns and of the party, could not speedily come to a period. For he conceived, that the counsels of a war, that was undertaken by the French King, then childless, against an heir apparent of France, would be very faint and slow; and, besides, that it was not possible, but that the state of France should be embroiled with some troubles and alterations in favour of the duke of Orleans. He conceived likewise that Maximilian King of the Romans was a Prince warlike and potent; who, he made account, would give succours to the Britons roundly. So then judging it would be a work of time, he laid his plot, how he might best make use of that time for his own affairs. Wherein first he thought to make his vantage upon his parliament; knowing that they being affectionate unto the quarrel of Britain, would give treasure largely: which treasure, as a noise of war might draw forth, so a peace succeeding might coffer up. And

because he knew his people were hot upon the business, he chose rather to seem to be deceived, and lulled asleep by the French, than to be backward in himself; considering his subjects were not so fully capable of the reasons of state, which made him hold back. Wherefore to all these purposes he saw no other expedient, than to set and keep on foot a continual treaty of peace, laying it down, and taking it up again, as the occurrence required. Besides, he had in consideration the point of honour, in bearing the blessed person of a pacificator. He thought likewise to make use of the envy that the French King met with, by occasion of this war of Britain, in strengthening himself with new alliances; as namely, that of Ferdinando of Spain, with whom he had ever a consent even in nature and customs; and likewise with Maximilian, who was particularly interested. So that in substance he promised himself money, honour, friends, and peace in the end. But those things were too fine to be fortunate and succeed in all parts; for that great affairs are commonly too rough and stubborn to be wrought upon by the finer edges or points of wit. The King was likewise deceived in his two main grounds. For although he had reason to conceive that the council of France would be wary to put the King into a war against the heir apparent of France; yet he did not consider that Charles was not guided by any of the principal of the blood or nobility, but by mean men, who would make it their masterpiece of credit and favour, to give venturous counsels, which no great or wise man durst or would. And for Maximilian, he was thought then a greater matter than he was; his unstable and necessitous courses being not then known.

After consultation with the ambassadors, who brought him no other news than he expected before, though he would not seem to know it till then, he presently summoned

his parliament, and in open parliament propounded the cause of Britain to both houses, by his chancellor Morton archbishop of Canterbury, who spake to this effect.

“MY lords and masters, the King’s grace, our sovereign lord, hath commanded me to declare unto you the causes 5
“that have moved him at this time to summon this his
“parliament; which I shall do in few words, craving pardon
“of his grace, and you all, if I perform it not as I would.

“His grace doth first of all let you know, that he
“retaineth in thankful memory the love and loyalty shewed 10
“to him by you, at your last meeting, in establishment of
“his royalty; freeing and discharging of his partakers, and
“confiscation of his traitors and rebels; more than which
“could not come from subjects to their sovereign, in one
“action. This he taketh so well at your hands, as he hath 15
“made it a resolution to himself, to communicate with so
“loving and well approved subjects, in all affairs that are of
“public nature, at home or abroad.

“Two therefore are the causes of your present as-
“sembling: the one, a foreign business; the other, matter of 20
“government at home.

“The French King, as no doubt ye have heard, maketh
“at this present hot war upon the duke of Britain. His
“army is now before Nantz, and holdeth it straitly besieged,
“being the principal city, if not in ceremony and preemi- 25
“nence, yet in strength and wealth, of that duchy. Ye may
“guess at his hopes, by his attempting of the hardest part of
“the war first. The cause of this war he knoweth best.
“He allegeth the entertaining and succouring of the duke
“of Orleans, and some other French lords, whom the King 30
“taketh for his enemies. Others divine of other matters.
“Both parts have, by their ambassadors, divers times prayed
“the King’s aids; the French King aids or neutrality; the

“ Britons aids simply ; for so their case requireth. The King,
“ as a Christian Prince, and blessed son of the holy church,
“ hath offered himself, as a mediator, to treat of peace
“ between them. The French King yielded to treat, but
5 “ will not stay the prosecution of the war. The Britons,
“ that desire peace most, hearken to it least ; not upon con-
“ fidence or stiffness, but upon distrust of true meaning,
“ seeing the war goes on. So as the King, after as much
“ pains and care to effect a peace, as ever he took in any
10 “ business, not being able to remove the prosecution on the
“ one side, nor the distrust on the other, caused by that pro-
“ secution, hath let fall the treaty ; not repenting of it, but
“ despairing of it now, as not likely to succeed. Therefore
“ by this narrative you now understand the state of the
15 “ question, whereupon the King prayeth your advice ; which
“ is no other, but whether he shall enter into an auxiliary
“ and defensive war for the Britons against France ?

“ And the better to open your understandings in this
“ affair, the King hath commanded me to say somewhat to
20 “ you from him, of the persons that do intervene in this
“ business ; and somewhat of the consequence thereof, as it
“ hath relation to this kingdom, and somewhat of the ex-
“ ample of it in general : making nevertheless no conclusion
“ or judgment of any point, until his grace hath received
25 “ your faithful and politic advices.

“ First, for the King our sovereign himself, who is the
“ principal person, you are to eye in this business ; his grace
“ doth profess, that he truly and constantly desireth to reign
“ in peace. But his grace saith, he will neither buy peace
30 “ with dishonour, nor take it up at interest of danger to
“ ensue ; but shall think it a good change, if it please God
“ to change the inward troubles and seditions, wherewith he
“ hath been hitherto exercised, into an honourable foreign

“war. And for the other two persons in this action, the
 “French King and the duke of Britain, his grace doth
 “declare unto you, that they be the men unto whom he is
 “of all other friends and allies most bounden: the one
 “having held over him his hand of protection from the 5
 “tyrant; the other having reached forth unto him his hand
 “of help for the recovery of his kingdom. So that his
 “affection toward them in his natural person, is upon equal
 “terms. And whereas you may have heard, that his grace
 “was enforced to fly out of Britain into France, for doubts 10
 “of being betrayed; his grace would not in any sort have
 “that reflect upon the duke of Britain, in defacement of his
 “former benefits; for that he is thoroughly informed, that it
 “was but the practice of some corrupt persons about him,
 “during the time of his sickness, altogether without his con- 15
 “sent or privity.

“But howsoever these things do interest his grace in
 “this particular, yet he knoweth well, that the higher bond
 “that tieth him to procure by all means the safety and
 “welfare of his loving subjects, doth disinterest him of these 20
 “obligations of gratitude, otherwise than thus; that if his
 “grace be forced to make a war, he do it without passion
 “or ambition.

“For the consequence of this action towards this king-
 “dom, it is much as the French King’s intention is. For if 25
 “it be no more, but to range his subjects to reason, who
 “bear themselves stout upon the strength of the duke of
 “Britain, it is nothing to us. But if it be in the French
 “King’s purpose, or if it should not be in purpose, yet if it
 “should follow all one, as if it were sought, that the French 30
 “King shall make a province of Britain, and join it to the
 “crown of France; then it is worthy the consideration, how
 “this may import England, as well in the increasement of

“ the greatness of France, by the addition of such a country,
“ that stretcheth his boughs into our seas, as in depriving
“ this nation, and leaving it naked of so firm and assured
“ confederates as the Britons have always been. For then
5 “ it will come to pass, that whereas not long since this realm
“ was mighty upon the continent, first in territory, and after
“ in alliance, in respect of Burgundy and Britain, which were
“ confederates indeed, but independent confederates; now
“ the one being already cast, partly into the greatness of
10 “ France, and partly into that of Austria, the other is like
“ wholly to be cast into the greatness of France; and this
“ island shall remain confined in effect within the salt waters,
“ and girt about with the coast countries of two mighty
“ monarchs.

15 “ For the example, it resteth likewise upon the same
“ question, upon the French King’s intent. For if Britain
“ be carried and swallowed up by France, as the world
“ abroad, apt to impute and construe the actions of Princes
“ to ambition, conceive it will; then it is an example very
20 “ dangerous and universal, that the lesser neighbour state
“ should be devoured of the greater. For this may be the
“ case of Scotland towards England; of Portugal towards
“ Spain; of the smaller estates of Italy towards the greater;
“ and so of Germany; or as if some of you of the commons
25 “ might not live and dwell safely besides some of these
“ great lords. And the bringing in of this example will be
“ chiefly laid to the King’s charge, as to him that was most
“ interested, and most able to forbid it. But then on the
“ other side, there is so fair a pretext on the French King’s
30 “ part, and yet pretext is never wanting to power, in regard
“ the danger imminent to his own estate is such, as may
“ make this enterprise seem rather a work of necessity than
“ of ambition, as doth in reason correct the danger of the

“ example. For that the example of that which is done in
 “ a man’s own defence, cannot be dangerous ; because it is
 “ in another’s power to avoid it. But in all this business,
 “ the King remits himself to your grave and mature advice,
 “ whereupon he purposeth to rely.”

5

This was the effect of the lord Chancellor’s Speech touching the cause of Britain; for the King had commanded him to carry it so, as to affect the parliament towards the business; but without engaging the King in any express declaration.

10

The Chancellor went on :

“ For that which may concern the government at home,
 “ the King hath commanded me to say unto you; that he
 “ thinketh there was never any King, for the small time that
 “ he hath reigned, had greater and juster cause of the two 15
 “ contrary passions of joy and sorrow, than his grace hath.
 “ Joy, in respect of the rare and visible favours of Almighty
 “ God, in girding the imperial sword upon his side, and
 “ assisting the same his sword against all his enemies; and
 “ likewise in blessing him with so many good and loving 20
 “ servants and subjects, which have never failed to give him
 “ faithful counsel, ready obedience, and courageous defence.
 “ Sorrow, for that it hath not pleased God to suffer him to
 “ sheathe his sword, as he greatly desired, otherwise than for
 “ administration of justice, but that he hath been forced to 25
 “ draw it so oft, to cut off traitorous and disloyal subjects,
 “ whom, it seems, God hath left, a few amongst many good,
 “ as the Canaanites amongst the people of Israel, to be
 “ thorns in their sides, to tempt and try them; though the
 “ end hath been always, God’s name be blessed therefore, 30
 “ that the destruction hath fallen upon their own heads.

“ Wherefore his grace saith ; That he seeth that it is not
 “ the blood spilt in the field that will save the blood in the

“city; nor the marshal’s sword that will set this kingdom in
“perfect peace: but that the true way is, to stop the seeds
“of sedition and rebellion in their beginning; and for that
“purpose to devise, confirm, and quicken good and whole-
5 “some laws against riots, and unlawful assemblies of people,
“and all combinations and confederacies of them, by live-
“ries, tokens, and other badges of factious dependence,
“that the peace of the land may by these ordinances, as by
“bars of iron, be soundly bound in and strengthened, and
10 “all force, both in court, country, and private houses, be
“supprest. The care hereof, which so much concerneth
“yourselves, and which the nature of the times doth in-
“stantly call for, his grace commends to your wisdoms.

“And because it is the King’s desire, that this peace,
15 “wherein he hopeth to govern and maintain you, do not
“bear only unto you leaves, for you to sit under the shade
“of them in safety; but also should bear you fruit of riches,
“wealth, and plenty: therefore his grace prays you to take
“into consideration matter of trade, as also the manufactures
20 “of the kingdom, and to repress the bastard and barren
“employment of moneys to usury and unlawful exchanges;
“that they may be, as their natural use is, turned upon
“commerce, and lawful and royal trading. And likewise
“that our people be set on work in arts and handicrafts;
25 “that the realm may subsist more of itself; that idleness be
“avoided, and the draining out of our treasure for foreign
“manufactures stopped. But you are not to rest here only,
“but to provide farther, that whatsoever merchandise shall
“be brought in from beyond the seas, may be employed
30 “upon the commodities of this land; whereby the king-
“dom’s stock of treasure may be sure to be kept from being
“diminished by any over-trading of the foreigner.

“And lastly, because the King is well assured, that you

“would not have him poor, that wishes you rich ; he doubt-
 “eth not but that you will have care, as well to maintain his
 “revenues of customs and all other natures, as also to sup-
 “ply him with your loving aids, if the case shall so require.
 “The rather, for that you know the King is a good husband, 5
 “and but a steward in effect for the public; and that what
 “comes from you, is but as moisture drawn from the earth,
 “which gathers into a cloud, and falls back upon the earth
 “again. And you know well how the kingdoms about you
 “grow more and more in greatness, and the times are stir- 10
 “ring ; and therefore not fit to find the King with an empty
 “purse. More I have not to say to you ; and wish, that
 “what hath been said, had been better expressed : but that
 “your wisdoms and good affections will supply. God bless
 “your doings.” 15

It was no hard matter to dispose and affect the parlia-
 ment in this business ; as well in respect of the emulation
 between the nations, and the envy at the late growth of the
 French monarchy ; as in regard of the danger to suffer the
 French to make their approaches upon England, by obtain- 20
 ing so goodly a maritime province, full of seatowns and
 havens, that might do mischief to the English, either by in-
 vasion or by interruption of traffic. The parliament was also
 moved with the point of oppression : for although the French
 seemed to speak reason, yet arguments are ever with multi- 25
 tudes too weak for suspicions. Wherefore they did advise
 the King roundly to embrace the Britons’ quarrel, and to
 send them speedy aids ; and with much alacrity and for-
 wardness granted to the King a great rate of subsidy, in
 contemplation of these aids. But the King, both to keep a 30
 decency towards the French King, to whom he professed
 himself to be obliged, and indeed desirous rather to shew

war, than to make it ; sent new solemn ambassadors to intimate unto him the decree of his estates, and to iterate his motion, that the French would desist from hostility ; or if war must follow, to desire him to take it in good part, if at
5 the motion of his people, who were sensible of the cause of the Britons as their ancient friends and confederates, he did send them succours ; with protestation nevertheless, that, to save all treaties and laws of friendship, he had limited his forces, to proceed in aid of the Britons, but in no wise to
10 war upon the French, otherwise than as they maintained the possession of Britain. But before this formal ambassage arrived, the party of the duke had received a great blow, and grew to manifest declination. For near the town of
15 St. Alban in Britain, a battle had been given, where the Britons were overthrown, and the duke of Orleans, and the prince of Orange taken prisoners, there being slain on the Britons' part six thousand men, and amongst them the lord Woodvile, and almost all his soldiers, valiantly fighting. And of the French part, one thousand two hundred, with
20 their leader James Galeot a great commander.

When the news of this battle came over into England, it was time for the King, who now had no subterfuge to continue farther treaty, and saw before his eyes that Britain went so speedily for lost, contrary to his hopes ; knowing
25 also that with his people, and foreigners both, he sustained no small envy and disreputation for his former delays, to despatch with all possible speed his succours into Britain ; which he did under the conduct of Robert lord Brook, to the number of eight thousand choice men and well armed ;
30 who having a fair wind, in few hours landed in Britain, and joined themselves forthwith to those Briton forces that remained after the defeat, and marched straight on to find the enemy, and encamped fast by them. The French wisely

husbanding the possession of a victory, and well acquainted with the courage of the English, especially when they are fresh, kept themselves within their trenches, being strongly lodged, and resolved not to give battle. But meanwhile, to harass and weary the English, they did upon all advantages set upon them with their light horse; wherein nevertheless they received commonly loss, especially by means of the English archers. 5

But upon these achievements Francis duke of Britain deceased; an accident that the King might easily have fore- seen, and ought to have reckoned upon and provided for, but that the point of reputation, when news first came of the battle lost, that somewhat must be done, did overbear the reason of war. 10

After the duke's decease, the principal persons of Britain, partly bought, partly through faction, put all things into confusion; so as the English not finding head or body with whom to join their forces, and being in jealousy of friends, as well as in danger of enemies, and the winter begun, returned home five months after their landing. So the battle of St. Alban, the death of the duke, and the retire of the English succours, were, after some time, the causes of the loss of that duchy; which action some accounted as a blemish of the King's judgment, but most but as the misfortune of his times. 20 25

But howsoever the temporary fruit of the parliament, in their aid and advice given for Britain, took not, nor prospered not; yet the lasting fruit of parliament, which is good and wholesome laws, did prosper, and doth yet continue to this day. For, according to the lord Chancellor's admonition, there were that parliament divers excellent laws ordained concerning the points which the King recommended. 30

First, the authority of the star-chamber, which before

subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions of this kingdom. For in the distribution of courts of ordinary justice, besides
5 the high court of parliament, in which distribution the King's bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the common-
place pleas civil, the exchequer pleas concerning the King's revenue, and the chancery the Pretorian power for mitigating
10 the rigour of law, in case of extremity, by the conscience
of a good man; there was nevertheless always reserved a high and preeminent power to the King's council, in causes that might in example or consequence concern the state of the commonwealth; which if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber called the star-
15 chamber; if civil, in the white-chamber or white-hall. And as the chancery had the Pretorian power for equity; so the star-chamber had the Censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of star-chamber is com-
20 pounded of good elements, for it consisteth of four kinds of
persons, counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally of four kinds of causes, forces, frauds, crimes various of stellionate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally
25 aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons.

From the general peace of the country the King's care went on to the peace of the King's house, and the security
30 of his great officers and counsellors. But this law was somewhat of a strange composition and temper. That if any of the King's servants under the degree of a lord, do conspire the death of any of the King's council or lord of

the realm, it is made capital. This law was thought to be procured by the lord Chancellor, who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had some mortal enemies in court, provided for his own safety; drowning the envy of it in a general law, by communicating the privilege with all other counsellors and peers, and yet not daring to extend it farther than to the King's servants in check-roll, lest it should have been too harsh to the gentlemen, and other commons of the kingdom; who might have thought their ancient liberty, and the clemency of the laws of England invaded, if the will in any case of felony should be made the deed. And yet the reason which the act yieldeth, that is to say, that he that conspireth the death of counsellors may be thought indirectly, and by a mean, to conspire the death of the King himself, is indifferent to all subjects as well as to servants in court. But it seemeth this sufficed to serve the lord Chancellor's turn at this time. But yet he lived to need a general law, for that he grew afterwards as odious to the country, as he was then to the court.

From the peace of the King's house, the King's care extended to the peace of private houses and families. For there was an excellent moral law moulded thus; the taking and carrying away of women forcibly and against their will, except female-wards and bond-women, was made capital. The parliament wisely and justly conceiving, that the obtaining of women by force into possession, howsoever afterwards assent might follow by allurements, was but a rape drawn forth in length, because the first force drew on all the rest.

There was made also another law for peace in general, and repressing of murders and manslaughters, and was in amendment of the common laws of the realm; being this: That whereas by the common law the King's suit, in case of

homicide, did expect the year and the day, allowed to the party's suit by way of appeal; and that it was found by experience, that the party was many times compounded with, and many times wearied with the suit, so that in the
 5 end such suit was let fall, and by that time the matter was in a manner forgotten, and thereby prosecution at the King's suit by indictment, which is ever best, *flagrante crimine*, neglected; it was ordained, that the suit by indictment might be taken as well at any time within the year and
 10 the day, as after; not prejudicing nevertheless the party's suit.

The King began also then, as well in wisdom as in justice, to pare a little the privilege of clergy, ordaining that clerks convict should be burned in the hand; both because
 15 they might taste of some corporal punishment, and that might carry a brand of infamy. But for this good act's sake, the King himself was after branded by Perkin's proclamation, for an execrable breaker of the rites of holy church.

20 Another law was made for the better peace of the country; by which law the King's officers and farmers were to forfeit their places and holds, in case of unlawful retainer, or partaking in routs and unlawful assemblies.

These were the laws that were made for repressing of
 25 force, which those times did chiefly require; and were so prudently framed, as they are found fit for all succeeding times, and so continue to this day.

There were also made good and politic laws that parliament, against usury, which is the bastard use of money; and
 30 against unlawful chievances and exchanges, which is bastard usury; and also for the security of the King's customs; and for the employment of the procedures of foreign commodities, brought in by merchant-strangers, upon the native

commodities of the realm ; together with some other laws of less importance.

But howsoever the laws made in that Parliament did bear good and wholesome fruit ; yet the subsidy granted at the same time bare a fruit that proved harsh and bitter. All was inned at last into the King's barn, but it was after a storm. For when the commissioners entered into the taxation of the subsidy in Yorkshire, and the bishopric of Durham ; the people upon a sudden grew into great mutiny, and said openly, That they had endured of late years a thousand miseries, and neither could nor would pay the subsidy. This, no doubt, proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of those countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts ; and if the vessel was but stirred, it would come up. And, no doubt, it was partly also by the instigation of some factious malcontents, that bare principal stroke amongst them. Hereupon the commissioners being somewhat astonished, deferred the matter unto the earl of Northumberland, who was the principal man of authority in those parts. The earl forthwith wrote unto the court, signifying to the King plainly enough in what flame he found the people of those countries, and praying the King's direction. The King wrote back peremptorily, That he would not have one penny abated, of that which had been granted to him by parliament ; both because it might encourage other countries, to pray the like release of mitigation ; and chiefly because he would never endure that the base multitude should frustrate the authority of the parliament, wherein their votes and consents were concluded. Upon this despatch from court, the earl assembled the principal justices and freeholders of the country ; and speaking to them in

that imperious language, wherein the King had written to him, which needed not, save that an harsh business was unfortunately fallen into the hands of a harsh man, did not only irritate the people, but make them conceive, by the
5 stoutness and haughtiness of delivery of the King's errand, that himself was the author or principal persuader of that counsel: whereupon the meaner sort routed together, and suddenly assailing the earl in his house, slew him, and divers of his servants: and rested not there, but creating for their
10 leader Sir John Egremont, a factious person, and one, that had of a long time borne an ill talent towards the King; and being animated also by a base fellow, called John a Chamber, a very *boutefeu*, who bare much sway amongst the vulgar and popular, entered into open rebellion; and gave
15 out in flat terms, that they would go against King Henry, and fight with him for the maintenance of their liberties.

When the King was advertised of this new insurrection, being almost a fever that took him every year, after his manner little troubled therewith, he sent Thomas earl of
20 Surrey, whom he had a little before not only released out of the Tower, and pardoned, but also received to special favour, with a competent power against the rebels, who fought with the principal band of them, and defeated them, and took alive John a Chamber their firebrand. As for Sir John
25 Egremont, he fled into Flanders to the lady Margaret of Burgundy, whose palace was the sanctuary and receptacle of all traitors against the King. John a Chamber was executed at York in great state; for he was hanged upon a gibbet raised a stage higher in the midst of a square gal-
30 lows, as a traitor paramount; and a number of his men that were his chief complices, were hanged upon the lower story round about him; and the rest were generally pardoned. Neither did the King himself omit his custom, to be first or

second in all his warlike exploits, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that he desired but to see them. For immediately after he had sent down the earl of Surrey, he marched towards them himself in person. And although in his journey he heard news of the victory, yet he went on as far as York, to pacify and settle those countries: and that done, returned to London, leaving the earl of Surrey for his lieutenant in the northern parts, and Sir Richard Tunstal for his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, whereof he did not remit a denier. 5 10

About the same time that the King lost so good a servant as the earl of Northumberland, he lost likewise a faithful friend and ally of James the third, King of Scotland, by a miserable disaster. For this unfortunate Prince, after a long smother of discontent, and hatred of many of his nobility and people, breaking forth at times into seditions and alterations of court, was at last distressed by them, having taken arms, and surprised the person of Prince James his son, partly by force, partly by threats, that they would otherwise deliver up the kingdom to the King of England, to shadow their rebellion, and to be the titular and painted head of those arms. Whereupon the King, finding himself too weak, sought unto King Henry, as also unto the Pope, and the King of France, to compose those troubles between him and his subjects. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediation in a round and princely manner: not only by way of request and persuasion, but also by way of protestation and menace; declaring, That they thought it to be the common cause of all Kings, if subjects should be suffered to give laws unto their sovereign; and that they would accordingly resent it, and revenge it. But the rebels, that had shaken off the greater yoke of obedience, had likewise cast away the lesser tie of respect. And fury prevailing above 15 20 25 30

fear, made answer; That there was no talking of peace, except the King would resign his crown. Whereupon, treaty of accord taking no place, it came to a battle of Bannocksbourn by Strivelin: in which battle the King, transported
5 with wrath and just indignation, inconsiderately fighting and precipitating the charge, before his whole numbers came up to him, was, notwithstanding the contrary express and strait commandment of the Prince his son, slain in the pursuit, being fled to a mill, situate in the field, where the battle was
10 fought.

As for the Pope's embassy, which was sent by Adrian de Castello an Italian legate, and perhaps as those times were, might have prevailed more, it came too late for the embassy, but not for the ambassador. For passing through
15 England, and being honourably entertained, and received of King Henry, who ever applied himself with much respect to the see of Rome, he fell into great grace with the King, and great familiarity and friendship with Morton the Chancellor: insomuch as the King taking a liking to him, and finding
20 him to his mind, preferred him to the bishopric of Hereford, and afterwards to that of Bath and Wells, and employed him in many of his affairs of state, that had relation to Rome. He was a man of great learning, wisdom, and dexterity in business of state; and having not long after as-
25 cended to the degree of cardinal, paid the King large tribute of his gratitude, in diligent and judicious advertisement of the occurrents of Italy. Nevertheless, in the end of his time, he was partaker of the conspiracy, which cardinal Alphonso Petrucci and some other cardinals had plotted
30 against the life of Pope Leo. And this offence, in itself so heinous, was yet in him aggravated by the motive thereof, which was not malice or discontent, but an aspiring mind to the papacy. And in this height of impiety there wanted not

an intermixture of levity and folly; for that, as was generally believed, he was animated to expect the papacy by a fatal mockery, the prediction of a soothsayer, which was, "That
 "one should succeed Pope Leo, whose name should be
 "Adrian, an aged man of mean birth, and of great learning 5
 "and wisdom." By which character and figure he took himself to be described, though it were fulfilled of Adrian the Fleming, son of a Dutch brewer, cardinal of Tortosa, and preceptor unto Charles the fifth; the same that, not changing his christian name, was afterwards called Adrian 10
 the sixth.

But these things happened in the year following, which was the fifth of this King. But in the end of the fourth year the King had called again his parliament, not, as it seemeth, for any particular occasion of state: but the former 15
 parliament being ended somewhat suddenly, in regard of the preparation for Britain, the King thought he had not remunerated his people sufficiently with good laws, which evermore was his retribution for treasure. And finding by the insurrection in the north, there was discontentment 20
 abroad, in respect of the subsidy, he thought it good to give his subjects yet farther contentment and comfort in that kind. Certainly his times for good commonwealths' laws did excel. So as he may justly be celebrated for the best
 lawgiver to this nation; after King Edward the first: for his 25
 laws, whoso marks them well, are deep, and not vulgar; not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence of the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy; after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times. 30

First therefore he made a law, suitable to his own acts and times: for as himself had in his person and marriage made a final concord, in the great suit and title for the

crown ; so by this law he settled the like peace and quiet in the private possessions of the subjects : ordaining, "That
" fines thenceforth should be final, to conclude all strangers'
" rights ;" and that upon fines levied, and solemnly pro-
5 claimed, the subject should have his time of watch for five
years after his title accrued ; which if he forepassed, his
right should be bound for ever after ; with some exception
nevertheless of minors, married women, and such incompe-
tent persons.

10 This statute did in effect but restore an ancient statute
of the realm, which was itself also made but in affirmance of
the common law. The alteration had been by a statute,
commonly called the statute of *non-claim*, made in the time
of Edward the third. And surely this law was a kind of
15 prognostic of the good peace, which since his time hath, for
the most part, continued in this kingdom until this day : for
statutes of *non-claim* are fit for times of war, when men's
heads are troubled, that they cannot intend their estate ;
but statutes that quiet possessions, are fittest for times of
20 peace, to extinguish suits and contentions, which is one of
the banes of peace.

Another statute was made, of singular policy, for the
population apparently, and, if it be thoroughly considered,
for the soldiery and military forces of the realm.

25 Inclosures at that time began to be more frequent,
whereby arable land, which could not be manured without
people and families, was turned into pasture, which was
easily rid by a few herdsmen ; and tenances for years, lives,
and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived, were
30 turned into demesnes. This bred a decay of people, and, by
consequence, a decay of towns, churches, tithes, and the
like. The King likewise knew full well, and in no wise
forgot, that there ensued withal upon this a decay and dimi-

nution of subsidies and taxes ; for the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies. In remedying of this inconvenience the King's wisdom was admirable, and the parliament's at that time. Inclosures they would not forbid, for that had been to forbid the improvement of the patrimony 5 of the kingdom ; nor tillage they would not compel, for that was to strive with nature and utility: but they took a course to take away depopulating inclosures and depopulating pasturage, and yet not by that name, or by any imperious express prohibition, but by consequence. The ordinance 10 was, "That all houses of husbandry, that were used with "twenty acres of ground and upwards, should be maintained "and kept up for ever ; together with a competent propor- "tion of land to be used and occupied with them ;" and in no wise to be severed from them as by another statute, made 15 afterwards in his successor's time, was more fully declared : this upon forfeiture to be taken, not by way of popular action, but by seizure of the land itself by the King and lords of the fee, as to half the profits, till the houses and lands were restored. By this means the houses being kept 20 up, did of necessity enforce a dweller ; and the proportion of land for occupation being kept up, did of necessity enforce that dweller not to be a beggar or cottager, but a man of some substance, that might keep hinds and servants, and set the plough on going. This did wonderfully concern the 25 might and mannerhood of the kingdom, to have farms as it were of a standard, sufficient to maintain an able body out of penury, and did in effect amortise a great part of the lands of the kingdom unto the hold and occupation of the yeomanry or middle people, of a condition between gentle- 30 men and cottagers or peasants. Now, how much this did advance the military power of the kingdom, is apparent by the true principles of war and the examples of other king-

doms. For it hath been held by the general opinion of men of best judgment in the wars, howsoever some few have varied, and that it may receive some distinction of case, that the principal strength of an army consisteth in the
5 infantry or foot. And to make good infantry, it requireth men bred, not in a servile or indigent fashion, but in some free and plentiful manner. Therefore if a state run most to noblemen and gentlemen, and that the husbandmen and ploughmen be but as their workfolks and labourers, or else
10 mere cottagers, which are but housed beggars, you may have a good cavalry but never good stable bands of foot; like to coppice woods, that if you leave in them staddles too thick, they will run to bushes and briars, and have little clean underwood. And this is to be seen in France and Italy,
15 and some other parts abroad, where in effect all is noblesse or peasantry, I speak of people out of towns, and no middle people; and therefore no good forces of foot: insomuch as they are enforced to employ mercenary bands of Switzers, and the like, for their battalions of foot. Whereby
20 also it comes to pass, that those nations have much people, and few soldiers. Whereas the King saw, that contrariwise it would follow, that England, though much less in territory, yet should have infinitely more soldiers of their native forces than those other nations have. Thus did the King secretly
25 sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom.

The King also, having care to make his realm potent, as well by sea as by land, for the better maintenance of the
30 navy, ordained; "That wines and woads from the parts of "Gascoign and Languedoc, should not be brought but in "English bottoms;" bowing the ancient policy of this estate, from consideration of plenty to consideration of power. For

that almost all the ancient statutes incite by all means merchant-strangers, to bring in all sorts of commodities ; having for end cheapness, and not looking to the point of state concerning the naval power.

The King also made a statute in that parliament, monitory and minatory towards justices of peace, that they should 5
duly execute their office, inviting complaints against them, first to their fellow-justices, then to the justices of assize, then to the King or Chancellor ; and that a proclamation which he had published of that tenor, should be read in 10
open sessions four times a year, to keep them awake. Meaning also to have his laws executed, and thereby to reap either obedience or forfeitures, wherein towards his latter times he did decline too much to the left hand, he did ordain remedy against the practice that was grown 15
in use, to stop and damp informations upon penal laws, by procuring informations by collusion to be put in by the confederates of the delinquents, to be faintly prosecuted, and let fall at pleasure ; and pleading them in bar of the informations, which were prosecuted with 20
effect.

He made also laws for the correction of the mint, and counterfeiting of foreign coin current. And that no payment in gold should be made to any merchant stranger, the better to keep treasure within the realm, for that gold was 25
the metal that lay in the least room.

He made also statutes for the maintenance of drapery, and the keeping of wools within the realm ; and not only so, but for stinting and limiting the prices of cloth, one for the finer, and another for the coarser sort. Which I note, both 30
because it was a rare thing to set prices by statute, especially upon our home commodities ; and because of the wise model of this act, not prescribing prices, but stinting them

not to exceed a rate ; that the clothier might drape accordingly as he might afford.

Divers other good statutes were made that parliament, but these were the principal. And here I do desire those
5 into whose hands this work shall fall, that they do take in good part my long insisting upon the laws that were made in this King's reign. Whereof I have these reasons ; both because it was the preeminent virtue and merit of this King, to whose memory I do honour ; and because it hath some
10 correspondence to my person ; but chiefly because, in my judgment, it is some defect even in the best writers of history, that they do not often enough summarily deliver and set down the most memorable laws that passed in the times whereof they writ, being indeed the principal acts of
15 peace. For though they may be had in original books of law themselves ; yet that informeth not the judgment of Kings and counsellors, and persons of estate, so well as to see them described, and entered in the table and portrait of the times.

20 About the same time the King had a loan from the city of four thousand pounds ; which was double to that they lent before, and was duly and orderly paid back at the day, as the former likewise had been : the King ever choosing rather to borrow too soon, than to pay too late, and so
25 keeping up his credit.

Neither had the King yet cast off his cares and hopes touching Britain, but thought to master the occasion by policy, though his arms had been unfortunate ; and to bereave the French King of the fruit of his victory. The
30 sum of his design was, to encourage Maximilian to go on with his suit, for the marriage of Anne, the heir of Britain, and to aid him to the consummation thereof. But the affairs of Maximilian were at that time in great trouble and com-

bustion, by a rebellion of his subjects in Flanders; especially those of Bruges and Gaunt, whereof the town of Bruges, at such time as Maximilian was there in person, had suddenly armed in tumult, and slain some of his principal officers, and taken himself prisoner, and held him in durance, 5
 till they had enforced him and some of his counsellors, to take a solemn oath to pardon all their offences, and never to question and revenge the same in time to come. Nevertheless Frederick the emperor would not suffer this reproach and indignity offered to his son to pass, but made 10
 sharp wars upon Flanders, to reclaim and chastise the rebels. But the lord Ravenstein, a principal person about Maximilian, and one that had taken the oath of abolition with his master, pretending the religion thereof, but indeed upon private ambition, and, as it was thought, instigated and corrupted 15
 from France, forsook the emperor and Maximilian his lord, and made himself an head of the popular party, and seized upon the towns of Ypres and Sluice with both the castles: and forthwith sent to the lord Cordes, governor of Picardy under the French King, to desire aid; and to move 20
 him, that he, on the behalf of the French King, would be protector of the united towns, and by force of arms reduce the rest. The lord Cordes was ready to embrace the occasion, which was partly of his own setting, and sent forthwith greater forces than it had been possible for him to raise on 25
 the sudden, if he had not looked for such a summons before, in aid of the lord Ravenstein and the Flemings, with instructions to invest the towns between France and Bruges. The French forces besieged a little town called Dixmude, where part of the Flemish forces joined with them. While 30
 they lay at this siege, the King of England, upon pretence of the safety of the English pale about Calais, but in truth being loth that Maximilian should become contemptible, and

thereby be shaken off by the states of Britain about this marriage, sent over the lord Morley with a thousand men, unto the lord Daubeney, then deputy of Calais, with secret instructions to aid Maximilian, and to raise the siege of Dixmude. The lord Daubeney, giving it out that all was for the strengthening of the English marches, drew out of the garrisons of Calais, Hammes and Guines, to the number of a thousand men more. So that with the fresh succours that came under the conduct of the lord Morley, they made up
10 to the number of two thousand or better. Which forces joining with some companies of Almaines, put themselves into Dixmude, not perceived by the enemies; and passing through the town with some reinforcement, from the forces that were in the town, assailed the enemies' camp negligently
15 guarded, as being out of fear; where there was a bloody fight, in which the English and their partakers obtained the victory, and slew to the number of eight thousand men, with the loss on the English part of a hundred or thereabouts; amongst whom was the lord Morley. They took
20 also their great ordnance, with much rich spoils, which they carried to Newport; whence the lord Daubeney returned to Calais, leaving the hurt men and some other voluntaries in Newport. But the lord Cordes being at Ypres with a great power of men, thinking to recover the loss and
25 disgrace of the fight at Dixmude, came presently on, and sat down before Newport, and besieged it; and after some days' siege, he resolved to try the fortune of an assault. Which he did one day, and succeeded therein so far, that he had taken the principal tower and fort in that city, and planted
30 upon it the French banner. Whence nevertheless they were presently beaten forth by the English, by the help of some fresh succours of archers, arriving by good fortune, at the instant, in the haven of Newport. Whereupon the lord

Cordes, discouraged, and measuring the new succours, which were small, by the success, which was great, levied his siege. By this means matters grew more exasperate between the two Kings of England and France, for that, in the war of Flanders, the auxiliary forces of French and English were much blooded one against another. Which blood rankled the more, by the vain words of the lord Cordes, that declared himself an open enemy of the English, beyond that that appertained to the present service; making it a common by-word of his, "That he could be content to lie in hell seven
5
10
"years, so he might win Calais from the English."

The King having thus upheld the reputation of Maximilian, advised him now to press on his marriage with Britain to a conclusion. Which Maximilian accordingly did, and so far forth prevailed, both with the young lady
15
and with the principal persons about her, as the marriage was consummated by proxy, with a ceremony at that time in these parts new. For she was not only publicly contracted, but stated, as a bride, and solemnly bedded. This done, Maximilian, whose property was to leave things then when
20
they were almost come to perfection, and to end them by imagination; like ill archers, that draw not their arrows up to the head; thinking now all assured, neglected for a time his further proceeding, and intended his wars. Meanwhile the French King, consulting with his divines, and finding
25
that this pretended consummation was rather an invention of court, than any ways valid by the laws of the church, went more really to work, and by secret instruments and cunning agents, as well matrons about the young lady as counsellors, first sought to remove the point of religion and
30
honour out of the mind of the lady herself, wherein there was a double labour. For Maximilian was not only contracted unto the lady, but Maximilian's daughter was like-

wise contracted to King Charles. So as the marriage halted upon both feet, and was not clear on either side. But for the contract with King Charles, the exception lay plain and fair; for that Maximilian's daughter was under years of consent, and so not bound by law, but a power of disagreement left to either part. But for the contract made by Maximilian with the lady herself, they were harder driven: having nothing to allege, but that it was done without the consent of her sovereign lord King Charles, whose ward and client she was, and he to her in place of a father; and therefore it was void and of no force for want of such consent. So that the young lady, wrought upon by these reasons, finely instilled by such as the French King, who spared for no rewards or promises, had made on his side; and allured likewise by the present glory and greatness of King Charles, being also a young King, and a bachelor, and loth to make her country the seat of a long and miserable war; secretly yielded to accept of King Charles. But during this secret treaty with the lady, the better to save it from blasts of opposition and interruption, King Charles resorting to his wonted arts, and thinking to carry the marriage as he had carried the wars, by entertaining the King of England in vain belief, sent a solemn ambassage by Francis lord of Luxemburg, Charles Marignian, and Robert Gagvien, general of the order of the *bons-hommes* of the Trinity, to treat a peace and league with the King; accoupling it with an article in the nature of a request, that the French King might with the King's good-will, according unto his right of seigniory and tutelage, dispose of the marriage of the young duchess of Britain, as he should think good; offering by a judicial proceeding to make void the marriage of Maximilian by proxy. Also all this while, the better to amuse the world, he did continue in

his court and custody the daughter of Maximilian, who formerly had been sent unto him, to be bred and educated in France; not dismissing or renvoying her, but contrariwise professing and giving out strongly, that he meant to proceed with that match. And that for the duchess of Britain, he desired only to preserve his right of seigniory, and to give her in marriage to some such ally as might depend upon him. 5

When the three commissioners came to the court of England, they delivered their ambassage unto the King, who remitted them to his council; where some days after they had audience, and made their proposition by the prior of the Trinity, who though he were third in place, yet was held the best speaker of them, to this effect. 10

“My lords, the King our master, the greatest and mightiest King that reigned in France since Charles the Great, whose name he beareth, hath nevertheless thought it no disparagement to his greatness at this time to propound a peace; yea, and to pray a peace with the King of England. For which purpose he hath sent us his commissioners, instructed and enabled with full and ample power to treat and conclude; giving us further in charge, to open in some other business the secrets of his own intentions. These be indeed the precious love tokens between great Kings, to communicate one with another the true state of their affairs, and to pass by nice points of honour, which ought not to give law unto affection. This I do assure your lordships; it is not possible for you to imagine the true and cordial love that the King our master beareth to your sovereign, except you were near him as we are. He useth his name with so great respect; he remembereth their first acquaintance at Paris with so great contentment; nay, he never speaks of him, but that pre- 15
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“sently he falls into discourse of the miseries of great
 “Kings, in that they cannot converse with their equals, but
 “with servants. This affection to your King’s person and
 “virtues God hath put into the heart of our master, no
 5 “doubt for the good of Christendom, and for purposes yet
 “unknown to us all. For other root it cannot have, since
 “it was the same to the earl of Richmond, that it is now to
 “the King of England. This is therefore the first motive
 “that makes our King to desire peace and league with your
 10 “sovereign: good affection, and somewhat that he finds in
 “his own heart. This affection is also armed with reason
 “of estate. For our King doth in all candour and frankness
 “of dealing open himself unto you; that having an honour-
 “able, yea, and an holy purpose, to make a voyage and war
 15 “in remote parts, he considereth that it will be of no small
 “effect, in point of reputation to his enterprise, if it be
 “known abroad that he is in good peace with all his neigh-
 “bour Princes, and especially with the King of England,
 “whom for good causes he esteemeth most.

20 “But now, my lords, give me leave to use a few words
 “to remove all scruples and misunderstandings, between
 “your sovereign and ours, concerning some late actions;
 “which if they be not cleared, may perhaps hinder this
 “peace; to the end, that for matters past neither King
 25 “may conceive unkindness of other, nor think the other
 “conceiveth unkindness of him. The late actions are two;
 “that of Britain, and that of Flanders. In both which it is
 “true, that the subjects’ swords of both Kings have encoun-
 “tered and stricken, and the ways and inclinations also of
 30 “the two Kings, in respect of their confederates and allies,
 “have severed.

“For that of Britain, the King your sovereign knoweth
 “best what hath passed. It was a war of necessity on our

“master’s part. And though the motives of it were sharp
 “and piquant as could be, yet did he make that war rather
 “with an olive-branch, than a laurel-branch in his hand,
 “more desiring peace than victory. Besides, from time to
 “time he sent, as it were, blank papers to your King, to 5
 “write the conditions of peace. For though both his
 “honour and safety went upon it, yet he thought neither
 “of them too precious to put into the King of England’s
 “hands. Neither doth our King on the other side make
 “any unfriendly interpretation of your King’s sending of 10
 “succours to the duke of Britain; for the King knoweth
 “well, that many things must be done of Kings for satis-
 “faction of their people; and it is not hard to discern what
 “is a King’s own. But this matter of Britain, is now, by
 “the act of God, ended and passed; and, as the King 15
 “hopeth, like the way of a ship in the sea, without leaving
 “any impression in either of the Kings’ minds: as he is sure
 “for his part it hath not done in his.

“For the action of Flanders: as the former of Britain
 “was a war of necessity, so this was a war of justice; which 20
 “with a good King is of equal necessity with danger of
 “estate, for else he should leave to be a King. The sub-
 “jects of Burgundy are subjects in chief to the crown of
 “France, and their duke the homager and vassal of France.
 “They had wont to be good subjects, howsoever Maximilian 25
 “hath of late distempered them. They fled to the King for
 “justice and deliverance from oppression. Justice he could
 “not deny; purchase he did not seek. This was good for
 “Maximilian, if he could have seen it in people mutinied,
 “to arrest fury, and prevent despair. My lords, it may be 30
 “this I have said is needless, save that the King our master
 “is tender in anything, that may but glance upon the friend-
 “ship of England. The amity between the two Kings, no

“doubt, stands entire and inviolate : and that their subjects’
 “swords have clashed, it is nothing unto the public peace of
 “the crowns ; it being a thing very usual in auxiliary forces
 “of the best and straitest confederates to meet and draw
 5 “blood in the field. Nay, many times there be aids of the
 “same nation on both sides, and yet it is not, for all that, a
 “kingdom divided in itself.

“It resteth, my lords, that I impart unto you a matter,
 “that I know your lordships all will much rejoyce to hear ;
 10 “as that which importeth the Christian commonweal more,
 “than any action that hath happened of long time. The
 “King our master hath a purpose and determination to
 “make war upon the Kingdom of Naples ; being now in the
 “possession of a bastard slip of Aragon, but appertaining
 15 “unto his Majesty by clear and undoubted right ; which if
 “he should not by just arms seek to recover, he could nei-
 “ther acquit his honour nor answer it to his people. But
 “his noble and Christian thoughts rest not here : for his
 “resolution and hope is, to make the reconquest of Naples,
 20 “but as a bridge to transport his forces into Græcia ; and
 “not to spare blood or treasure, if it were to the impawning
 “of his crown, and dispeopling of France, till either he hath
 “overthrown the empire of the Ottomans, or taken it in his
 “way to paradise. The King knoweth well, that this is a
 25 “design that could not arise in the mind of any King, that
 “did not stedfastly look up unto God, whose quarrel this is,
 “and from whom cometh both the will and the deed. But
 “yet it is agreeable to the person that he beareth, though
 “unworthy, of the thrice Christian King and the eldest son
 30 “of the church. Whereunto he is also invited by the ex-
 “ample, in more ancient time, of King Henry the fourth of
 “England, the first renowned King of the House of Lan-
 “caster ; ancestor, though not progenitor to your King,

“who had a purpose towards the end of his time, as you
 “know better, to make an expedition into the Holy Land;
 “and by the example also, present before his eyes, of that
 “honourable and religious war which the King of Spain
 “now maketh, and hath almost brought to perfection, for 5
 “the recovery of the realm of Granada from the Moors.
 “And although this enterprize may seem vast and unmea-
 “sured, for the King to attempt that by his own forces,
 “wherein heretofore a conjunction of most of the Christian
 “Princes hath found work enough; yet his Majesty wisely 10
 “considereth, that sometimes smaller forces being united
 “under one command, are more effectual in proof, though
 “not so promising in opinion and fame, than much greater
 “forces, variously compounded by associations and leagues,
 “which commonly in a short time after their beginnings 15
 “turn to dissociations and divisions. But, my lords, that
 “which is as a voice from heaven, that calleth the King to
 “this enterprize, is a rent at this time in the house of the
 “Ottomans. I do not say but there hath been brother
 “against brother in that house before, but never any that 20
 “had refuge to the arms of the Christians, as now hath
 “Gemes, brother unto Bajazet that reigneth, the far braver
 “man of the two, the other being between a monk and a
 “philosopher, and better read in the Alcoran and Averroes,
 “than able to wield the sceptre of so warlike an empire. 25
 “This therefore is the King our master’s memorable and
 “heroical resolution for an holy war. And because he car-
 “rieth in this the person of a Christian soldier, as well as of
 “a great temporal monarch, he beginneth with humility,
 “and is content for this cause to beg peace at the hands of 30
 “other Christian Kings. There remaineth only rather a
 “civil request than any essential part of our negotiation,
 “which the King maketh to the King your sovereign. The

“King, as all the world knoweth, is lord in chief of the
“duchy of Britain. The marriage of the heir belongeth to
“him as guardian. This is a private patrimonial right, and
“no business of estate: yet nevertheless, to run a fair
5 “course with your King, whom he desires to make another
“himself, and to be one and the same thing with him, his
“request is, that with the King’s favour and consent he may
“dispose of her in marriage, as he thinketh good, and make
“void the intruded and pretended marriage of Maximilian,
10 “according to justice. This, my lords, is all that I have
“to say, desiring your pardon for my weakness in the
“delivery.”

Thus did the French ambassadors, with great shew of
their King’s affection and many sugared words, seek to ad-
15 dulce all matters between the two Kings, having two things
for their ends; the one to keep the King quiet till the mar-
riage of Britain was past; and this was but a summer fruit,
which they thought was almost ripe, and would soon be
gathered. The other was more lasting; and that was to put
20 him into such a temper, as he might be no disturbance or
impediment to the voyage for Italy. The lords of the coun-
cil were silent; and said only, “That they knew the ambas-
“sadors would look for no answer, till they had reported to
“the King;” and so they rose from council. The King
25 could not well tell what to think of the marriage of Britain.
He saw plainly the ambition of the French King was to im-
patronise himself of the duchy; but he wondered he would
bring into his house a litigious marriage, especially consider-
ing who was his successor. But weighing one thing with
30 another he gave Britain for lost; but resolved to make his
profit of this business of Britain, as a quarrel for war; and
that of Naples, as a wrench and mean for peace; being well
advertised, how strongly the King was bent upon that action.

Having therefore conferred divers times with his council, and keeping himself somewhat close, he gave a direction to the Chancellor, for a formal answer to the ambassadors, and that he did in the presence of his council. And after calling the Chancellor to him apart, bade him speak in such language, as was fit for a treaty that was to end in a breach; and gave him also a special caveat, that he should not use any words to discourage the voyage of Italy. Soon after the ambassadors were sent for to the council, and the lord Chancellor spake to them in this sort :

“ My lords ambassadors, I shall make answer by the King’s commandment, unto the eloquent declaration of you, my lord prior, in a brief and plain manner. The King forgetteth not his former love and acquaintance with the King your master : but of this there needeth no repetition. For if it be between them as it was, it is well ; if there be any alteration, it is not words that will make it up.

“ For the business of Britain, the King findeth it a little strange that the French King maketh mention of it as a matter of well deserving at his hand : for that deserving was no more, but to make him his instrument to surprise one of his best confederates. And for the marriage the King would not meddle with it, if your master would marry by the book, and not by the sword.

“ For that of Flanders, if the subjects of Burgundy had appealed to your King as their chief lord, at first by way of supplication, it might have had a shew of justice : but it was a new form of process, for subjects to imprison their Prince first, and to slay his officers, and then to be complainants. The King saith, That sure he is, when the French King and himself sent to the subjects of Scotland, that had taken arms against their King, they both

“spake in another style, and did in princely manner signify
 “their detestation of popular attentates upon the person or
 “authority of Princes. But, my lords ambassadors, the
 “King leaveth these two actions thus: that on the one side
 5 “he hath not received any manner of satisfaction from you
 “concerning them; and on the other, that he doth not ap-
 “prehend them so deeply, as in respect of them to refuse to
 “treat of peace, if other things may go hand in hand. As
 “for the war of Naples, and the design against the Turk;
 10 “the King hath commanded me expressly to say, that he
 “doth wish with all his heart to his good brother the
 “French King, that his fortunes may succeed according to
 “his hopes and honourable intentions. And whensoever
 “he shall hear that he is prepared for Græcia, as your
 15 “master is pleased now to say that he beggeth a peace of
 “the King, so the King will then beg of him a part in
 “that war.

“But now, my lords ambassadors, I am to propound
 “unto you somewhat on the King’s part: The King your
 20 “master hath taught our King what to say and demand.
 “You say, my lord prior, that your King is resolved to
 “recover his right to Naples, wrongfully detained from him.
 “And that if he should not thus do, he could not acquit his
 “honour, nor answer it to his people. Think, my lords,
 25 “that the King our master saith the same thing over again
 “to you touching Normandy, Guienne, Anjou, yea, and the
 “kingdom of France itself. I cannot express it better than
 “in your own words: If therefore the French King shall
 “consent, that the King our master’s title to France, at least
 30 “tribute for the same, be handled in the treaty, the King is
 “content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuseth to
 “treat.”

The ambassadors, being somewhat abashed with this

demand, answered in some heat; That they doubted not, but the King their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre: and they assured themselves, he neither could nor would yield to any diminution of the crown of France, either in territory or regality: but, howsoever, they were too great matters for them to speak of, having no commission. It was replied, that the King looked for no other answer from them, but would forthwith send his own ambassadors to the French King. There was a question also asked at the table; whether the French King would agree to have the disposing of the marriage of Britain with an exception and exclusion, that he should not marry her himself? To which the ambassadors answered; That it was so far out of their King's thoughts, as they had received no instructions touching the same. Thus were the ambassadors dismissed, all save the prior; and were followed immediately by Thomas earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenston prior of Christ-Church in Canterbury, who were presently sent over into France. In the mean space Lionel bishop of Concordia was sent as nuncio from Pope Alexander the sixth to both Kings, to move a peace between them. For Pope Alexander, finding himself pent and locked up by a league and association of the principal states of Italy, that he could not make his way for the advancement of his own house, which he immoderately thirsted after, was desirous to trouble the waters in Italy, that he might fish the better; casting the net, not out of Saint Peter's, but out of Borgia's bark. And doubting lest the fears from England might stay the French King's voyage into Italy, despatched this bishop, to compose all matters between the two Kings, if he could: who first repaired to the French King, and finding him well inclined, as he conceived, took on his journey towards England, and found the English ambassadors at Calais, on their way

towards the French King. After some conference with them, he was in honourable manner transported over into England, where he had audience of the King. But notwithstanding he had a good ominous name to have made a
5 peace, nothing followed: for in the mean time the purpose of the French King to marry the duchess, could be no longer dissembled. Wherefore the English ambassadors, finding how things went, took their leave, and returned. And the prior also was warned from hence to depart out of
10 England. Who when he turned his back, more like a pedant than an ambassador, dispersed a bitter libel, in Latin verse, against the King; unto which the King, though he had nothing of a pedant, yet was content to cause an answer to be made in like verse; and that as speaking in his own
15 person, but in a style of scorn and sport. About this time also was born the King's second son Henry, who afterwards reigned. And soon after followed the solemnization of the marriage between Charles and Anne duchess of Britain, with whom he received the duchy of Britain as her dowry, the
20 daughter of Maximilian being a little before sent home. Which when it came to the ears of Maximilian, who would never believe it till it was done, being ever the principal in deceiving himself, though in this the French King did very handsomely second it, in tumbling it over and over in his
25 thoughts, that he should at one blow, with such a double scorn, be defeated, both of the marriage of his daughter and his own, upon both which he had fixed high imaginations, he lost all patience, and casting off the respects fit to be continued between great Kings, even when their blood is
30 hottest, and most risen, fell to bitter invectives against the person and actions of the French King. And, by how much he was the less able to do, talking so much the more, spake all the injuries he could devise of Charles, saying;

That he was the most perfidious man upon the earth, and that he had made a marriage compounded between an advowtry and a rape; which was done, he said, by the just judgment of God; to the end that, the nullity thereof being so apparent to all the world, the race of so unworthy a person might not reign in France. And forthwith he sent ambassadors as well to the King of England as to the King of Spain, to incite them to war, and to treat a league offensive against France, promising to concur with great forces of his own. Hereupon the King of England, going nevertheless his own way, called a parliament, it being the seventh year of his reign; and the first day of opening thereof, sitting under his cloth of estate, spake himself unto his lords and commons in this manner:

“MY lords, and you the commons, when I purposed to make a war in Britain by my lieutenant, I made declaration thereof to you by my Chancellor. But now that I mean to make a war upon France in person, I will declare it to you myself. That war was to defend another man’s right, but this is to recover our own; and that ended by accident, but we hope this shall end in victory.

“The French King troubles the Christian world: that which he hath is not his own, and yet he seeketh more. He hath invested himself of Britain: he maintaineth the rebels in Flanders: and he threateneth Italy. For ourselves, he hath proceeded from dissimulation to neglect; and from neglect to contumely. He hath assailed our confederates: he denieth our tribute: in a word, he seeks war: so did not his father, but sought peace at our hands; and so perhaps will he, when good counsel or time shall make him see as much as his father did.

“Mean while, let us make his ambition our advantage;

“and let us not stand upon a few crowns of tribute or
“acknowledgement, but, by the favour of Almighty God, try
“our right for the crown of France itself; remembering that
“there hath been a French King prisoner in England, and
5 “a King of England crowned in France. Our confederates
“are not diminished. Burgundy is in a mightier hand than
“ever, and never more provoked. Britain cannot help us,
“but it may hurt them. New acquests are more burden
“than strength. The malcontents of his own kingdom
10 “have not been base, popular, nor titulary impostors, but
“of an higher nature. The King of Spain, doubt ye not,
“will join with us, not knowing where the French King’s
“ambition will stay. Our holy father the Pope likes no
“Tramontanes in Italy. But howsoever it be, this matter
15 “of confederates is rather to be thought on than reckoned
“on. For God forbid but England should be able to get
“reason of France without a second.

“At the battles of Cressy, Poitiers, Agincourt, we were
“of ourselves. France hath much people, and few soldiers.
20 “They have no stable bands of foot. Some good horse
“they have; but those are forces which are least fit for a
“defensive war, where the actions are in the assailant’s
“choice. It was our discords only that lost France; and,
“by the power of God, it is the good peace which we now
25 “enjoy, that will recover it. God hath hitherto blessed my
“sword. I have, in this time that I have reigned, weeded
“out my bad subjects, and tried my good. My people and I
“know one another, which breeds confidence: and if there
“should be any bad blood left in the kingdom, an honour-
30 “able foreign war will vent it or purify it. In this great
“business, let me have your advice and aid. If any of you
“were to make his son knight, you might have aid of your
“tenants by law. This concerns the knighthood and spurs

“ of the kingdom, whereof I am father ; and bound not only
 “ to seek to maintain it, but to advance it : but for matter
 “ of treasure, let it not be taken from the poorest sort, but
 “ from those to whom the benefit of the war may redound.
 “ France is no wilderness ; and I, that profess good hus- 5
 “ bandry, hope to make the war, after the beginnings, to
 “ pay itself. Go together in God’s name, and lose no time ;
 “ for I have called this parliament wholly for this cause.”

Thus spake the King ; but for all this, though he shewed
 great forwardness for a war, not only to his parliament and 10
 court, but to his privy-council likewise, except the two
 bishops and a few more, yet nevertheless in his secret in-
 tentions he had no purpose to go through with any war
 upon France. But the truth was, that he did but traffic
 with that war, to make his return in money. He knew 15
 well, that France was now entire and at unity with itself,
 and never so mighty many years before. He saw by the
 taste that he had of his forces sent into Britain, that the
 French knew well enough how to make war with the Eng-
 lish, by not putting things to the hazard of a battle, but 20
 wearing them by long sieges of towns, and strong fortified
 encampings. James the third of Scotland, his true friend
 and confederate, gone ; and James the fourth, that had
 succeeded, wholly at the devotion of France, and ill af-
 fected towards him. As for the conjunctions of Ferdinando 25
 of Spain and Maximilian, he could make no foundation
 upon them. For the one had power, and not will ; and
 the other had will, and not power. Besides that, Ferdi-
 nando had but newly taken breath from the war with the
 Moors ; and merchanded at this time with France for the 30
 restoring of the counties of Rüssignon and Perpignian, op-
 pignorated to the French. Neither was he out of fear of
 the discontents and ill blood within the realm ; which

having used always to repress and appease in person, he was loth they should find him at a distance beyond sea, and engaged in war. Finding therefore the inconveniences and difficulties in the prosecution of a war, he cast with
5 himself how to compass two things. The one, how by the declaration and inchoation of a war to make his profit. The other, how to come off from the war with saving of his honour. For profit, it was to be made two ways; upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for
10 the peace; like a good merchant, that maketh his gain both upon the commodities exported and imported back again. For the point of honour, wherein he might suffer for giving over the war; he considered well, that as he could not trust upon the aids of Ferdinando and Maxi-
15 milian for supports of war; so the impuissance of the one, and the double proceeding of the other, lay fair for him for occasions to accept of peace. These things he did wisely foresee, and did as artificially conduct, whereby all things fell into his lap as he desired.

20 For as for the parliament, it presently took fire, being affectionate, of old, to the war of France; and desirous afresh to repair the dishonour they thought the King sustained by the loss of Britain. Therefore they advised the King, with great alacrity, to undertake the war of France.
25 And although the parliament consisted of the first and second nobility, together with principal citizens and townsmen, yet worthily and justly respecting more the people, whose deputies they were, than their own private persons, and finding by the lord Chancellor's speech the King's
30 inclination that way; they consented that commissioners should go forth for the gathering and levying of a benevolence from the more able sort. This tax, called a benevolence, was devised by Edward the fourth, for which he

sustained much envy. It was abolished by Richard the third by act of parliament, to ingratiate himself with the people; and it was now revived by the King, but with consent of parliament, for so it was not in the time of King Edward the fourth. But by this way he raised exceeding great sums. Insomuch as the city of London, in those days, contributed nine thousand pounds and better; and that chiefly levied upon the wealthier sort. There is a tradition of a *dilemma*, that bishop Morton the Chancellor used, to raise up the benevolence to higher rates; and some called it his fork, and some his crutch. For he had couched an article in the instructions to the commissioners who were to levy the benevolence; "That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, that they must needs have, because they laid up; and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was seen in their port and manner of living." So neither kind came amiss.

This parliament was merely a parliament of war; for it was in substance but a declaration of war against France and Scotland, with some statutes conducing thereunto: as, the severe punishing of mort-pays and keeping back of soldiers' wages in captains: the like severity for the departure of soldiers without licence; strengthening of the common law in favour of protections for those that were in the King's service; and the setting the gate open and wide for men to sell or mortgage their lands, without fines for alienation, to furnish themselves with money for the war; and lastly, the voiding of all Scottish men out of England. There was also a statute for the dispersing of the standard of the exchequer throughout England; thereby to size weights and measures; and two or three more of less importance.

After the parliament was broken up, which lasted not long, the King went on with his preparations for the war of France ; yet neglected not in the mean time the affairs of Maximilian for the quieting of Flanders, and restoring
5 him to his authority amongst his subjects. For at that time the lord of Ravenstein, being not only a subject rebelled, but a servant revolted, and so much the more malicious and violent, by the aid of Bruges and Gaunt, had taken the town and both the castles of Sluice ; as we
10 said before : and having, by the commodity of the haven. gotten together certain ships and barks, fell to a kind of piratical trade ; robbing and spoiling, and taking prisoners the ships and vessels of all nations, that passed along that coast towards the mart of Antwerp, or into any part of
15 Brabant, Zealand, or Friesland ; being ever well victualled from Picardy, besides the commodity of victuals from Sluice, and the country adjacent, and the avails of his own prizes. The French assisted him still under-hand ; and he likewise, as all men do that have been of both sides,
20 thought himself not safe, except he depended upon a third person.

There was a small town some two miles from Bruges towards the sea, called Dam ; which was a fort and approach to Bruges ; and had a relation also to Sluice. This
25 town the King of the Romans had attempted often, not for any worth of the town in itself, but because it might choke Bruges, and cut it off from the sea, and ever failed. But therewith the duke of Saxony came down into Flanders, taking upon him the person of an umpire, to compose
30 things between Maximilian and his subjects ; but being, indeed, fast and assured to Maximilian. Upon this pretext of neutrality and treaty, he repaired to Bruges ; desiring of the states of Bruges, to enter peaceably into their town,

with a retinue of some number of men of arms fit for his estate ; being somewhat the more, as he said, the better to guard him in a country that was up in arms : and bearing them in hand, that he was to communicate with them of divers matters of great importance for their good. Which 5 having obtained of them, he sent his carriages and harbingers before him, to provide his lodging. So that his men of war entered the city in good array, but in peaceable manner, and he followed. They that went before inquired still for inns and lodgings, as if they would have rested 10 there all night ; and so went on till they came to the gate that leadeth directly towards Dam ; and they of Bruges only gazed upon them, and gave them passage. The captains and inhabitants of Dam also suspected no harm from any that passed through Bruges ; and discovering forces 15 afar off, supposed they had been some succours that were come from their friends, knowing some dangers towards them. And so perceiving nothing but well till it was too late, suffered them to enter their town. By which kind of sleight, rather than stratagem, the town of Dam was taken, 20 and the town of Bruges shrewdly blocked up, whereby they took great discouragement.

The duke of Saxony, having won the town of Dam, sent immediately to the King to let him know, that it was Sluice chiefly, and the lord Ravenstein, that kept the rebellion of 25 Flanders in life : and that if it pleased the King to besiege it by sea, he also would besiege it by land, and so cut out the core of those wars.

The King, willing to uphold the authority of Maximilian, the better to hold France in awe, and being likewise sued 30 unto by his merchants, for that the seas were much infested by the barks of the lord Ravenstein ; sent straightways Sir Edward Poynings, a valiant man, and of good service,

with twelve ships, well furnished with soldiers and artillery, to clear the seas, and to besiege Sluice on that part. The Englishmen did not only coop up the lord Ravenstein, that he stirred not, and likewise hold in strait siege the maritime
5 part of the town ; but also assailed one of the castles, and renewed the assault so for twenty days' space, issuing still out of their ships at the ebb, as they made great slaughter of them of the castle ; who continually fought with them to repulse them, though of the English part also were
10 slain a brother of the earl of Oxford's, and some fifty more.

But the siege still continuing more and more strait, and both the castles, which were the principal strength of the town, being distressed, the one by the duke of Saxony, and
15 the other by the English ; and a bridge of boats, which the lord Ravenstein had made between both castles, whereby succours and relief might pass from the one to the other, being on a night set on fire by the English ; he despairing to hold the town, yielded, at the last, the castles to the
20 English, and the town to the duke of Saxony, by composition. Which done, the duke of Saxony and Sir Edward Poynings treated with them of Bruges, to submit themselves to Maximilian their lord ; which after some time they did, paying, in some good part, the charge of the war, whereby
25 the Almans and foreign succours were dismissed. The example of Bruges other of the revolted towns followed ; so that Maximilian grew to be out of danger, but, as his manner was to handle matters, never out of necessity. And Sir Edward Poynings, after he had continued at Sluice some
30 good while till all things were settled, returned unto the King, being then before Boulogne.

Somewhat about this time came letters from Ferdinando and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain ; signifying the

final conquest of Granada from the Moors; which action, in itself so worthy, King Ferdinando, whose manner was never to lose any virtue for the shewing, had expressed and displayed in his letters at large, with all the particularities and religious punctos and ceremonies, that were observed 5 in the reception of that city and kingdom: shewing amongst other things, that the King would not by any means in person enter the city, until he had first aloof seen the cross set up upon the greater tower of Granada, whereby it became Christian ground. That likewise, before he would 10 enter, he did homage to God above, pronouncing by an herald from the height of that tower, that he did acknowledge to have recovered that kingdom by the help of God Almighty, and the glorious Virgin, and the virtuous Apostle Saint James, and the holy father Innocent the eighth, 15 together with the aids and services of his prelates, nobles, and commons. That yet he stirred not from his camp, till he had seen a little army of martyrs, to the number of seven hundred and more Christians, that had lived in bonds and servitude, as slaves to the Moors, pass before 20 his eyes, singing a psalm for their redemption; and that he had given tribute unto God, by alms and relief extended to them all, for his admission into the city. These things were in the letters, with many more ceremonies of a kind of holy ostentation. 25

The King, ever willing to put himself into the consort or quire of all religious actions, and naturally affecting much the King of Spain, as far as one King can affect another, partly for his virtues, and partly for a counterpoise to France; upon the receipt of these letters sent all his 30 nobles and prelates that were about the court, together with the mayor and aldermen of London, in great solemnity to the church of Paul; there to hear a declaration

from the lord Chancellor, now cardinal. When they were assembled, the cardinal, standing upon the uppermost step, or half-pace, before the quire, and all the nobles, prelates, and governors of the city at the foot of the stairs, made a
 5 speech to them ; letting them know, that they were assembled in that consecrated place, to sing unto God a new song. For that, said he, these many years the Christians have not gained new ground or territory upon the Infidels, nor enlarged and set farther the bounds of the Christian
 10 world. But this is now done by the prowess and devotion of Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain ; who have, to their immortal honour, recovered the great and rich kingdom of Granada, and the populous and mighty city of the same name, from the Moors, having been in pos-
 15 session thereof by the space of seven hundred years and more : for which, this assembly and all Christians are to render laud and thanks unto God, and to celebrate this noble act of the King of Spain ; who in this is not only victorious but apostolical, in the gaining of new provinces
 20 to the Christian faith. And the rather, for that this victory and conquest is obtained without much effusion of blood. Whereby it is to be hoped, that there shall be gained not only new territory, but infinite souls to the church of Christ, whom the Almighty, as it seems, would have live to be
 25 converted. Herewithal he did relate some of the most memorable particulars of the war and victory. And after his speech ended, the whole assembly went solemnly in procession, and *Te Deum* was sung.

Immediately after the solemnity, the King kept his
 30 May-day at his palace of Shene, now Richmond. Where, to warm the blood of his nobility and gallants against the war, he kept great triumphs of jousting and tourney, during all that month. In which space it so fell out, that Sir James

Parker, and Hugh Vaughan, one of the King's gentlemen ushers, having had a controversy touching certain arms that the king at arms had given Vaughan, were appointed to run some courses one against another. And by accident of a faulty helmet that Parker had on, he was stricken into the mouth at the first course, so that his tongue was borne unto the hinder part of his head, in such sort, that he died presently upon the place. Which, because of the controversy precedent, and the death that followed, was accounted amongst the vulgar as a combat or trial of right. The King towards the end of this summer, having put his forces, wherewith he meant to invade France, in readiness, but so as they were not yet met or mustered together, sent Urswick, now made his almoner, and Sir John Riseley, to Maximilian, to let him know that he was in arms, ready to pass the seas into France, and did but expect to hear from him, when and where he did appoint to join with him, according to his promise made unto him by Countebalt his ambassador.

The English ambassadors having repaired to Maximilian, did find his power and promise at a very great distance; he being utterly unprovided of men, money, and arms, for any such enterprise. For Maximilian, having neither wing to fly on, for that his patrimony of Austria was not in his hands, his father being then living, and on the other side, his matrimonial territories of Flanders being partly in dowry to his mother-in-law, and partly not serviceable, in respect of the late rebellions; was thereby destitute of means to enter into war. The ambassadors saw this well, but wisely thought fit to advertise the King thereof, rather than to return themselves, till the King's farther pleasure were known; the rather, for that Maximilian himself spake as great as ever he did before, and entertained them with dilatory

answers: so as the formal part of their ambassage might well warrant and require their farther stay. The King hereupon, who doubted as much before, and saw through his business from the beginning, wrote back to the ambassadors, commending their discretion in not returning, and willing them to keep the state wherein they found Maximilian as a secret, till they heard farther from him: and meanwhile went on with his voyage royal for France, suppressing for a time this advertisement touching Maximilian's poverty and disability.

By this time was drawn together a great and puissant army into the city of London; in which were Thomas marquis Dorset, Thomas earl of Arundel, Thomas earl of Derby, George earl of Shrewsbury, Edmond earl of Suffolk, Edward earl of Devonshire, George earl of Kent, the earl of Essex, Thomas earl of Ormond, with a great number of barons, knights, and principal gentlemen; and amongst them Richard Thomas, much noted for the brave troops he brought out of Wales. The army rising in the whole to the number of five and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse; over which the King, constant in his accustomed trust and employment, made Jasper duke of Bedford and John earl of Oxford generals under his own person. The ninth of September, in the eighth year of his reign, he departed from Greenwich towards the sea; all men wondering that he took that season, being so near winter, to begin the war; and some thereupon gathering, it was a sign that the war would not be long. Nevertheless the King gave out the contrary, thus; "That he intending not to make a summer business of it, but a resolute war, without term prefixed, until he had recovered France; it skilled not much when he began it, especially having Calais at his back, where he might winter, if the season of the war so

“required.” The sixth of October he embarked at Sandwich; and the same day took land at Calais, which was the rendezvous, where all his forces were assigned to meet. But in this his journey towards the sea-side, wherein, for the cause that we shall now speak of, he hovered so much the longer, he had received letters from the lord Cordes, who the hotter he was against the English in time of war, had the more credit in a negotiation of peace; and besides was held a man open and of good faith. In which letters there was made an overture of peace from the French King, with such conditions as were somewhat to the King’s taste; but this was carried at the first with wonderful secrecy. The King was no sooner come to Calais, but the calm winds of peace began to blow. For first, the English ambassadors returned out of Flanders from Maximilian, and certified the King, that he was not to hope for any aid from Maximilian, for that he was altogether unprovided. His will was good, but he lacked money. And this was made known and spread through the army. And although the English were therewithal nothing dismayed, and that it be the manner of soldiers, upon bad news to speak the more bravely; yet nevertheless it was a kind of preparative to a peace. Instantly in the neck of this, as the King had laid it, came news, that Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, had concluded a peace with King Charles; and that Charles had restored unto them the counties of Russignon and Perpignian, which formerly were mortgaged by John King of Aragon, Ferdinando’s father, unto France, for three hundred thousand crowns; which debt was also upon this peace by Charles clearly released. This came also handsomely put on the peace; both because so potent a confederate was fallen off, and because it was a fair example of a peace bought; so as the King should not be the sole merchant in

this peace. Upon these airs of peace, the King was content that the bishop of Exeter, and the lord Daubeney, governor of Calais, should give a meeting unto the lord Cordes, for the treaty of a peace. But himself nevertheless and his
5 army, the fifteenth of October, removed from Calais, and in four days' march sat him down before Boulogne.

During this siege of Boulogne, which continued near a month, there passed no memorable action, nor accident of war; only Sir John Savage, a valiant captain, was slain,
10 riding about the walls of the town, to take a view. The town was both well fortified and well manned; yet it was distressed, and ready for an assault. Which, if it had been given, as was thought, would have cost much blood; but yet the town would have been carried in the end. Mean-
15 while a peace was concluded by the commissioners, to continue for both the Kings' lives. Where there was no article of importance; being in effect rather a bargain than a treaty. For all things remained as they were, save that there should be paid to the King seven hundred forty-five thousand du-
20 cats in present, for his charges in that journey; and five and twenty thousand crowns yearly, for his charges sustained in the aids of the Britons. For which annual, though he had Maximilian bound before for those charges; yet he counted the alteration of the hand as much as the principal debt.
25 And besides, it was left somewhat indefinitely when it should determine or expire; which made the English esteem it as a tribute carried under fair terms. And the truth is, it was paid both to the King and to his son King Henry the eighth, longer than it could continue upon any computation
30 of charges. There was also assigned by the French King, unto all the King's principal counsellors, great pensions, besides rich gifts for the present. Which whether the King did permit, to save his own purse from rewards, or to com-

municate the envy of a business, that was displeasing to his
 people, was diversely interpreted. For certainly the King
 had no great fancy to own this peace. And therefore a
 little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured
 some of his best captains and men of war to advise him to a 5
 peace, under their hands, in an earnest manner, in the
 nature of a supplication. But the truth is, this peace was
 welcome to both Kings. To Charles, for that it assured
 unto him the possession of Britain, and freed the enterprise
 of Naples. To Henry, for that it filled his coffers; and that 10
 he foresaw at that time a storm of inward troubles coming
 upon him, which presently after brake forth. But it gave
 no less discontent to the nobility and principal persons of
 the army, who had many of them sold or engaged their
 estates upon the hopes of the war. They stuck not to say, 15
 "That the King cared not to plume his nobility and people,
 "to feather himself." And some made themselves merry
 with that the King had said in parliament: "That after the
 "war was once begun, he doubted not but to make it pay
 "itself;" saying, he had kept promise. 20

Having risen from Boulogne, he went to Calais, where
 he stayed some time. From whence also he wrote letters,
 which was a courtesy that he sometimes used, to the mayor
 of London, and the aldermen his brethren; half bragging
 what great sums he had obtained for the peace; knowing 25
 well that full coffers of the King is ever good news to Lon-
 don. And better news it would have been, if their benevo-
 lence had been but a loan. And upon the seventeenth of
 December following he returned to Westminster, where he
 kept his Christmas. 30

Soon after the King's return, he sent the order of the
 garter to Alphonso duke of Calabria, eldest son to Ferdi-
 nando King of Naples. An honour sought by that Prince

to hold him up in the eyes of the Italians; who expecting the arms of Charles, made great account of the amity of England for a bridle to France. It was received by Alphonso with all the ceremony and pomp that could be 5 devised, as things use to be carried that are intended for opinion. It was sent by Urswick; upon whom the King bestowed this ambassage to help him after many dry employments.

At this time the King began again to be haunted with 10 spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the lady Margaret; who raised up the ghost of Richard duke of York, second son to King Edward the fourth, to walk and vex the King. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel; better done, and worn upon greater hands; being graced 15 after with the wearing of a King of France, and a King of Scotland, not of a duchess of Burgundy only. And for Simnel, there was not much in him, more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth, of whom we are now to speak, was such a mercurial; 20 as the like hath seldom been known; and could make his own part, if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this being one of the strangest examples of a personation, that ever was in elder or later times; it deserveth to be discovered, and related at the full. Although the King's manner of shewing things by pieces, and by dark lights, 25 hath so muffled it, that it hath left it almost as a mystery to this day.

The lady Margaret, whom the King's friends called Juno, because she was to him as Juno was to Æneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief, for a 30 foundation of her particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and

divulge the flying opinion, that Richard duke of York, second son to Edward the fourth, was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous fact, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This lure she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw at one time or other some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a farther diligence, not committing all to chance: for she had some secret espials, like to the Turks' commissioners for children of tribute, to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths, to make Plantagenets, and dukes of York. At the last she did light on one, in whom all things met, as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit of Richard of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well. Secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity, and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer, or, as the King called him, such a land-louper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither again could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there was a circumstance, which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time, that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter; which is, that King Edward the fourth was his godfather. Which, as it is somewhat suspicious, for a

wanton prince to become gossip in so mean a house, and might make a man think, that he might indeed have in him some base blood of the house of York; so at the least, though that were not, it might give the occasion to
5 the boy, in being called King Edward's godson, or perhaps in sport King Edward's son, to entertain such thoughts into his head. For tutor he had none, for ought that appears, as Lambert Simnel had, until he came unto the lady Margaret, who instructed him.

10 Thus therefore it came to pass: There was a townsman of Tournay, that had borne office in that town, whose name was John Osbeck, a convert Jew, married to Catharine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London, in King Edward the fourth's days.
15 During which time he had a son by her, and being known in court, the King either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards proving a dainty and effeminate
20 youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peter-kin, or Perkin. For as for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked on by that name, as it stuck by him after his
25 true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child, his parents returned with him to Tournay. Then was he placed in a house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a
30 good time; living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the espials of the lady Margaret into her presence. Who viewing him

well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune ; and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour ; thought she had now found a curious piece of marble, to carve out an image of a duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but 5 with extreme secrecy. The while she instructed him by many cabinet conferences. First, in princely behaviour and gesture ; teaching him how he should keep state, and yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes. Then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that 10 concerned the person of Richard duke of York, which he was to act ; describing unto him the personages, lineaments, and features of the King and Queen his pretended parents ; and of his brother, sisters, and divers others, that were nearest him in his childhood ; together with all passages, 15 some secret, some common, that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the King's death, until he and his brother were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad, as while he was in 20 sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death, and his own escape ; she knew they were things that a very few could control. And therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters ; warning him not to vary from 25 it. It was agreed likewise between them, what account he should give of his peregrination abroad, intermixing many things which were true, and such as they knew others could testify, for the credit of the rest ; but still making them to hang together with the part he was to play. She taught 30 him likewise how to avoid sundry captious and tempting questions, which were like to be asked of him. But in this she found him of himself so nimble and shifting, as

she trusted much to his own wit and readiness ; and therefore laboured the less in it. Lastly, she raised his thoughts with some present rewards, and farther promises ; setting before him chiefly the glory and fortune of a crown, if 5 things went well, and a sure refuge to her court, if the worst should fall. After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear ; and at what time. It must be upon the horizon of Ireland ; for there had 10 the like meteor strong influence before. The time of the apparition to be, when the King should be engaged into a war with France. But well she knew, that whatsoever should come from her, would be held suspected. And therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, 15 she might be thought to have some hand in it. And besides, the time was not yet ripe ; for that the two Kings were then upon terms of peace. Therefore she wheeled about ; and to put all suspicion afar off, and loth to keep him any longer by her, for that she knew secrets are not 20 long-lived, she sent him unknown into Portugal, with the lady Brampton, an English lady, that embarked for Portugal at that time ; with some *privado* of her own, to have an eye upon him, and there he was to remain, and to expect her farther directions. In the mean time she 25 omitted not to prepare things for his better welcome and accepting, not only in the kingdom of Ireland, but in the court of France. He continued in Portugal about a year ; and by that time the King of England called his parliament, as hath been said, and declared open war against France. 30 Now did the sign reign, and the constellation was come, under which Perkin should appear. And therefore he was straight sent unto by the duchess to go for Ireland, according to the first designment. In Ireland he did arrive

at the town of Cork. When he was thither come, his own tale was, when he made his confession afterwards, that the Irishmen, finding him in some good clothes, came flocking about him, and bare him down that he was the duke of Clarence that had been there before. And after, that he 5 was Richard the third's base son. And lastly, that he was Richard duke of York, second son to Edward the fourth. But that he, for his part, renounced all these things, and offered to swear upon the holy Evangelists, that he was no such man; till at last they forced it upon him, and 10 bade him fear nothing, and so forth. But the truth is, that immediately upon his coming into Ireland, he took upon him the said person of the duke of York, and drew unto him complices and partakers by all the means he could devise. Insomuch as he wrote his letters unto the earls of 15 Desmond and Kildare, to come in to his aid, and be of his party; the originals of which letters are yet extant.

Somewhat before this time, the duchess had also gained unto her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue; an active man, 20 but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles the French King, and put himself into his service, at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the King. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace 25 all advantages against the King of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the lady Margaret, forthwith despatched one Lucas and this Frion, in the nature of ambassadors, to Perkin, to advertise him of the King's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved to aid him to 30 recover his right against King Henry, an usurper of England, and an enemy of France; and wished him to come over unto him at Paris. Perkin thought himself in heaven now

that he was invited by so great a King in so honourable a manner. And imparting unto his friends in Ireland for their encouragement, how fortune called him, and what great hopes he had, sailed presently into France. When he was
5 come to the court of France, the King received him with great honour; saluted, and stiled him by the name of the duke of York; lodged him, and accommodated him in great state. And the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a Prince, assigned him a guard for his
10 person, whereof the lord Congresall was captain. The courtiers likewise, though it be ill mocking with the French, applied themselves to their King's bent, seeing there was reason of state for it. At the same time there repaired unto Perkin divers Englishmen of quality; Sir George Nevile,
15 Sir John Taylor, and about one hundred more; and amongst the rest, this Stephen Frion, of whom we spake, who followed his fortune both then and for a long time after, and was indeed his principal counsellor and instrument in all his proceedings. But all this on the French King's part was
20 but a trick, the better to bow King Henry to peace. And therefore, upon the first grain of incense, that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boulogne, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French King deliver him up to King Henry, as he was laboured to do, for his honour's
25 sake, but warned him away, and dismissed him. And Perkin on his part was as ready to be gone, doubting he might be caught up under-hand. He therefore took his way into Flanders, unto the duchess of Burgundy; pretending that having been variously tossed by fortune, he directed his
30 course thither as to a safe harbour: no ways taking knowledge that he had ever been there before, but as if that had been his first address. The duchess, on the other part, made it as new and strange to see him; pretending, at the

first, that she was taught and made wise by the example of Lambert Simnel, how she did admit of any counterfeit stuff; though even in that, she said, she was not fully satisfied. She pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose him and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixt of joy and wonder, at his miraculous deliverance; receiving him as if he were risen from death to life: and inferring, that God, who had in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. As for his dismissal out of France, they interpreted it not, as if he were detected or neglected for a counterfeit deceiver; but contrariwise that it did shew manifestly unto the world, that he was some great matter; for that it was his abandoning that, in effect, made the peace; being no more but the sacrificing of a poor distressed Prince, unto the utility and ambition of two mighty monarchs. Neither was Perkin, for his part, wanting himself, either in gracious or princely behaviour, or in ready and apposite answers, or in contenting and caressing those that did apply themselves unto him, or in pretty scorn and disdain to those that seemed to doubt of him; but in all things did notably acquit himself; insomuch as it was generally believed, as well amongst great persons, as amongst the vulgar, that he was indeed duke Richard. Nay, himself, with long and continual counterfeiting, and with oft telling a lie, was turned by habit almost into the thing he seemed to be; and from a liar to a believer. The duchess therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, and giving him the delicate title of the white rose of England; and

appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less
5 respect.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the duke of York; that he
10 had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed, and in great honour in Flanders. These fames took hold of divers; in some upon discontent; in some upon ambition; in some upon levity and desire of change; in some few upon conscience and belief,
15 but in most upon simplicity; and in divers, out of dependence upon some of the better sort, who did in secret favour and nourish these bruits. And it was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the King and his government; taxing him
20 for a great taxer of his people, and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Britain, and the peace with France, were not forgotten. But chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his Queen, in that he did not reign in her right. Wherefore they said, that God had now brought to light a
25 masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be at his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. And yet, as it fareth in the things which are current with the multitude, and which they affect, these fames grew so general, as the authors were lost in the generality of speakers.
30 They being like running weeds, that have no certain root; or like footings up and down, impossible to be traced: but after a while these ill humours drew to an head, and settled secretly in some eminent persons; which were Sir William

Stanley lord chamberlain of the King's household, the lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes in this business openly, but two; Sir Robert Clifford, and master William Barley, who sailed over into Flanders, sent indeed from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there, and not without some help of moneys from hence; provisionally to be delivered, if they found and were satisfied, that there was truth in these pretences. The person of Sir Robert Clifford, being a gentleman of fame and family, was extremely welcome to the lady Margaret. Who after she had conference with him, brought him to the sight of Perkin, with whom he had often speech and discourse. So that in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, he wrote back into England, that he knew the person of Richard duke of York, as well as he knew his own; and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

The King on his part was not asleep; but to arm or levy forces yet, he thought would but shew fear, and do this idol too much worship. Nevertheless the ports he did shut up, or at least kept a watch on them, that none should pass to or fro that was suspected: but for the rest, he chose to work by countermine. His purposes were two; the one to lay open the abuse; the other, to break the knot of the conspirators. To detect the abuse, there were but two ways; the first, to make it manifest to the world that the duke of York was indeed murdered; the other, to prove that were he dead or alive, yet Perkin was a counterfeit. For the first,

thus it stood. There were but four persons that could speak upon knowledge to the murder of the duke of York; Sir James Tirrel, the employed man from King Richard, John Dighton and Miles Forrest his servants, the two butchers or
5 tormentors, and the priest of the tower that buried them. Of which four, Miles Forrest and the priest were dead, and there remained alive only Sir James Tirrel and John Dighton. These two the King caused to be committed to the Tower, and examined touching the manner of the death
10 of the two innocent princes. They agreed both in a tale, as the King gave out to this effect: That King Richard having directed his warrant for the putting of them to death, to Brackenbury the lieutenant of the Tower, was by him refused. Whereupon the King directed his warrant to Sir
15 James Tirrel, to receive the keys of the Tower from the lieutenant, for the space of a night, for the King's special service. That Sir James Tirrel accordingly repaired to the Tower by night, attended by his two servants aforementioned, whom he had chosen for that purpose. That himself stood
20 at the stair foot, and sent these two villains to execute the murder. That they smothered them in their bed; and, that done, called up their master to see their naked dead bodies, which they had laid forth. That they were buried under the stairs, and some stones cast upon them. That when the re-
25 port was made to King Richard, that his will was done, he gave Sir James Tirrel great thanks, but took exception to the place of their burial, being too base for them that were King's children. Whereupon, another night, by the King's warrant renewed, their bodies were removed by the priest of
30 the Tower, and buried by him in some place, which, by means of the priest's death soon after, could not be known. Thus much was then delivered abroad, to be the effect of those examinations: but the King, nevertheless, made no

use of them in any of his declarations ; whereby, as it seems, those examinations left the business somewhat perplexed. And as for Sir James Tirrel, he was soon after beheaded in the Tower-yard for other matters of treason. But John Dighton, who, it seemeth, spake best for the King, was forth- 5 with set at liberty, and was the principal means of divulging this tradition. Therefore this kind of proof being left so naked, the King used the more diligence in the latter, for the tracing of Perkin. To this purpose he sent abroad into several parts, and especially into Flanders, divers secret and 10 nimble scouts and spies, some feigning themselves to fly over unto Perkin, and to adhere unto him ; and some under other pretences, to learn, search, and discover all the circumstances and particulars of Perkin's parents, birth, person, travels up and down ; and in brief, to have a journal, as it 15 were, of his life and doings. He furnished these his employed men liberally with money, to draw on and reward intelligences ; giving them also in charge, to advertise continually what they found, and nevertheless still to go on. And ever as one advertisement and discovery called up 20 another, he employed other new men, where the business did require it. Others he employed in a more special nature and trust, to be his pioneers in the main countermine. These were directed to insinuate themselves into the familiarity and confidence of the principal persons of the party 25 in Flanders, and so to learn what associates they had, and correspondents, either here in England, or abroad ; and how far every one engaged, and what new ones they meant afterwards to try or board. And as this for the persons, so for the actions themselves, to discover to the bottom, as they 30 could, the utmost of Perkin's and the conspirators, their intentions, hopes, and practices. These latter best-be-trust spies had some of them farther instructions, to practise

and draw off the best friends and servants of Perkin, by making remonstrance to them, how weakly his enterprise and hopes were built, and with how prudent and potent a King they had to deal; and to reconcile them to the King, with promise of pardon and good conditions of reward. And, above the rest, to assail, sap, and work into the constancy of Sir Robert Clifford; and to win him, if they could, being the man that knew most of their secrets, and who being won away, would most appal and discourage the rest, and in a manner break the knot.

There is a strange tradition; that the King, being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men; and for the better credit of his espials abroad with the contrary side, did use to have them cursed at Paul's, by name, amongst the bead-roll of the King's enemies, according to the custom of those times. These espials plied their charge so roundly, as the King had an anatomy of Perkin alive; and was likewise well informed of the particular correspondent conspirators in England, and many other mysteries were revealed; and Sir Robert Clifford in especial won to be assured to the King, and industrious and officious for his service. The King therefore, receiving a rich return of his diligence, and great satisfaction touching a number of particulars, first divulged and spread abroad the imposture and juggling of Perkin's person and travels, with the circumstances thereof, throughout the realm: not by proclamation, because things were yet in examination, and so might receive the more or the less, but by court-fames, which commonly print better than printed proclamations. Then thought he it also time to send an ambassage unto archduke Philip into Flanders, for the abandoning and dismissing of Perkin. Herein he employed Sir Edward

Poynings, and Sir William Warham doctor of the canon law. The archduke was then young, and governed by his council: before whom the ambassadors had audience: and doctor Warham spake in this manner :

“MY lords, the King our master is very sorry, that 5
 “England and your country here of Flanders, having been
 “counted as man and wife for so long time; now this coun-
 “try of all others should be the stage, where a base counter-
 “feit should play the part of a King of England; not only
 “to his grace’s disquiet and dishonour, but to the scorn and 10
 “reproach of all sovereign Princes. To counterfeit the dead
 “image of a King in his coin, is an high offence by all laws;
 “but to counterfeit the living image of a King in his person,
 “exceedeth all falsifications, except it should be that of a
 “Mahomet, or an Antichrist, that counterfeit divine honour. 15
 “The King hath too great an opinion of this sage council,
 “to think that any of you is caught with this fable, though
 “way may be given by you to the passion of some, the thing
 “in itself is so improbable. To set testimonies aside of the
 “death of duke Richard, which the King hath upon record, 20
 “plain and infallible, because they may be thought to be in
 “the King’s own power, let the thing testify for itself. Sense
 “and reason no power can command. Is it possible, trow
 “you, that King Richard should damn his soul, and foul his
 “name with so abominable a murder, and yet not mend his 25
 “case? Or do you think, that men of blood, that were his
 “instruments, did turn to pity in the midst of their execu-
 “tion? Whereas in cruel and savage beasts, and men also,
 “the first draught of blood doth yet make them more fierce
 “and enraged. Do you not know, that the bloody execu- 30
 “tioners of tyrants do go to such errands with an halter
 “about their neck; so that if they perform not, they are sure
 “to die for it? And do you think that these men would

"hazard their own lives, for sparing another's? Admit they
 "should have saved him; what should they have done with
 "him? Turn him into London streets, that the watchmen,
 "or any passenger that should light upon him, might carry
 5 "him before a justice, and so all come to light? Or should
 "they have kept him by them secretly? That surely would
 "have required a great deal of care, charge, and continual
 "fears. But, my lords, I labour too much in a clear busi-
 "ness. The King is so wise, and hath so good friends
 10 "abroad, as now he knoweth duke Perkin from his cradle.
 "And because he is a great Prince, if you have any good
 "poet here, he can help him with notes to write his life; and
 "to parallel him with Lambert Simnel, now the King's fal-
 "coner. And therefore, to speak plainly to your lordships,
 15 "it is the strangest thing in the world, that the lady Mar-
 "garet, excuse us if we name her, whose malice to the King
 "is both causeless and endless, should now when she is old,
 "at the time when other women give over child-bearing,
 "bring forth two such monsters; being not the births of
 20 "nine or ten months, but of many years. And whereas
 "other natural mothers bring forth children weak, and not
 "able to help themselves; she bringeth forth tall striplings,
 "able soon after their coming into the world to bid battle
 "to mighty Kings. My lords, we stay unwillingly upon this
 25 "part. We would to God, that lady would once taste the
 "joys which God Almighty doth serve up unto her, in
 "beholding her niece to reign in such honour, and with so
 "much royal issue, which she might be pleased to account
 "as her own. The King's request unto the archduke, and
 30 "your lordships, might be; that according to the example
 "of King Charles, who hath already discarded him, you
 "would banish this unworthy fellow out of your dominions.
 "But because the King may justly expect more from an

“ancient confederate, than from a new reconciled enemy,
 “he maketh his request unto you to deliver him up into
 “his hands: pirates, and impostors of this sort, being fit to
 “be accounted the common enemies of mankind, and no
 “ways to be protected by the law of nations.”

5

After some time of deliberation, the ambassadors received this short answer :

“THAT the archduke, for the love of King Henry,
 “would in no sort aid or assist the pretended duke, but in
 “all things conserve the amity he had with the King: But 10
 “for the duchess dowager, she was absolute in the lands
 “of her dowry, and that he could not let her to dispose of
 “her own.”

The King, upon the return of the ambassadors, was nothing satisfied with this answer. For well he knew, that 15
 a patrimonial dowry carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces. Besides, the ambassadors told him plainly, that they saw the duchess had a great party in the archduke’s council; and that howsoever it was carried in a course of connivance, yet the archduke underhand gave 20
 aid and furtherance to Perkin. Wherefore, partly out of courage, and partly out of policy, the King forthwith banished all Flemings, as well their persons as their wares, out of his kingdom; commanding his subjects likewise, and by name his merchants adventurers, which had a residence 25
 at Antwerp, to return; translating the mart, which commonly followed the English cloth, unto Calais; and embarr’d also all farther trade for the future. This the King did, being sensible in point of honour, not to suffer a pretender to the crown of England to affront him so 30
 near at hand, and he to keep terms of friendship with the country where he did set up. But he had also a farther reach: for that he knew well, that the subjects of Flanders

drew so great commodity from the trade of England, as by this embargo they would soon wax weary of Perkin ; and that the tumults of Flanders had been so late and fresh, as it was no time for the Prince to displeas the people. Never
5 theless for form's sake, by way of requital, the archduke did likewise banish the English out of Flanders ; which in effect was done to his hand.

The King being well advertised, that Perkin did more trust upon friends and partakers within the realm than
10 upon foreign arms, thought it behoved him to apply the remedy where the disease lay ; and to proceed with severity against some of the principal conspirators here within the realm ; thereby to purge the ill humours in Eng- land, and to cool the hopes in Flanders. Wherefore
15 he caused to be apprehended, almost at an instant, John Ratcliffe, lord Fitzwalter, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Daubeney, Robert Ratcliffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. All these were arraigned, convicted, and condemned for high-treason, in
20 adhering and promising aid to Perkin. Of these the lord Fitzwalter was conveyed to Calais, and there kept in hold, and in hope of life, until soon after, either impatient or betrayed, he dealt with his keeper to have escaped, and thereupon was beheaded. But Sir Simon Mountfort, Robert
25 Ratcliffe, and William Daubeney, were beheaded immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, together with many others, clerks and laics, amongst which were two Dominican friars, and William Worsley dean of Paul's ; which latter sort passed examination, but came not
30 to public trial.

The lord chamberlain at that time was not touched ; whether it were that the King would not stir too many humours at once, but, after the manner of good physicians,

purge the head last ; or that Clifford, from whom most of these discoveries came, reserved that piece for his own coming over ; signifying only to the King in the mean time, that he doubted there were some greater ones in the business, whereof he would give the King farther account 5 when he came to his presence.

Upon Allhallows-day even, being now the tenth year of the King's reign, the King's second son Henry was created duke of York ; and as well the duke, as divers others, noblemen, knights-bachelors, and gentlemen of quality, 10 were made knights of the Bath according to the ceremony. Upon the morrow after twelfth-day, the King removed from Westminster, where he had kept his Christmas, to the Tower of London. This he did as soon as he had advertisement that Sir Robert Clifford, in whose bosom or 15 budget most of Perkin's secrets were laid up, was come into England. And the place of the Tower was chosen to that end, that if Clifford should accuse any of the great ones, they might without suspicion, or noise, or sending abroad of warrants, be presently attached ; the court and 20 prison being within the cincture of one wall. After a day or two, the King drew unto him a selected council, and admitted Clifford to his presence ; who first fell down at his feet, and in all humble manner craved the King's pardon ; which the King then granted though he were in- 25 deed secretly assured of his life before. Then commanded to tell his knowledge, he did amongst many others, of himself, not interrogated, impeach Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain of the King's household.

The King seemed to be much amazed at the naming 30 of this lord, as if he had heard the news of some strange and fearful prodigy. To hear a man that had done him service of so high a nature, as to save his life, and set the

crown upon his head; a man, that enjoyed, by his favour and advancement, so great a fortune both in honour and riches; a man, that was tied unto him in so near a band of alliance, his brother having married the King's mother; 5 and lastly, a man, to whom he had committed the trust of his person, in making him his chamberlain: that this man, no ways disgraced, no ways discontent, no ways put in fear, should be false unto him. Clifford was required to say over again and again the particulars of his accusation; 10 being warned, that in a matter so unlikely, and that concerned so great a servant of the King's, he should not in any wise go too far. But the King finding that he did sadly and constantly, without hesitation or varying, and with those civil protestations that were fit, stand to that 15 that he had said, offering to justify it upon his soul and life; he caused him to be removed. And after he had not a little bemoaned himself unto his council there present, gave order that Sir William Stanley should be restrained in his own chamber where he lay before, in the square 20 tower: and the next day he was examined by the lords. Upon his examination he denied little of that wherewith he was charged, nor endeavoured much to excuse or extenuate his fault: so that, not very wisely, thinking to make his offence less by confession, he made it enough 25 for condemnation. It was conceived, that he trusted much to his former merits, and the interest that his brother had in the King. But those helps were over-weighed by divers things that made against him, and were predominant in the King's nature and mind. First, an over- 30 merit; for convenient merit, unto which reward may easily reach, doth best with Kings. Next the sense of his power; for the King thought, that he that could set him up, was the more dangerous to pull him down. Thirdly, the

glimmering of a confiscation; for he was the richest subject for value in the kingdom: there being found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in ready money and plate, besides jewels, household-stuff, stocks upon his grounds, and other personal estate exceeding great. And 5
 for his revenue in land and fee, it was three thousand pounds a year of old rent, a great matter in those times. Lastly, the nature of the time; for if the King had been out of fear of his own estate, it was not unlike he would have spared his life. But the cloud of so great a rebellion 10
 hanging over his head, made him work sure. Wherefore after some six weeks' distance of time, which the King did honourably interpose, both to give space to his brother's intercession, and to shew to the world that he had a conflict with himself what he should do; he was arraigned of 15
 high-treason, and condemned, and presently after beheaded.

Yet is it to this day left but in dark memory, both what the case of this noble person was, for which he suffered; and what likewise was the ground and cause of his defection, and the alienation of his heart from the King. His case 20
 was said to be this; That in discourse between Sir Robert Clifford and him he had said, "That if he were sure that
 "that young man were King Edward's son, he would never
 "bear arms against him." This case seems somewhat an hard case, both in respect of the conditional, and in respect 25
 of the other words. But for the conditional, it seemeth the judges of that time, who were learned men, and the three chief of them of the privy-council, thought it was a dangerous thing to admit *ifs* and *ands*, to qualify words of treason; whereby every man might express his malice, 30
 and blanch his danger. And it was like to the case, in the following times, of Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent; who had said, "That if King Henry the eighth did

“not take Catharine his wife again, he should be deprived
 “of his crown, and die the death of a dog.” And infinite
 cases may be put of like nature; which, it seemeth, the
 grave judges taking into consideration, would not admit of
 5 treasons upon condition. And as for the positive words,
 “That he would not bear arms against King Edward’s
 “son;” though the words seem calm, yet it was a plain
 and direct over-ruling of the King’s title, either by the line
 of Lancaster, or by act of parliament: which, no doubt,
 10 pierced the King more, than if Stanley had charged his
 lance upon him in the field. For if Stanley would hold
 that opinion, that a son of King Edward had still the
 better right, he being so principal a person of authority
 and favour about the King, it was to teach all England to
 15 say as much. And therefore, as those times were, that
 speech touched the quick. But some writers do put this
 out of doubt; for they say that Stanley did expressly pro-
 mise to aid Perkin, and sent him some help of treasure.

Now for the motive of his falling off from the King;
 20 it is true, that at Bosworth-field the King was beset, and
 in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of King
 Richard, and in manifest danger of his life; when this
 Stanley was sent by his brother, with three thousand men
 to his rescue, which he performed so, that King Richard
 25 was slain upon the place. So as the condition of mortal
 men is not capable of a greater benefit, than the King
 received by the hands of Stanley; being like the benefit
 of Christ, at once to save and crown. For which service
 the King gave him great gifts, made him his counsellor
 30 and chamberlain; and, somewhat contrary to his nature, had
 winked at the great spoils of Bosworth-field, which came
 almost wholly to this man’s hands, to his infinite enriching.
 Yet nevertheless, blown up with the conceit of his merit,

he did not think he had received good measure from the King, at least not pressing down and running over, as he expected. And his ambition was so exorbitant and unbounded, as he became suitor to the King for the earldom of Chester: which ever being a kind of appendage to the principality of Wales, and using to go to the King's son, his suit did not only end in a denial, but in a distaste: the King perceiving thereby, that his desires were intemperate, and his cogitations vast and irregular, and that his former benefits were but cheap, and lightly regarded by him. Wherefore the King began not to brook him well. And as a little leaven of new distaste doth commonly sour the whole lump of former merits, the King's wit began now to suggest unto his passion, that Stanley at Bosworth-field, though he came time enough to save his life, yet he stayed long enough to endanger it. But yet having no matter against him, he continued him in his places until this his fall.

After him was made lord chamberlain Giles lord Daueney, a man of great sufficiency and valour; the more because he was gentle and moderate.

There was a common opinion, that Sir Robert Clifford, who now was become the state informer, was from the beginning an emissary and spy of the King's; and that he fled over into Flanders with his consent and privity. But this is not probable; both because he never recovered that degree of grace, which he had with the King before his going over; and chiefly, for that the discovery which he had made touching the lord chamberlain, which was his great service, grew not from anything he learned abroad, for that he knew it well before he went.

These executions, and especially that of the lord chamberlain, which was the chief strength of the party, and by means of Sir Robert Clifford, who was the most

inward man of trust amongst them, did extremely quail the design of Perkin and his complices, as well through discouragement as distrust. So that they were now, like sand without lime, ill bound together; especially as many
 5 as were English, who were at a gaze, looking strange one upon another, not knowing who was faithful to their side; but thinking, that the King, what with his baits, and what with his nets, would draw them all unto him that were any thing worth. And indeed it came to pass, that divers came
 10 away by the thread, sometimes one, and sometimes another. Barley, that was joint commissioner with Clifford, did hold out one of the longest, till Perkin was far worn; yet made his peace at the length. But the fall of this great man, being in so high authority and favour, as was thought, with
 15 the King; and the manner of carriage of the business, as if there had been secret inquisition upon him for a great time before; and the cause for which he suffered, which was little more than for saying in effect, that the title of York was better than the title of Lancaster; which was
 20 the case almost of every man, at the least in opinion, was matter of great terror amongst all the King's servants and subjects; insomuch as no man almost thought himself secure, and men durst scarce commune or talk one with another, but there was a general diffidence every where:
 25 which nevertheless made the King rather more absolute than more safe. For "bleeding inwards, and shut vapours, "strangle soonest, and oppress most."

Hereupon presently came forth swarms and volleys of libels, which are the gusts of liberty of speech restrained,
 30 and the females of sedition, containing bitter invectives and slanders against the King and some of the council: for the contriving and dispersing whereof, after great diligence of inquiry, five mean persons were caught up and executed.

Mean while the King did not neglect Ireland, being the soil where these mushrooms and upstart weeds, that spring up in a night, did chiefly prosper. He sent therefore from hence, for the better settling of his affairs there, commissioners of both robes, the prior of Lanthony, to be his chancellor in that kingdom; and Sir Edward Poynings, with a power of men, and a martial commission, together with a civil power of his lieutenant, with a clause, that the earl of Kildare, then deputy, should obey him. But the wild Irish, who were the principal offenders, fled into the woods and bogs, after their manner; and those that knew themselves guilty in the pale fled to them. So that Sir Edward Poynings was enforced to make a wild chase upon the wild Irish: where, in respect of the mountains and fastnesses, he did little good. Which, either out of a suspicious melancholy upon his bad success, or the better to save his service from disgrace, he would needs impute unto the comfort that the rebels should receive underhand from the earl of Kildare; every light suspicion growing upon the earl, in respect of the Kildare that was in the action of Lambert Simnel, and slain at Stokefield. Wherefore he caused the earl to be apprehended, and sent into England; where, upon examination, he cleared himself so well, as he was replaced in his government. But Poynings, the better to make compensation of the meagreness of his service in the wars by acts of peace, called a parliament; where was made that memorable act, which at this day is called Poyning's law, whereby all the statutes of England were made to be of force in Ireland: for before they were not, neither are any now in force in Ireland, which were made in England since that time; which was the tenth year of the King.

About this time began to be discovered in the King

that disposition, which afterwards, nourished and whet on by bad counsellors and ministers, proved the blot of his times; which was the course he took to crush treasure out of his subjects' purses, by forfeitures upon penal laws. At
 5 this men did startle the more at this time, because it appeared plainly to be in the King's nature, and not out of his necessity, he being now in float for treasure: for that he had newly received the peace-money from France, the benevolence-money from his subjects, and great casualties
 10 upon the confiscations of the lord chamberlain, and divers others. The first noted case of this kind was that of Sir William Capel, alderman of London; who, upon sundry penal laws, was condemned in the sum of seven and twenty hundred pounds, and compounded with the King for six-
 15 teen hundred: and yet after, Empson would have cut another chop out of him, if the King had not died in the instant.

The summer following, the King, to comfort his mother, whom he did always tenderly love and revere, and to make
 20 open demonstration to the world, that the proceedings against Sir William Stanley, which were imposed upon him by necessity of state, had not in any degree diminished the affection he bare to Thomas his brother, went in progress to Latham, to make merry with his mother and the earl, and
 25 lay there divers days.

During this progress, Perkin Warbeck finding that time and temporising, which, whilst his practices were covert and wrought well in England, made for him; did now, when they were discovered and defeated, rather make against him,
 30 for that when matters once go down the hill, they stay not without a new force, resolved to try his adventure in some exploit upon England; hoping still upon the affections of the common people towards the house of York. Which

body of common people he thought was not to be practised upon, as persons of quality are; but that the only practice upon their affections was to set up a standard in the field. The place where he should make his attempt, he chose to be the coast of Kent.

5

The King by this time was grown to such a height of reputation for cunning and policy, that every accident and event that went well, was laid and imputed to his foresight, as if he had set it before: as in this particular of Perkin's design upon Kent. For the world would not believe afterwards, but the King, having secret intelligence of Perkin's intention for Kent, the better to draw it on, went of purpose into the north afar off, laying an open side unto Perkin, to make him come to the close, and so to trip up his heels, having made sure in Kent beforehand.

15

But so it was, that Perkin had gathered together a power of all nations, neither in number, nor in the hardiness and courage of the persons, contemptible, but in their nature and fortunes to be feared, as well of friends as enemies; being bankrupts, and many of them felons, and such as lived by rapine. These he put to sea, and arrived upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal in Kent, about July.

There he cast anchor, and to prove the affections of the people, sent some of his men to land, making great boasts of the power that was to follow. The Kentish men, perceiving that Perkin was not followed by any English of name or account, and that his forces consisted but of strangers born, and most of them base people and freebooters, fitter to spoil a coast, than to recover a kingdom; resorting unto the principal gentlemen of the country, professed their loyalty to the King, and desired to be directed and commanded for the best of the King's service. The gentlemen entering into consultation, directed some forces

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in good number to shew themselves upon the coast; and some of them to make signs to entice Perkin's soldiers to land, as if they would join with them; and some others to appear from some other places, and to make semblance as if they fled from them, the better to encourage them to land. But Perkin, who by playing the Prince, or else taught by secretary Frion, had learned thus much, that people under command do use to consult, and after to march in order; and rebels contrariwise run upon an head together in confusion, considering the delay of time, and observing their orderly and not tumultuary arming, doubted the worst. And therefore the wily youth would not set one foot out of his ship, till he might see things were sure. Wherefore the King's forces, perceiving that they could draw on no more than those that were formerly landed, set upon them and cut them in pieces, ere they could fly back to their ships. In which skirmish, besides those that fled and were slain, there were taken about an hundred and fifty persons. Which, for that the King thought, that to punish a few for example was gentleman's pay; but for rascal people, they were to be cut off every man, especially in the beginning of an enterprise; and likewise for that he saw, that Perkin's forces would now consist chiefly of such rabble and scum of desperate people, he therefore hanged them all for the greater terror. They were brought to London all railed in ropes, like a team of horses in a cart, and were executed some of them at London and Wapping, and the rest at divers places upon the sea coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks or lighthouses, to teach Perkin's people to avoid the coast. The King being advertised of the landing of the rebels, thought to leave his progress: but being certified the next day, that they were partly defeated and partly fled, he continued his progress, and sent Sir Richard

Guildford into Kent in message; who calling the country together, did much commend from the King their fidelity, manhood, and well handling of that service; and gave them all thanks, and, in private, promised reward to some particulars.

5

Upon the sixteenth of November, this being the eleventh year of the King, was holden the serjeants' feast at Ely-place, there being nine serjeants of that call. The King, to honour the feast, was present with his Queen at the dinner; being a Prince that was ever ready to grace and
10 countenance the professors of the law; having a little of that, that as he governed his subjects by his laws, so he governed his laws by his lawyers.

This year also the King entered into league with the Italian potentates for the defence of Italy against France.
15 For King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples, and lost it again, in a kind of felicity of a dream. He passed the whole length of Italy without resistance; so that it was true which Pope Alexander was wont to say, That the Frenchmen came into Italy with chalk in their hands, to
20 mark up their lodgings, rather than with swords to fight. He likewise entered and won, in effect, the whole kingdom of Naples itself, without striking stroke. But presently thereupon he did commit and multiply so many errors, as was too great a task for the best fortune to overcome.
25 He gave no contentment to the barons of Naples, of the faction of the Angeovines; but scattered his rewards according to the mercenary appetites of some about him. He put all Italy upon their guard, by the seizing and holding of Ostia, and the protecting of the liberty of Pisa; which
30 made all men suspect, that his purposes looked farther than his title of Naples. He fell too soon at difference with Ludovico Sfortia, who was the man that carried the keys

which brought him in, and shut him out. He neglected to extinguish some relics of the war. And lastly, in regard of his easy passage through Italy without resistance, he entered into an overmuch despising of the arms of the
5 Italians; whereby he left the realm of Naples at his departure so much the less provided. So that not long after his return, the whole kingdom revolted to Ferdinando the younger, and the French were quite driven out. Nevertheless Charles did make both great threats, and great
10 preparations to re-enter Italy once again. Wherefore at the instance of divers of the states of Italy, and especially of Pope Alexander, there was a league concluded between the said Pope, Maximilian King of the Romans, Henry King of England, Ferdinando and Isabella King
15 and Queen of Spain, for so they are constantly placed in the original treaty throughout, Augustino Barbadico duke of Venice, and Ludovico Sfortia duke of Milan, for the common defence of their estates: wherein though Ferdinando of Naples was not named as principal, yet, no doubt,
20 the kingdom of Naples was tacitly included as a fee of the church.

There died also this year Cecile duchess of York, mother to king Edward the fourth, at her castle of Barkhamsted, being of extreme years, and who had lived to
25 see three Princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. She was buried at Foderingham, by her husband.

This year also the King called his parliament, where many laws were made of a more private and vulgar nature, than ought to detain the reader of an history. And it may
30 be justly suspected by the proceedings following, that as the King did excel in good commonwealth laws, so nevertheless he had, in secret, a design to make use of them, as well for collecting of treasure, as for correcting of manners;

and so meaning thereby to harrow his people, did accumulate them the rather.

The principal law that was made this parliament, was a law of a strange nature ; rather just than legal ; and more magnanimous than provident. This law did ordain ; That
 5 no person that did assist in arms, or otherwise, the King for the time being, should after be impeached therefore, or attainted, either by the course of the law, or by act of parliament. But if any such act of attainder did happen to be made, it should be void and of none effect ; for that
 10 it was agreeable to reason of estate, that the subject should not inquire of the justness of the King's title, or quarrel ; and it was agreeable to good conscience, that, whatsoever the fortunes of the war were, the subject should not suffer for his obedience. The spirit of this law was wonderful
 15 pious and noble, being like, in matter of war, unto the spirit of David in matter of plague ; who said, *If I have sinned, strike me ; but what have these sheep done ?* Neither wanted this law parts of prudent and deep foresight : for it did the better take away occasion for the people to busy
 20 themselves to pry into the King's title ; for that howsoever it fell, their safety was already provided for. Besides, it could not but greatly draw unto him the love and hearts of the people, because he seemed more careful for them than for himself. But yet nevertheless it did take off from
 25 his party that great tie and spur of necessity, to fight and go victors out of the field ; considering their lives and fortunes were put in safety and protected, whether they stood to it, or ran away. But the force and obligation of this law was in itself illusory, as to the latter part of it, by a
 30 precedent act of parliament to bind or frustrate a future. For a supreme and absolute power cannot conclude itself, neither can that which is in nature revocable be made

fixed, no more than if a man should appoint or declare by his will, that if he made any later will it should be void. And for the case of the act of parliament, there is a notable precedent of it in King Henry the eighth's time; 5 who doubting he might die in the minority of his son, procured an act to pass, That no statute made during the minority of a King, should bind him or his successors, except it were confirmed by the King under his great seal at his full age. But the first act that passed in King 10 Edward the sixth's time, was an act of repeal of that former act; at which time nevertheless the King was minor. But things that do not bind, may satisfy for the time.

There was also made a shoring or under-propping act for the benevolence: to make the sums which any person 15 had agreed to pay, and nevertheless were not brought in, to be leviabie by course of law. Which act did not only bring in the arrears, but did indeed countenance the whole business, and was pretended to be made at the desire of those that had been forward to pay.

20 This parliament also was made that good law, which gave the attainit upon a false verdict between party and party, which before was a kind of evangile, irremediabie. It extends not to causes capital, as well because they are for the most part at the King's suit; as because in them, 25 if they be followed in course of indictment, there passeth a double jury, the indictors, and the triers; and so not twelve men, but four and twenty. But it seemeth that was not the only reason; for this reason holdeth not in the appeal. But the great reason was, lest it should tend 30 to the discouragement of jurors in cases of life and death; if they should be subject to suit and penalty, where the favour of life maketh against them. It extendeth not also to any suit, where the demand is under the value of

forty pounds ; for that in such cases of petty value it would not quit the charge, to go about again.

There was another law made against a branch of ingratitude in women, who having been advanced by their husbands, or their husbands' ancestors, should alien, and thereby seek to defeat the heirs, or those in remainder, of the lands, whereunto they had been so advanced. The remedy was, by giving power to the next, to enter for a forfeiture. 5

There was also enacted that charitable law, for the admission of poor suitors *in forma pauperis*, without fee to counsellor, attorney, or clerk, whereby poor men became rather able to vex than unable to sue. There were divers other good laws made that parliament, as we said before : but we still observe our manner, in selecting out those, that are not of a vulgar nature. 15

The King this while, though he sat in parliament, as in full peace, and seemed to account of the designs of Perkin, who was now returned into Flanders, but as a may-game ; yet having the composition of a wise King, stout without, and apprehensive within, had given order for the watching of beacons upon the coasts, and erecting more where they stood too thin, and had a careful eye where this wandering cloud would break. But Perkin, advised to keep his fire, which hitherto burned as it were upon green wood, alive with continual blowing ; sailed again into Ireland, whence he had formerly departed, rather upon the hopes of France, than upon any unreadiness or discouragement he found in that people. But in the space of time between the King's diligence and Poyning's commission had so settled things there, as there was nothing left for Perkin, but the blustering affection of wild and naked people. Wherefore he was advised by his council, to seek aid of the King of Scotland, a 25 30

Prince young and valorous, and in good terms with his nobles and people, and ill affected to King Henry. At this time also both Maximilian and Charles of France began to bear no good will to the King: the one being displeas-
 5 with the King's prohibition of commerce with Flanders; the other holding the King for suspect, in regard of his late entry into league with the Italians. Wherefore, besides the open aids of the duchess of Burgundy, which did with sails and oars put on and advance Perkin's designs, there wanted
 10 not some secret tides from Maximilian and Charles, which did further his fortunes: insomuch as they, both by their secret letters and messages, recommended him to the King of Scotland.

Perkin therefore coming into Scotland upon those hopes,
 15 with a well-appointed company, was by the King of Scots, being formerly well prepared, honourably welcomed, and soon after his arrival admitted to his presence, in a solemn manner: for the King received him in state in his chamber of presence, accompanied with divers of his nobles.
 20 And Perkin well attended, as well with those that the King had sent before him, as with his own train, entered the room where the King was, and coming near to the King, and bowing a little to embrace him, he retired some paces back, and with a loud voice, that all that were present might
 25 hear him, made his declaration in this manner:

“High and mighty King, your grace, and these your
 “nobles here present, may be pleased benignly to bow your
 “ears, to hear the tragedy of a young man, that by right
 “ought to hold in his hand the ball of a kingdom; but by
 30 “fortune is made himself a ball, tossed from misery to
 “misery, and from place to place. You see here before you
 “the spectacle of a Plantagenet, who hath been carried from
 “the nursery to the sanctuary; from the sanctuary, to the

"direful prison; from the prison, to the hand of the cruel
 "tormentor; and from that hand to the wide wilderness, as
 "I may truly call it, for so the world hath been to me. So
 "that he that is born to a great kingdom, hath not ground
 "to set his foot upon, more than this where he now standeth 5
 "by your princely favour. Edward the fourth, late King of
 "England, as your grace cannot but have heard, left two
 "sons, Edward, and Richard duke of York, both very young.
 "Edward the eldest succeeded their father in the crown, by
 "the name of King Edward the fifth: but Richard duke of 10
 "Gloucester, their unnatural uncle, first thirsting after the
 "kingdom, through ambition, and afterwards thirsting for
 "their blood, out of desire to secure himself, employed an
 "instrument of his, confident to him, as he thought, to
 "murder them both. But this man that was employed to 15
 "execute that execrable tragedy, having cruelly slain King
 "Edward, the eldest of the two, was moved partly by re-
 "morse, and partly by some other means, to save Richard
 "his brother; making a report nevertheless to the tyrant,
 "that he had performed his commandment to both brethren. 20
 "This report was accordingly believed, and published gene-
 "rally: so that the world hath been possessed of an opinion,
 "that they both were barbarously made away; though ever
 "truth hath some sparks that fly abroad, until it appear in
 "due time, as this hath had. But Almighty God, that stop- 25
 "ped the mouth of the lion, and saved little Joash from the
 "tyranny of Athaliah, when she massacred the King's chil-
 "dren; and did save Isaac, when the hand was stretched
 "forth to sacrifice him; preserved the second brother. For
 "I myself, that stand here in your presence, am that very 30
 "Richard duke of York, brother of that unfortunate Prince
 "King Edward the fifth, now the most rightful surviving
 "heir male to that victorious and most noble Edward, of

“that name the fourth, late King of England. For the
“manner of my escape, it is fit it should pass in silence, or,
“at least, in a more secret relation ; for that it may concern
“some alive, and the memory of some that are dead. Let
5 “it suffice to think, that I had then a mother living, a
“Queen, and one that expected daily such a commandment
“from the tyrant, for the murdering of her children. Thus
“in my tender age escaping by God’s mercy out of London,
“I was secretly conveyed over sea : where, after a time, the
10 “party that had me in charge, upon what new fears, change
“of mind or practice, God knoweth, suddenly forsook me.
“Whereby I was forced to wander abroad, and to seek
“mean conditions for the sustaining of my life. Wherefore
“distracted between several passions, the one of fear to be
15 “known, lest the tyrant should have a new attempt upon
“me ; the other of grief and disdain to be unknown, and to
“live in that base and servile manner that I did ; I resolved
“with myself to expect the tyrant’s death, and then to put
“myself into my sister’s hands, who was next heir to the
20 “crown. But in this season it happened one Henry Tudor,
“son to Edmund Tudor earl of Richmond, to come from
“France and enter into the realm, and by subtile and fowl
“means to obtain the crown of the same, which to me right-
“fully appertained : so that it was but a change from tyrant
25 “to tyrant. This Henry, my extreme and mortâl enemy, so
“soon as he had knowledge of my being alive, imagined
“and wrought all the subtile ways and means he could, to
“procure my final destruction : for my mortal enemy hath
“not only falsely surmised me to be a feigned person, giving
30 “me nick-names, so abusing the world ; but also, to defer
“and put me from entry into England, hath offered large
“sums of money to corrupt the Princes and their ministers,
“with whom I have been retained ; and made importune

“labours to certain servants about my person, to murder or
 “poison me, and others to forsake and leave my righteous
 “quarrel, and to depart from my service, as Sir Robert Clif-
 “ford, and others. So that every man of reason may well
 “perceive, that Henry, calling himself King of England, 5
 “needed not to have bestowed such great sums of treasure,
 “nor so to have busied himself with importune and inces-
 “sant labour and industry, to compass my death and ruin,
 “if I had been such a feigned person. But the truth of my
 “cause being so manifest, moved the most Christian King 10
 “Charles, and the lady duchess dowager of Burgundy my
 “most dear aunt, not only to acknowledge the truth thereof,
 “but lovingly to assist me. But it seemeth that God above,
 “for the good of this whole island, and the knitting of these
 “two kingdoms of England and Scotland in a strait concord 15
 “and amity, by so great an obligation, hath reserved the
 “placing of me in the imperial throne of England for the
 “arms and succours of your grace. Neither is it the first
 “time that a King of Scotland hath supported them that
 “were bereft and spoiled of the kingdom of England, as of 20
 “late, in fresh memory, it was done in the person of Henry
 “the sixth. Wherefore, for that your grace hath given clear
 “signs, that you are in no noble quality inferior to your
 “royal ancestors; I, so distressed a Prince, was hereby
 “moved to come and put myself into your royal hands, de- 25
 “siring your assistance to recover my kingdom of England;
 “promising faithfully to bear myself towards your grace no
 “otherwise, than if I were your own natural brother; and
 “will, upon the recovery of mine inheritance, gratefully do
 “you all the pleasure that is in my utmost power.” 30

After Perkin had told his tale, King James answered
 bravely and wisely; “That whatsoever he were, he should
 “not repent him of putting himself into his hands.” And

from that time forth, though there wanted not some about him, that would have persuaded him that all was but an illusion; yet notwithstanding, either taken by Perkin's amiable and alluring behaviour, or inclining to the recommendation of the great Princes abroad, or willing to take an occasion of a war against King Henry, he entertained him in all things, as became the person of Richard duke of York; embraced his quarrel; and, the more to put it out of doubt, that he took him to be a great Prince, and not a representation only, he gave consent, that this duke should take to wife the lady Catharine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley, being a near kinswoman to the King himself, and a young virgin of excellent beauty and virtue.

Not long after, the King of Scots in person, with Perkin in his company, entered with a great army, though it consisted chiefly of borderers being raised somewhat suddenly, into Northumberland. And Perkin, for a perfume before him as he went, caused to be published a proclamation¹ of this tenor following, in the name of Richard duke of York, true inheritor of the crown of England:

“IT hath pleased God, who putteth down the mighty
 “from their seat, and exalteth the humble, and suffereth
 “not the hopes of the just to perish in the end, to give us
 “means at the length to shew ourselves armed unto our
 “lieges and people of England. But far be it from us to
 “intend their hurt or damage, or to make war upon them,
 “otherwise than to deliver ourself and them from tyranny
 “and oppression. For our mortal enemy Henry Tudor, a

¹ The original of this proclamation remaineth with Sir Robert Cotton, a worthy preserver and treasurer of rare antiquities: from whose manuscripts I have had much light for the furnishing of this work.

“false usurper of the crown of England, which to us by
 “natural and lineal right appertaineth, knowing in his own
 “heart our undoubted right, we being the very Richard duke
 “of York, younger son, and now surviving heir male of the
 “noble and victorious Edward the fourth, late King of 5
 “England, hath not only deprived us of our kingdom, but
 “likewise by all foul and wicked means sought to betray
 “us, and bereave us of our life. Yet if his tyranny only
 “extended itself to our person, although our royal blood
 “teaches us to be sensible of injuries, it should be less 10
 “to our grief. But this Tudor, who boasteth himself to
 “have overthrown a tyrant, hath, ever since his first en-
 “trance into his usurped reign, put little in practice, but
 “tyranny and the feats thereof.

“For King Richard, our unnatural uncle, although 15
 “desire of rule did blind him, yet in his other actions,
 “like a true Plantagenet, was noble, and loved the honour
 “of the realm, and the contentment and comfort of his
 “nobles and people. But this our mortal enemy, agree-
 “able to the meanness of his birth, hath trodden under 20
 “foot the honour of this nation; selling our best con-
 “federates for money, and making merchandise of the
 “blood, estates, and fortunes of our peers and subjects,
 “by feigned wars, and dishonourable peace, only to enrich
 “his coffers. Nor unlike hath been his hateful misgovern- 25
 “ment, and evil deportments at home. First, he hath to
 “fortify his false quarrel, caused divers nobles of this our
 “realm, whom he held suspect and stood in dread of, to
 “be cruelly murdered; as our cousin Sir William Stanley,
 “lord chamberlain, Sir Simon Mountfort, Sir Robert Rat- 30
 “cliffe, William Daubeney, Humphrey Stafford, and many
 “others, besides such as have dearly bought their lives
 “with intolerable ransoms: some of which nobles are now

“ in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet
 “ keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin,
 “ Edward, son and heir to our uncle duke of Clarence,
 “ and others; withholding from them their rightful in-
 5 “ heritance, to the intent they should never be of might
 “ and power, to aid and assist us at our need, after the
 “ duty of their legiances. He also married by compulsion
 “ certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our said
 “ cousin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of
 10 “ the royal blood, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends
 “ of simple and low degree; and, putting apart all well-
 “ disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about
 “ his person, but bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver
 “ King, David Owen, Riseley, Turberville, Tiler, Chomley,
 15 “ Empson, James Hobart, John Cut, Garth, Henry Wyat,
 “ and such other caitiffs and villains of birth, which by
 “ subtile inventions, and pilling of the people, have been
 “ the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the
 “ misrule and mischief now reigning in England.

20 “ We remembering these premises, with the great and
 “ execrable offences daily committed and done by our
 “ foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the
 “ liberties and franchises of our mother the holy church,
 “ upon pretences of wicked and heathenish policy, to the
 25 “ high displeasure of Almighty God, besides the manifold
 “ treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies,
 “ extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes,
 “ taxes, tallages, benevolences, and other unlawful imposi-
 “ tions, and grievous exactions, with many other heinous
 30 “ effects, to the likely destruction and desolation of the
 “ whole realm: shall by God’s grace, and the help and
 “ assistance of the great lords of our blood, with the counsel
 “ of other sad persons, see that the commodities of our

“ realm be employed to the most advantage of the same ;
 “ the intercourse of merchandise betwixt realm and realm
 “ to be ministered and handled as shall more be to the
 “ common weal and prosperity of our subjects ; and all such
 “ dismes, taxes, tallages, benevolences, unlawful imposi- 5
 “ tions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, to
 “ be fordone and laid apart, and never from henceforth
 “ to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble pro-
 “ genitors, Kings of England, have of old time been ac-
 “ customed to have the aid, succour, and help of their 10
 “ subjects, and true liege-men.

“ And farther, we do, out of our grace and clemency,
 “ hereby as well publish and promise to all our subjects
 “ remission and free pardon of all by-past offences what-
 “ soever, against our person or estate, in adhering to our 15
 “ said enemy, by whom, we know well, they have been
 “ misled, if they shall within time convenient submit them-
 “ selves unto us. And for such as shall come with the
 “ foremost to assist our righteous quarrel, we shall make
 “ them so far partakers of our princely favour and bounty, 20
 “ as shall be highly for the comfort of them and theirs,
 “ both during their life and after their death : as also we
 “ shall, by all means which God shall put into our hands,
 “ demean ourselves to give royal contentment to all degrees
 “ and estates of our people, maintaining the liberties of 25
 “ holy church in their entire, preserving the honours, privi-
 “ leges, and preeminences of our nobles, from contempt
 “ of disparagement, according to the dignity of their blood.
 “ We shall also unyoke our people from all heavy burdens
 “ and endurances, and confirm our cities, boroughs and 30
 “ towns, in their charters and freedoms, with enlargement
 “ where it shall be deserved ; and in all points give our
 “ subjects cause to think, that the blessed and debonair

“government of our noble father King Edward, in his
 “last times, is in us revived.

“And forasmuch as the putting to death, or taking alive
 “of our said mortal enemy, may be a mean to stay much
 5 “effusion of blood, which otherwise may ensue, if by
 “compulsion or fair promises he shall draw after him any
 “number of our subjects to resist us, which we desire to
 “avoid, though we be certainly informed, that our said
 “enemy is purposed and prepared to fly the land, having
 10 “already made over great masses of the treasure of our
 “crown, the better to support him in foreign parts, we
 “do hereby declare, that whosoever shall take or distress
 “our said enemy, though the party be of never so mean
 “a condition, he shall be by us rewarded with a thousand
 15 “pound in money, forthwith to be laid down to him, and
 “an hundred marks by the year of inheritance; besides
 “that he may otherwise merit, both toward God and all
 “good people, for the destruction of such a tyrant.

“Lastly, we do all men to wit, and herein we take also
 20 “God to witness, that whereas God hath moved the heart
 “of our dearest cousin, the King of Scotland, to aid us
 “in person in this our righteous quarrel; it is altogether
 “without any pact or promise, or so much as demand of
 “any thing that may prejudice our crown or subjects:
 25 “but contrariwise, with promise on our said cousin’s part,
 “that whensoever he shall find us in sufficient strength to
 “get the upper hand of our enemy, which we hope will
 “be very suddenly, he will forthwith peaceably return into
 “his own kingdom; contenting himself only with the glory
 30 “of so honourable an enterprise, and our true and faithful
 “love and amity: which we shall ever, by the grace of
 “Almighty God, so order, as shall be to the great comfort
 “of both kingdoms.”

But Perkin's proclamation did little edify with the people of England; neither was he the better welcome for the company he came in. Wherefore the King of Scotland seeing none came in to Perkin, nor none stirred any where in his favour, turned his enterprise into a rode; 5 and wasted and destroyed the country of Northumberland with fire and sword. But hearing that there were forces coming against him, and not willing that they should find his men heavy and laden with booty, he returned into Scotland with great spoils, deferring farther prosecution 10 till another time. It is said, that Perkin, acting the part of a Prince handsomely, when he saw the Scottish fell to waste the country, came to the King in a passionate manner, making great lamentation, and desired, that that might not be the manner of making the war; for that no crown 15 was so dear to his mind, as that he desired to purchase it with the blood and ruin of his country. Whereunto the King answered half in sport, that he doubted much he was careful for that that was none of his, and that he should be too good a steward for his enemy, to save the country 20 to his use.

By this time, being the eleventh year of the King, the interruption of trade between the English and the Flemish began to pinch the merchants of both nations very sore: which moved them by all means they could devise, to 25 affect and dispose their sovereigns respectively, to open the intercourse again; wherein time favoured them. For the archduke and his council began to see, that Perkin would prove but a runagate and citizen of the world; and that it was the part of children to fall out about babies. 30 And the King on his part, after the attempts upon Kent and Northumberland, began to have the business of Perkin in less estimation; so as he did not put it to account

in any consultation of state. But that that moved him most was, that being a King that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue in the gate-vein, which disperseth
5 that blood. And yet he kept state so far, as first to be sought unto. Wherein the merchant-adventurers likewise, being a strong company at that time, and well under-set with rich men, and good order, did hold out bravely; taking off the commodities of the kingdom, though they
10 lay dead upon their hands for want of vent. At the last, commissioners met at London to treat: on the King's part, bishop Fox lord privy seal, viscount Wells, Kendal prior of saint John's, Warham master of the rolls, who began to gain much upon the King's opinion; Urswick,
15 who was almost ever one; and Riseley: on the archduke's part, the lord Bevers his admiral, the lord Verunsel president of Flanders, and others. These concluded a perfect treaty, both of amity and intercourse, between the King and the archduke; containing articles both of state, com-
20 merce, and free fishing. This is that treaty which the Flemings call at this day *intercursus magnus*; both because it is more complete than the precedent treaties of the third and fourth year of the King; and chiefly to give it a difference from the treaty that followed in the one
25 and twentieth year of the King, which they call *intercursus malus*. In this treaty, there was an express article against the reception of the rebels of either Prince by other; purporting, That if any such rebel should be required, by the Prince whose rebel he was, of the Prince confederate, that
30 forthwith the Prince confederate should by proclamation command him to avoid the country: which if he did not within fifteen days, the rebel was to stand proscribed, and put out of protection. But nevertheless in this article

Perkin was not named, neither perhaps contained, because he was no rebel. But by this means his wings were clipped of his followers that were English. And it was expressly comprised in the treaty, that it should extend to the territories of the duchess dowager. After the intercourse thus restored, the English merchants came again to their mansion at Antwerp, where they were received with procession and great joy. 5

The winter following, being the twelfth year of his reign, the King called again his parliament; where he did much exaggerate both the malice, and the cruel predatory war lately made by the King of Scotland: That that King, being in amity with him, and no ways provoked, should so burn in hatred towards him, as to drink of the lees and dregs of Perkin's intoxication, who was every where else detected and discarded: and that when he perceived it was out of his reach to do the King any hurt, he had turned his arms upon unharmed and unprovided people, to spoil only and depopulate, contrary to the laws both of war and peace: concluding, that he could neither with honour nor with the safety of his people, to whom he did owe protection, let pass these wrongs unrevenged. The parliament understood him well, and gave him a subsidy, limited to the sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteenths: for his wars were always to him as a mine of treasure, of a strange kind of ore; iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom. At this parliament, for that there had been so much time spent in making laws the year before, and for that it was called purposely in respect of the Scottish war, there were no laws made to be remembered. Only there passed a law, at the suit of the merchant-adventurers of England, against the merchant-adventurers of London, for monopolizing and 15 20 25 30

exacting upon the trade: which it seemeth they did a little to save themselves, after the hard time they had sustained by want of trade. But those innovations were taken away by parliament.

5 But it was fatal to the King to fight for his money; and though he avoided to fight with enemies abroad, yet he was still enforced to fight for it with rebels at home: for no sooner began the subsidy to be levied in Cornwall, but the people there began to grudge and murmur. The Cornish
 10 being a race of men, stout of stomach, mighty of body and limb, and that lived hardly in a barren country, and many of them could, for a need, live under ground, that were tinners. They muttered extremely, that it was a thing not to be suffered, that for a little stir of the Scots, soon blown
 15 over, they should be thus grinded to powder with payments: and said it was for them to pay that had too much, and lived idly. But they would eat their bread that they got with the sweat of their brows, and no man should take it from them. And as in the tides of people once up, there
 20 want not commonly stirring winds to make them more rough; so this people did light upon two ringleaders or captains of the rout. The one was Michael Joseph, a blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, a notable talking fellow, and no less desirous to be talked of. The other was Thomas Flam-
 25 mock, a lawyer, who, by telling his neighbours commonly upon any occasion that the law was on their side, had gotten great sway amongst them. This man talked learnedly, and as if he could tell how to make a rebellion, and never break the peace. He told the people, that subsidies were
 30 not to be granted, nor levied in this case; that is, for wars of Scotland: for that the law had provided another course, by service of escuage, for those journeys; much less when all was quiet, and war was made but a pretence to poll and

pill the people. And therefore that it was good they should not stand now like sheep before the shearers, but put on harness, and take weapons in their hands. Yet to do no creature hurt ; but go and deliver the King a strong petition, for the laying down of those grievous payments, and for the punishment of those that had given him that counsel ; to make others beware how they did the like in time to come. And said, for his part he did not see how they could do the duty of true Englishmen, and good liege-men, except they did deliver the King from such wicked ones, that would destroy both him and the country. Their aim was at archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Bray, who were the King's screens in this envy. 5

After that these two, Flammock and the blacksmith, had by joint and several pratings found tokens of consent in the multitude, they offered themselves to lead them, until they should hear of better men to be their leaders, which they said would be ere long : telling them farther, that they would be but their servants, and first in every danger ; but doubted not but to make both the west-end and the east-end of England to meet in so good a quarrel ; and that all, rightly understood, was but for the King's service. The people upon these seditious instigations, did arm, most of them with bows, and arrows, and bills, and such other weapons of rude and country people, and forthwith under the command of their leaders, which in such cases is ever at pleasure, marched out of Cornwall through Devonshire unto Taunton in Somersetshire, without any slaughter, violence, or spoil of the country. At Taunton they killed in fury an officious and eager commissioner for the subsidy, whom they called the provost of Perin. Thence they marched to Wells, where the lord Audley, with whom their leaders had before some secret intelligence, a nobleman of 15 20 25 30

an ancient family, but unquiet and popular, and aspiring to ruin, came in to them, and was by them, with great gladness and cries of joy, accepted as their general; they being now proud that they were led by a nobleman. The lord Audley led them on from Wells to Salisbury and from Salisbury to Winchester. Thence the foolish people, who, in effect, led their leaders, had a mind to be led into Kent, fancying that the people there would join with them; contrary to all reason or judgment, considering the Kentish men had shewed great loyalty and affection to the King so lately before. But the rude people had heard Flammock say, that Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England. And upon these vain noises, they looked for great matters at their hands, in a cause which they conceited to be for the liberty of the subject. But when they were come into Kent, the country was so well settled, both by the King's late kind usage towards them, and by the credit and power of the earl of Kent, the lord Abergavenny, and the lord Cobham, as neither gentleman nor yeoman came in to their aid; which did much damp and dismay many of the simpler sort; insomuch as divers of them did secretly fly from the army, and went home: but the sturdier sort, and those that were most engaged, stood by it, and rather waxed proud, than failed in hopes and courage. For as it did somewhat appal them, that the people came not in to them; so it did no less encourage them, that the King's forces had not set upon them, having marched from the west unto the east of England. Wherefore they kept on their way, and encamped upon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham; threatening either to bid battle to the King, for now the seas went higher than to Morton and Bray, or to take London within his view; imagining with themselves, there to find no less fear than wealth.

But to return to the King. When first he heard of this commotion of the Cornish men occasioned by the subsidy, he was much troubled therewith; not for itself, but in regard of the concurrence of other dangers that did hang over him at that time. For he doubted lest a war from Scotland, a rebellion from Cornwall, and the practices and conspiracies of Perkin and his partakers, would come upon him at once: knowing well, that it was a dangerous triplicity to a monarchy, to have the arms of a foreigner, the discontents of subjects, and the title of a pretender to meet. Nevertheless the occasion took him in some part well provided. For as soon as the parliament had broken up, the King had presently raised a puissant army to war upon Scotland. And King James of Scotland likewise, on his part, had made great preparations, either for defence, or for new assailing of England. But as for the King's forces, they were not only in preparation, but in readiness presently to set forth, under the conduct of Daubeney the lord chamberlain. But as soon as the King understood of the rebellion of Cornwall, he stayed those forces, retaining them for his own service and safety. But therewithal he despatched the earl of Surrey into the north, for the defence and strength of those parts, in case the Scots should stir. But for the course he held towards the rebels, it was utterly differing from his former custom and practice; which was ever full of forwardness and celerity to make head against them, or to set upon them as soon as ever they were in action. This he was wont to do. But now, besides that he was attempered by years, and less in love with dangers, by the continued fruition of a crown; it was a time when the various appearance to his thoughts of perils of several natures, and from divers parts, did make him judge it his best and surest way, to keep his strength together in the seat and centre of his kingdom:

according to the ancient Indian emblem, in such a swelling season, to hold the hand upon the middle of the bladder, that no side might rise. Besides, there was no necessity put upon him to alter his counsel. For neither did the rebels
5 spoil the country, in which case it had been dishonour to abandon his people: neither on the other side did their forces gather or increase, which might hasten him to precipitate and assail them before they grew too strong. And lastly, both reason of estate and war seemed to agree
10 with this course: for that insurrections of base people are commonly more furious in their beginnings. And by this means also he had them the more at vantage, being tired and harassed with a long march; and more at mercy, being cut off far from their country, and therefore not able by any
15 sudden flight to get to retreat, and to renew the troubles.

When therefore the rebels were encamped on Blackheath upon the hill, whence they might behold the city of London, and the fair valley about it; the King knowing well, that it stood him upon, by how much the more he had
20 hitherto protracted the time in not encountering them, by so much the sooner to despatch with them, that it might appear to have been no coldness in fore-slowng, but wisdom in choosing his time; resolved with all speed to assail them, and yet with that providence and surety, as should leave
25 little to venture or fortune. And having very great and puissant forces about him, the better to master all events and accidents, he divided them into three parts; the first was led by the earl of Oxford in chief, assisted by the earls of Essex and Suffolk. These noblemen were appointed,
30 with some corners of horse, and bands of foot, and good store of artillery, wheeling about to put themselves beyond the hill where the rebels were encamped; and to beset all the skirts and descents thereof, except those that lay to-

wards London ; thereby to have these wild beasts, as it were, in a toil. The second part of his forces, which were those that were to be most in action, and upon which he relied most for the fortune of the day, he did assign to be led by the lord chamberlain, who was appointed to set upon the rebels in front, from that side which is towards London. The third part of his forces, being likewise great and brave forces, he retained about himself, to be ready upon all events to restore the fight, or consummate the victory ; and mean while to secure the city. And for that purpose he encamped in person in Saint George's Fields, putting himself between the city and the rebels. But the city of London, especially at the first, upon the near encamping of the rebels, was in great tumult : as it useth to be with wealthy and populous cities, especially those which for greatness and fortune are queens of their regions, who seldom see out of their windows, or from their towers, an army of enemies. But that which troubled him most, was the conceit, that they dealt with a rout of people, with whom there was no composition or condition, or orderly treating, if need were ; but likely to be bent altogether upon rapine and spoil. And although they had heard that the rebels had behaved themselves quietly and modestly by the way as they went ; yet they doubted much that would not last, but rather make them more hungry, and more in appetite to fall upon spoil in the end. Wherefore there was great running to and fro of people, some to the gates, some to the walls, some to the water-side ; giving themselves alarms and panic fears continually. Nevertheless both Tate the lord mayor, and Shaw and Haddon the sheriffs, did their parts stoutly and well, in arming and ordering the people. And the King likewise did adjoin some captains of experience in the wars, to advise and assist the citizens. But soon after, when they

understood that the King had so ordered the matter, that the rebels must win three battles, before they could approach the city, and that he had put his own person between the rebels and them, and that the great care was, rather how to
5 impound the rebels that none of them might escape, than that any doubt was made to vanquish them; they grew to be quiet and out of fear; the rather, for the confidence they reposed, which was not small, in the three leaders, Oxford, Essex, and Daubeney; all men well famed and loved
10 amongst the people. As for Jasper duke of Bedford, whom the king used to employ with the first in his wars, he was then sick, and died soon after.

It was the two and twentieth of June, and a Saturday, which was the day of the week the King fancied, when the
15 battle was fought; though the King had, by all the art he could devise, given out a false day, as if he prepared to give the rebels battle on the Monday following, the better to find them unprovided, and in disarray. The lords that were appointed to circle the hill, had some days before planted
20 themselves, as at the receipt, in places convenient. In the afternoon, towards the decline of the day, which was done, the better to keep the rebels in opinion that they should not fight that day, the lord Daubeney marched on towards them, and first beat some troops of them from Deptford-
25 bridge, where they fought manfully; but, being in no great number, were soon driven back, and fled up to their main army upon the hill. The army at that time, hearing of the approach of the King's forces, were putting themselves in array, not without much confusion. But neither had they
30 placed, upon the first high ground towards the bridge, any forces to second the troops below, that kept the bridge; neither had they brought forwards their main battle, which stood in array far into the heath, near to the ascent of the

hill. So that the earl with his forces mounted the hill, and recovered the plain, without resistance. The lord Daubeney charged them with great fury; insomuch as he had like, by accident, to have brandled the fortune of the day: for, by inconsiderate forwardness in fighting at the head of his 5 troops, he was taken by the rebels, but immediately rescued and delivered. The rebels maintained the fight for a small time, and for their persons shewed no want of courage; but being ill armed, and ill led, and without horse or artillery, they were with no great difficulty cut in pieces, and put 10 to flight. And for their three leaders, the lord Audley, the blacksmith, and Flammock, as commonly the captains of commotions are but half-couraged men, suffered themselves to be taken alive. The number slain on the rebels' part were some two thousand men; their army amounting, as it 15 is said, unto the number of sixteen thousand. The rest were, in effect, all taken; for that the hill, as was said, was encompassed with the King's forces round about. On the King's part there died about three hundred, most of them shot with arrows, which were reported to be of the length of 20 a tailor's yard; so strong and mighty a bow the Cornish men were said to draw.

The victory thus obtained, the King created divers bannerets, as well upon Blackheath, where his lieutenant had won the field, whither he rode in person to perform the said 25 creation, as in St George's Fields, where his own person had been encamped. And for matter of liberality, he did, by open edict, give the goods of all the prisoners unto those that had taken them; either to take them in kind, or compound for them, as they could. After matter of honour 30 and liberality, followed matter of severity and execution. The lord Audley was led from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a paper coat painted with his own arms; the arms reversed,

the coat torn, and he at Tower-hill beheaded. Flammock and the blacksmith were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn : the blacksmith taking pleasure upon the hurdle, as it seemeth by words that he uttered, to think that he should
 5 be famous in after-times. The King was once in mind to have sent down Flammock and the blacksmith to have been executed in Cornwall, for the more terror : but being advertised that the country was yet unquiet and boiling, he thought better not to irritate the people farther. All the
 10 rest were pardoned by proclamation, and to take out their pardons under seal, as many as would. So that, more than the blood drawn in the field, the king did satisfy himself with the lives of only three offenders, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

15 It was a strange thing to observe the variety and inequality of the King's executions and pardons : and a man would think it, at the first, a kind of lottery or chance. But, looking into it more nearly, one shall find there was reason for it, much more, perhaps, than after so long a distance of
 20 time we can now discern. In the Kentish commotion, which was but an handful of men, there were executed to the number of one hundred and fifty : and in this so mighty a rebellion but three. Whether it were that the King put to account the men that were slain in the field, or that he
 25 was not willing to be severe in a popular cause, or that the harmless behaviour of this people, that came from the west of England to the east, without mischief almost, or spoil of the country, did somewhat mollify him, and move him to compassion ; or lastly, that he made a great difference
 30 between people that did rebel upon wantonness, and them that did rebel upon want.

After the Cornish men were defeated, there came from Calais to the King an honourable embassy from the

French King, which had arrived at Calais a month before, and there was stayed in respect of the troubles, but honourably entertained and defrayed. The King, at their first coming, sent unto them, and prayed them to have patience, till a little smoke, that was raised in his country, were over, 5 which would soon be: slighting, as his manner was, that openly, which nevertheless he intended seriously.

This embassy concerned no great affair, but only the prolongation of days for payment of moneys, and some other particulars of the frontiers. And it was, indeed, but a 10 wooing embassy, with good respects to entertain the King in good affection; but nothing was done or handled to the derogation of the King's late treaty with the Italians.

But during the time that the Cornish men were in their march towards London, the King of Scotland, well adver- 15 tised of all that passed, and knowing himself sure of a war from England, whensoever those stirs were appeased, neglected not his opportunity; but thinking the King had his hands full, entered the frontiers of England again with an army, and besieged the castle of Norham in person, with 20 part of his forces, sending the rest to forage the country. But Fox bishop of Durham, a wise man, and one that could see through the present to the future, doubting as much before, had caused his castle of Norham to be strongly fortified, and furnished with all kind of munition: and had 25 manned it likewise with a very great number of tall soldiers, more than for the proportion of the castle, reckoning rather upon a sharp assault, than a long siege. And for the country likewise, he had caused the people to withdraw their cattle and goods into fast places, that were not of easy 30 approach; and sent in post to the earl of Surrey, who was not far off, in Yorkshire, to come in diligence to the succour. So as the Scottish King both failed of doing good upon the

castle, and his men had but a catching harvest of their spoils: and when he understood that the earl of Surrey was coming on with great forces, he returned back into Scotland. The earl, finding the castle freed, and the enemy retired, pursued with all celerity into Scotland, hoping to have overtaken the Scottish King, and to have given him battle; but, not attaining him in time, sat down before the castle of Aton, one of the strongest places, then esteemed, between Berwick and Edinburgh, which in a small time he took. And soon after, the Scottish King retiring farther into his country, and the weather being extraordinary foul and stormy, the earl returned into England. So that the expeditions on both parts were, in effect, but a castle taken, and a castle distressed; not answerable to the puissance of the forces, nor to the heat of the quarrel, nor to the greatness of the expectation.

Amongst these troubles, both civil and external, came into England from Spain, Peter Hialas, some call him Elias, surely he was the forerunner of the good hap that we enjoy at this day: for his embassy set the truce between England and Scotland; the truce drew on the peace; the peace the marriage; and the marriage the union of the kingdoms; a man of great wisdom, and, as those times were, not unlearned; sent from Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain, unto the King, to treat a marriage between Catharine, their second daughter, and Prince Arthur. This treaty was by him set in a very good way, and almost brought to perfection. But it so fell out by the way, that upon some conference which he had with the King touching this business, the King, who had a great dexterity in getting suddenly into the bosom of ambassadors of foreign Princes, if he liked the men; insomuch as he would many times communicate with them of his own affairs, yea, and employ

them in his service, fell into speech and discourse incidently, concerning the ending of the debates and differences with Scotland. For the King naturally did not love the barren wars with Scotland, though he made his profit of the noise of them. And he wanted not in the council of Scotland, 5 those that would advise their King to meet him at the half way, and to give over the war with England; pretending to be good patriots, but indeed favouring the affairs of the King. Only his heart was too great to begin with Scotland for the motion of peace. On the other side, he had met 10 with an ally of Ferdinando of Arragon, as fit for his turn as could be. For after that King Ferdinando had, upon assured confidence of the marriage to succeed, taken upon him the person of a fraternal ally to the King, he would not let, in a Spanish gravity, to counsel the King in his own 15 affairs. And the King on his part, not being wanting to himself, but making use of every man's humours, made his advantage of this in such things as he thought either not decent, or not pleasant to proceed from himself; putting them off as done by the counsel of Ferdinando. Where- 20 fore he was content that Hialas, as in a matter moved and advised from Hialas himself, should go into Scotland, to treat of a concord between the two Kings. Hialas took it upon him, and coming to the Scottish King, after he had with much art brought King James to hearken to the more 25 safe and quiet counsels, wrote unto the King, that he hoped that peace would with no great difficulty cement and close, if he would send some wise and temperate counsellor of his own, that might treat of the conditions. Whereupon the King directed bishop Fox, who at that time was at 30 his castle of Norham, to confer with Hialas, and they both to treat with some commissioners deputed from the Scottish King. The commissioners on both sides met.

But after much dispute upon the articles and conditions of peace, propounded upon either part, they could not conclude a peace. The chief impediment thereof was the demand of the King to have Perkin delivered into his hands, as a reproach to all Kings, and a person not protected by the law of nations. The King of Scotland, on the other side, peremptorily denied so to do, saying, that he, for his part, was no competent judge of Perkin's title : but that he had received him as a suppliant, protected him as a person fled for refuge, espoused him with his kinswoman, and aided him with his arms, upon the belief that he was a prince ; and therefore that he could not now with his honour so unrip, and, in a sort, put a lie upon all that he had said and done before, as to deliver him up to his enemies. The bishop likewise, who had certain proud instructions from the King, at the least in the front, though there were a pliant clause at the foot, that remitted all to the bishop's discretion, and required him by no means to break off in ill terms, after that he had failed to obtain the delivery of Perkin, did move a second point of his instructions, which was, that the Scottish King would give the King an interview in person at Newcastle. But this being reported to the Scottish King, his answer was, that he meant to treat a peace, and not to go a begging for it. The bishop also, according to another article of his instructions, demanded restitution of the spoils taken by the Scottish, or damages for the same. But the Scottish commissioners answered, that that was but as water spilt upon the ground, which could not be gotten up again ; and that the King's people were better able to bear the loss, than their master to repair it. But in the end, as persons capable of reason, on both sides they made rather a kind of recess than a breach of treaty, and concluded

upon a truce for some months following. But the King of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far; yet in his private opinion, upon often speech with the Englishmen, and divers other advertisements, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore in a noble fashion he called him unto him, and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent King by an offensive war in his quarrel, for the space of two years together; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him; and that, to keep his promise with him, he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent: and therefore required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile: Telling him withal, that he could not say, but the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves on his side; but nevertheless he would make good what he said to him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire. Perkin, not descending at all from his stage-like greatness, answered the King in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come; but whatsoever his fortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the King. Taking his leave, he would not think on Flanders, doubting it was but hollow ground for him since the treaty of the archduke, concluded the year before; but took his lady, and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland.

This twelfth year of the King, a little before this time, Pope Alexander, who loved best those Princes that were furthest off, and with whom he had least to do, taking very thankfully the King's late entrance into league for the
 5 defence of Italy, did remunerate him with an hallowed sword and cap of maintenance, sent by his nuncio. Pope Innocent had done the like, but it was not received in that glory: for the King appointed the mayor and his brethren to meet the Pope's orator at London-bridge, and
 10 all the streets between the bridge-foot and the palace of Paul's, where the King then lay, were garnished with the citizens, standing in their liveries. And the morrow after, being Allhallows day, the King, attended with many of his prelates, nobles, and principal courtiers, went in procession
 15 to Paul's, and the cap and sword were borne before him. And after the procession, the King himself remaining seated in the quire, the lord archbishop, upon the greece of the quire, made a long oration: setting forth the greatness and eminency of that honour which the Pope, in
 20 these ornaments and ensigns of benediction, had done the King; and how rarely, and upon what high deserts, they used to be bestowed: And then recited the King's principal acts and merits, which had made him appear worthy, in the eyes of his Holiness, of this great honour.

25 All this while the rebellion of Cornwall, whereof we have spoken, seemed to have no relation to Perkin; save that perhaps Perkin's proclamation had stricken upon the right vein, in promising to lay down exactions and payments, and so had made them now and then have a kind
 30 thought on Perkin. But now these bubbles by much stirring began to meet, as they use to do upon the top of water. The King's lenity by that time the Cornish rebels, who were taken and pardoned, and, as it was said,

many of them sold by them that had taken them, for twelve pence and two shillings a-piece, were come down into their country, had rather emboldened them, than reclaimed them; insomuch as they stuck not to say to their neighbours and countrymen, that the King did well to 5 pardon them, for that he knew he should leave few subjects in England, if he hanged all that were of their mind: and began whetting and inciting one another to renew the commotion. Some of the subtlest of them, hearing of Perkin's being in Ireland, found means to send to him to 10 let him know, that if he would come over to them, they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news, he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three; Herne a mercer, that had fled for debt; 15 Skelton a tailor, and Astley a scrivener; for secretary Frien was gone. These told him, that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went into Scotland; the one being a place so near London, and under the King's nose; and the other a nation so dis- 20 tastcd with the people of England, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they would never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall at the first, when the people began to take arms there, he had been crowned at West- 25 minster before this time. For, these Kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor Princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon people; and therefore advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall: which accordingly he did; having in his company four 30 small barks, with some sixscore or sevenscore fighting men. He arrived in September at Whitsand Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, the blacksmith's town; where there

assembled unto him to the number of three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the King and his government. And
 5 as it fareth with smoke, that never loseth itself till it be at the highest; he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard duke of York, but Richard the fourth, King of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled
 10 town; as well to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty; as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day, or unlucky chance in the field. Wherefore they took heart to them, and went
 15 on, and besieged the city of Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts.

When they were come before Exeter, they forbore to use any force at the first, but made continual shouts and outcries to terrify the inhabitants. They did likewise in divers places
 20 call and talk to them from under the walls, to join with them, and be of their party; telling them, that the King would make them another London, if they would be the first town that should acknowledge him. But they had not the wit to send to them, in any orderly fashion, agents or
 25 chosen men, to tempt them and to treat with them. The citizens on their part shewed themselves stout and loyal subjects: neither was there so much as any tumult or division amongst them, but all prepared themselves for a valiant defence, and making good the town. For well they
 30 saw, that the rebels were of no such number or power, that they needed to fear them as yet; and well they hoped, that before their numbers increased, the King's succours would come in. And, howsoever, they thought it the extremest of

evils, to put themselves at the mercy of those hungry and
 disorderly people. Wherefore setting all things in good
 order within the town, they nevertheless let down with
 cords, from several parts of the walls privily, several mes-
 sengers, that if one came to mischance, another might pass 5
 on, which should advertise the King of the state of the
 town, and implore his aid. Perkin also doubted, that suc-
 cours would come ere long; and therefore resolved to use
 his utmost force to assault the town. And for that purpose
 having mounted scaling-ladders in divers places upon the 10
 walls, made at the same instant an attempt to force one of
 the gates. But having no artillery nor engines, and finding
 that he could do no good by ramming with logs of timber,
 nor by the use of iron bars, and iron crows, and such other
 means at hand, he had no way left him but to set one of 15
 the gates on fire, which he did. But the citizens well per-
 ceiving the danger, before the gate could be fully consumed,
 blocked up the gate, and some space about it on the inside,
 with faggots and other fuel, which they likewise set on fire,
 and so repulsed fire with fire; and in the meantime raised 20
 up rampiers of earth, and cast up deep trenches, to serve
 instead of wall and gate. And for the scaladoes, they had
 so bad success, as the rebels were driven from the walls
 with the loss of two hundred men.

The King when he heard of Perkin's siege of Exeter, 25
 made sport with it, and said to them that were about him,
 that the King of rake-hells was landed in the west, and that
 he hoped now to have the honour to see him, which he
 could never yet do. And it appeared plainly to those that
 were about the King, that he was indeed much joyed with 30
 the news of Perkin's being in English ground, where he
 could have no retreat by land; thinking now, that he should
 be cured of those privy stitches, which he had long had

about his heart, and at some times broken his sleeps, in the midst of all his felicity. And to set all men's hearts on fire, he did by all possible means let it appear, that those that should now do him service to make an end of these troubles, 5 should be no less accepted of him, than he that came upon the eleventh hour, and had the whole wages of the day. Therefore now, like the end of a play, a great number came upon the stage at once. He sent the lord chamberlain, and the lord Brook, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with expedite 10 forces to speed to Exeter, to the rescue of the town, and to spread the fame of his own following in person with a royal army. The earl of Devonshire, and his son, with the Carews, and the Fulfords, and other principal persons of Devonshire, uncalled from the court, but hearing that the 15 King's heart was so much bent upon this service, made haste with troops that they had raised, to be the first that should succour the city of Exeter, and prevent the King's succours. The duke of Buckingham likewise, with many brave gentlemen, put themselves in arms, not staying either 20 the King's or the lord chamberlain's coming on, but making a body of forces of themselves, the more to endear their merit; signifying to the King their readiness, and desiring to know his pleasure. So that according to the proverb, in the coming down, every saint did help.

25 Perkin, hearing this thunder of arms, and preparations against him from so many parts, raised his siege, and marched to Taunton; beginning already to squint one eye upon the crown, and another upon the sanctuary: though the Cornish men were become like metal often fired and 30 quenched, churlish, and that would sooner break than bow; swearing and vowing not to leave him, till the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was at his rising from Exeter between six and seven thousand strong, many having

come unto him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of
 so great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil; though
 upon the raising of the siege some did slip away. When he
 was come near Taunton, he dissembled all fear, and seemed
 all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to
 fight. But about midnight, he fled with threescore horse to
 Bewdly in the New Forest, where he and divers of his
 company registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his
 Cornish men to the four winds; but yet thereby easing them
 of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be
 by when his subjects' blood should be spilt. The King as
 soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hun-
 dred horse to pursue and apprehend him, before he should
 get either to the sea, or to that same little island, called a
 sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these.
 Therefore all they could do, was to beset the sanctuary, and
 to maintain a strong watch about it, till the King's pleasure
 were farther known. As for the rest of the rebels, they,
 being destitute of their head, without stroke stricken, sub-
 mitted themselves unto the King's mercy. And the King,
 who commonly drew blood, as physicians do, rather to save
 life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure;
 now he saw the danger was past, pardoned them all in the
 end, except some few desperate persons, which he reserved
 to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the
 rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to
 Saint Michael's mount in Cornwall, where the lady Catharine
 Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she
 entirely loved; adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of
 her sex. The King sent in the greater diligence, not know-
 ing whether she might be with child, whereby the business
 would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was
 brought to the King, it was commonly said, that the King

received her not only with compassion, but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his Queen, to remain with her; giving her very
5 honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the King's life, and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

10 The King went forwards on his journey, and made a joyful entrance into Exeter, where he gave the citizens great commendations and thanks; and taking the sword he wore from his side, he gave it to the mayor, and commanded it should be ever after carried before him. There also he
15 caused to be executed some of the ringleaders of the Cornish men, in sacrifice to the citizens whom they had put in fear and trouble. At Exeter the King consulted with his council, whether he should offer life to Perkin if he would quit the sanctuary, and voluntarily submit himself. The
20 council were divided in opinion: some advised the King to take him out of sanctuary perforce, and to put him to death, as in a case of necessity, which in itself dispenseth with consecrated places and things: wherein they doubted not also but the King should find the Pope tractable, to ratify his
25 deed, either by declaration, or, at least, by indulgence: Others were of opinion, since all was now safe, and no farther hurt could be done, that it was not worth the exposing of the King to new scandal and envy. A third sort fell
30 upon the opinion, that it was not possible for the King ever, either to satisfy the world well touching the imposture, or to learn out the bottom of the conspiracy, except by promise of life and pardon, and other fair means, he should get Perkin into his hands. But they did all in their preambles

much bemoan the King's case, with a kind of indignation at his fortune; that a Prince of his high wisdom and virtue, should have been so long and so oft exercised and vexed with idols. But the King said, that it was the vexation of God Almighty himself to be vexed with idols, and therefore 5 that that was not to trouble any of his friends: and that for himself, he always despised them; but was grieved that they had put his people to such trouble and misery. But in conclusion, he leaned to the third opinion, and so sent some to deal with Perkin: who seeing himself prisoner, and destitute 10 of all hopes, having tried princes and people, great and small, and found all either false, faint, or unfortunate, did gladly accept of the condition. The King did also, while he was at Exeter, appoint the lord Darcy, and others commissioners, for the fining of all such as were of any value, 15 and had any hand or partaking in the aid or comfort of Perkin, or the Cornish men, either in the field or in the flight.

These commissioners proceeded with such strictness and severity, as did much obscure the King's mercy in 20 sparing of blood, with the bleeding of so much treasure. Perkin was brought into the King's court, but not to the King's presence; though the King, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window, or in passage. He was in shew at liberty, but guarded with all care and watch 25 that was possible, and willed to follow the King to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage, in his new person of a sycophant, or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision, not only of the courtiers, but also of the com- 30 mon people, who flocked about him as he went along; that one might know afar off where the owl was, by the flight of birds: some mocking, some wondering, some cursing, some

prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of: so that the false honour and respects which he had so long enjoyed, was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London, the King gave also the city the solace of this may-game: for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill, to the Tower; and from thence back again to Westminster with the churm¹ of a thousand taunts and reproaches. But to amend the show, there followed a little distance off Perkin, an inward counsellor of his, one that had been serjeant-farrier to the King. This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take an holy habit than an holy place, and clad himself like an hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country, till he was discovered and taken. But this man was bound hand and foot upon the horse, and came not back with Perkin, but was left at the Tower, and within few days after executed. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what himself was, he was diligently examined; and after his confession taken, an extract was made of such parts of them, as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed abroad: wherein the King did himself no right: for as there was a laboured tale of particulars, of Perkin's father and mother, and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down; so there was little or nothing to purpose of anything concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of, as the person that had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at. So that men missing of that they looked for, looked about for

¹ Cum choro.

they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before : but the King chose rather not to satisfy, than to kindle coals. At that time also it did not appear by any new examinations or commitments, that any other person of quality was discovered or appeached, though the King's closeness made that a doubt dormant. 5

About this time a great fire in the night-time suddenly began at the King's palace at Shene, near unto the King's own lodgings, whereby a great part of the building was consumed, with much costly household stuff; which gave the King occasion of building from the ground that fine pile of Richmond, which is now standing. 10

Somewhat before this time also, there fell out a memorable accident: There was one Sebastian Gabato, a Venetian, dwelling in Bristol, a man seen and expert in cosmography and navigation. This man seeing the success, and emulating perhaps the enterprise of Christophorus Columbus in that fortunate discovery towards the south-west, which had been by him made some six years before, conceited with himself, that lands might likewise be discovered towards the north-west. And surely it may be he had more firm and pregnant conjectures of it, than Columbus had of this at the first. For the two great islands of the old and new world, being, in the shape and making of them, broad towards the north, and pointed towards the south; it is likely, that the discovery first began where the lands did nearest meet. And there had been before that time a discovery of some lands, which they took to be islands, and were indeed the continent of America, towards the north-west. And it may be, that some relation of this nature coming afterwards to the knowledge of Columbus, and by him suppressed (desirous rather to make his enterprise the child of his science and fortune, than the follower of a 20 25 30

former discovery), did give him better assurance, that all was not sea, from the west of Europe and Africa unto Asia, than either Seneca's prophecy or Plato's antiquities, or the nature of the tides and landwinds, and the like, which were the
5 conjectures that were given out, whereupon he should have relied: though I am not ignorant, that it was likewise laid unto the casual and wind-beaten discovery, a little before, of a Spanish pilot, who died in the house of Columbus. But this Gabato bearing the King in hand, that he would find
10 out an island endued with rich commodities, procured him to man and victual a ship at Bristol, for the discovery of that island: with whom ventured also three small ships of London merchants, fraught with some gross and slight wares, fit for commerce with barbarous people. He sailed,
15 as he affirmed at his return, and made a chart thereof, very far westwards, with a quarter of the north, on the north side of Tierra de Labrador, until he came to the latitude of sixty seven degrees and a half, finding the seas still open. It is certain also, that the King's fortune had a tender of that
20 great empire of the West Indies. Neither was it a refusal on the King's part, but a delay by accident, that put by so great an acquist: for Christophorus Columbus, refused by the King of Portugal, who would not embrace at once both east and west, employed his brother Bartholomæus Colum-
25 bus unto King Henry, to negotiate for his discovery: and it so fortun'd, that he was taken by pirates at sea, by which accidental impediment he was long ere he came to the King: so long, that before he had obtained a capitulation with the King for his brother, the enterprize by him was
30 achieved, and so the West Indies by providence were then reserved for the crown of Castile. Yet this sharpened the King so, that not only in this voyage, but again in the sixteenth year of his reign, and likewise in the eighteenth

thereof, he granted forth new commissions for the discovery and investing of unknown lands.

In this fourteenth year also, by God's wonderful providence, that boweth things unto his will, and hangeth great weights upon small wires, there fell out a trifling and unto-
 ward accident, that drew on great and happy effects. During
 the truce with Scotland, there were certain Scottish young
 gentlemen that came into Norham town, and there made
 merry with some of the English of the town: and having
 little to do, went sometimes forth, and would stand looking
 upon the castle. Some of the garrison of the castle, ob-
 serving this their doing twice or thrice, and having not their
 minds purged of the late ill blood of hostility, either sus-
 pected them, or quarrelled them for spies: whereupon they
 fell at ill words, and from words to blows; so that many
 were wounded of either side, and the Scottish men, being
 strangers in the town, had the worst; insomuch that some
 of them were slain, and the rest made haste home. The
 matter being complained on, and often debated before the
 wardens of the marches of both sides, and no good order
 taken; the King of Scotland took it to himself, and being
 much kindled, sent a herald to the King to make protesta-
 tion, that if reparation were not done, according to the
 conditions of the truce, his King did denounce war. The
 King, who had often tried fortune, and was inclined to
 peace, made answer, that what had been done, was utterly
 against his will, and without his privity; but if the garrison
 soldiers had been in fault, he would see them punished, and
 the truce in all points to be preserved. But this answer
 seemed to the Scottish King but a delay, to make the com-
 plaint breathe out with time; and therefore it did rather
 exasperate him than satisfy him. Bishop Fox, understand-
 ing from the King that the Scottish King was still discontent

and impatient, being troubled that the occasion of breaking of the truce should grow from his men, sent many humble and deprecatory letters to the Scottish King to appease him. Whereupon King James, mollified by the bishop's submissive and eloquent letters, wrote back unto him, that he was in part moved by his letters, yet he should not be fully satisfied, except he spake with him, as well about the compounding of the present differences, as about other matters that might concern the good of both kingdoms. The bishop, advising first with the King, took his journey for Scotland. The meeting was at Melross, an abbey of the Cistercians, where the King then abode. The King first roundly uttered unto the bishop his offence conceived for the insolent breach of truce, by his men of Norham castle : whereunto bishop Fox made such humble and smooth answer, as it was like oil into the wound, whereby it began to heal : and this was done in the presence of the King and his council. After, the King spake with the bishop apart, and opened himself unto him, saying, that these temporary truces and peaces were soon made, and soon broken, but that he desired a straiter amity with the King of England ; discovering his mind, that if the King would give him in marriage the lady Margaret, his eldest daughter, that indeed might be a knot indissoluble. That he knew well what place and authority the bishop deservedly had with his master : therefore, if he would take the business to heart, and deal in it effectually, he doubted not but it would succeed well. The bishop answered soberly, that he thought himself rather happy than worthy to be an instrument in such a matter, but would do his best endeavour. Wherefore the bishop returning to the King, and giving account what had passed, and finding the King more than well disposed in it, gave the King advice ; first to proceed to a conclusion of

peace, and then to go on with the treaty of marriage by degrees. Hereupon a peace was concluded, which was published a little before Christmas, in the fourteenth year of the King's reign, to continue for both the Kings' lives, and the over-liver of them, and a year after. In this peace there was an article contained, that no Englishman should enter into Scotland, and no Scottishman into England, without letters commendatory from the Kings of either nation. This at the first sight might seem a means to continue a strangeness between the nations; but it was done to lock in the borderers.

This year there was also born to the King a third son, who was christened by the name of Edmund, and shortly after died. And much about the same time came news of the death of Charles the French King, for whom there were celebrated solemn and princely obsequies.

It was not long but Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir. For deceiving his keepers, he took him to his heels, and made speed to the sea-coasts. But presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, as he was fain to turn back, and get him to the house of Bethlehem, called the priory of Shene (which had the privilege of sanctuary), and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought an holy man, and much revered in those days. He came to the King, and besought the King for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion. Many about the King were again more hot than ever, to have the King to take him forth and hang him. But the King, that had a high stomach and could not hate any that he despised, bid, "Take him forth, and set the knave in the stocks;" and so promising the prior his life, he caused him to be brought forth. And

within two or three days after, upon a scaffold set up in the palace-court at Westminster, he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day. And the next day after, the like was done by him at the cross in Cheapside, and in both
 5 places he read his confession, of which we made mention before; and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower. Notwithstanding all this, the King was, as was partly touched before, grown to be such a partner with fortune as nobody could tell what actions the one, and
 10 what the other owned. For it was believed generally, that Perkin was betrayed, and that this escape was not without the King's privity, who had him all the time of his flight in a line; and that the King did this, to pick a quarrel to him to put him to death, and to be rid of him at once: but this
 15 is not probable. For that the same instruments who observed him in his flight, might have kept him from getting into sanctuary.

But it was ordained, that this winding-ivy of a Plantagenet should kill the true tree itself. For Perkin, after he had
 20 been a while in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower Sir John Digby, being four in number; Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises, he sought to
 25 corrupt, to obtain his escape; but knowing well, that his own fortunes were made so contemptible, as he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical
 30 plot; which was, to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet earl of Warwick, then prisoner in the Tower; whom the weary life of a long imprisonment, and the often and renewing fears of being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young Prince

he thought these servants would look upon, though not upon himself: and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them, he had tasted of the earl's consent; it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such 5 money and portable goods of his, as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the earl. But this conspiracy was revealed in time, before it could be executed. And in this again the opinion of the King's great wisdom did surcharge him with 10 a sinister fame, that Perkin was but his bait, to entrap the earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the King's industry, it was fatal, that there should break forth a counterfeit earl of Warwick, a cordwainer's son, whose name was 15 Ralph Wilford; a young man taught and set on by an Augustin friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forwards into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out, that this Wilford was the true earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light 20 credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment. This also happening so oppor- 25 tunely, to represent the danger to the King's estate from the earl of Warwick, and thereby to cover the King's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason, before it had gotten any manner of strength; and the saving of the friar's 30 life, which nevertheless was, indeed, but the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream, doth ever cast up scandal and envy,

made it generally rather talked than believed, that all was but the King's device. But howsoever it were, hereupon Perkin, that had offended against grace now the third time, was at the last proceeded with, and by commissioners of
 5 *oyer and determiner* arraigned at Westminster, upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom, for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner, and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn; where he did again openly read his
 10 confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a King, that was able to destroy those that did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might perhaps have had another end, if he had not met with
 15 a King both wise, stout, and fortunate.

As for Perkin's three counsellors, they had registered themselves sanctuary men when their master did; and whether upon pardon obtained, or continuance within the privilege, they came not to be proceeded with.

20 There were executed with Perkin, the mayor of Cork and his son, who had been principal abettors of his treasons. And soon after were likewise condemned eight other persons about the Tower conspiracy, whereof four were the lieutenant's men: but of those eight but two were executed.
 25 And immediately after was arraigned before the Earl of Oxford, then for the time high steward of England, the poor Prince, the Earl of Warwick; not for the attempt to escape simply, for that was not acted; and besides, the imprisonment not being for treason, the escape by law could not be
 30 treason, but for conspiring with Perkin to raise sedition, and to destroy the King: and the earl confessing the indictment, had judgment, and was shortly after beheaded on Tower-hill.

This was also the end, not only of this noble and com-
 miserable person Edward the earl of Warwick, eldest son to
 the duke of Clarence : but likewise of the line male of the
 Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and re-
 nown, from the time of the famous King of England, King 5
 Henry the second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in
 their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted
 into other names, as well of the imperial line, as of other
 noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime, nor treason
 of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the King 10
 for this execution : so that he thought good to export it out
 of the land, and to lay it upon his new ally, Ferdinando
 King of Spain. For these two Kings understanding one
 another at half a word, so it was that there were letters
 shewed out of Spain, whereby in the passages concerning 15
 the treaty of marriage, Ferdinando had written to the King
 in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his suc-
 cession, as long as the earl of Warwick lived ; and that
 he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers.
 But hereby, as the King did in some part remove the envy 20
 from himself ; so he did not observe, that he did withal
 bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the
 marriage, as an ill prognostic : which in event so far
 proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small
 time after the marriage, and the lady Catharine herself, 25
 a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry
 the eighth his resolution of a divorce from her was first
 made known to her, used some words, that she had not
 offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former
 marriage was made in blood ; meaning that of the earl of 30
 Warwick.

This fifteenth year of the King, there was a great
 plague both in London and in divers parts of the kingdom.

Wherefore the King, after often change of places, whether to avoid the danger of the sickness, or to give occasion of an interview with the archduke, or both, sailed over with his Queen to Calais. Upon his coming thither, the archduke sent an honourable embassage unto him as well to welcome him into those parts, as to let him know, that, if it pleased him, he would come and do him reverence. But it was said withal, that the King might be pleased to appoint some place, that were out of any walled town or
10 fortress, for that he had denied the same upon like occasion to the French King: and though, he said, he made a great difference between the two Kings, yet he would be loth to give a precedent, that might make it after to be expected at his hands, by another whom he trusted less. The King
15 accepted of the courtesy, and admitted of his excuse, and appointed the place to be at Saint Peter's church without Calais. But withal he did visit the archduke with ambassadors sent from himself, which were the lord Saint John, and the secretary; unto whom the archduke did the
20 honour, as going to mass at Saint Omer's, to set the lord Saint John on his right hand, and the secretary on his left, and so to ride between them to church. The day appointed for the interview the King went on horseback some distance from Saint Peter's church, to receive the
25 archduke: and upon their approaching, the archduke made haste to light, and offered to hold the King's stirrup at his alighting; which the King would not permit, but descending from horseback, they embraced with great affection; and withdrawing into the church to a place prepared, they had long conference, not only upon the
30 confirmation of former treaties, and the freeing of commerce, but upon cross marriages, to be had between the duke of York the King's second son, and the archduke's

daughter; and again between Charles the archduke's son and heir, and Mary the King's second daughter. But these blossoms of unripe marriages were but friendly wishes, and the airs of loving entertainment; though one of them came afterwards to conclusion in treaty, though not in effect. 5

But during the time that the two Princes conversed and communed together in the suburbs of Calais, the demonstrations on both sides were passing hearty and affectionate, especially on the part of the archduke: who, besides that he was a Prince of an excellent good nature, being con- 10
scious to himself how drily the King had been used by his council in the matter of Perkin, did strive by all means to recover it in the King's affection. And having also his ears continually beaten with the counsels of his father and father-in-law, who, in respect of their jealous hatred against 15
the French King, did always advise the archduke to anchor himself upon the amity of King Henry of England; was glad upon this occasion to put in ure and practice their precepts, calling the King patron, and father, and protector, these very words the King repeats, when he certified of 20
the loving behaviour of the archduke to the city, and what else he could devise, to express his love and observance to the King. There came also to the King, the governor of Picardy, and the bailiff of Amiens, sent from Lewis the French King to do him honour, and to give him knowledge 25
of his victory, and winning of the duchy of Milan. It seemeth the King was well pleased with the honours he received from those parts, while he was at Calais; for he did himself certify all the news and occurrents of them in every particular, from Calais, to the mayor and aldermen 30
of London, which, no doubt, made no small talk in the city. For the King, though he could not entertain the good-will of the citizens, as Edward the fourth did; yet by

affability and other princely graces did ever make very much of them, and apply himself to them.

This year also died John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, chancellor of England, and cardinal. He was a
 5 wise man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty; much accepted by the King, but envied by the nobility, and hated of the people. Neither was his name left out of Perkin's proclamation for any good will, but they would not bring him in amongst the King's casting
 10 counters, because he had the image and superscription upon him of the Pope, in his honour of cardinal. He won the King with secrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in his less fortunes: and also for that, in his affections, he was not without an inveterate
 15 malice against the house of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him: for the King cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind;
 20 which made envy still grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after shew, that the bishop in feeding the King's humour did rather temper it. He had been by Richard the third committed, as in custody, to the duke of Buckingham,
 25 whom he did secretly incite to revolt from King Richard. But after the duke was engaged, and thought the bishop should have been his chief pilot in the tempest, the bishop was gotten into the cock-boat, and fled over beyond seas. But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most
 30 happy memory, in that he was the principal mean of joining the two Roses. He died of great years, but of strong health and powers.

The next year, which was the sixteenth year of the

King, and the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred, was the year of jubile at Rome. But Pope Alexander, to save the hazard and charges of men's journeys to Rome, thought good to make over those graces by exchange, to such as would pay a convenient rate, seeing they 5 could not come to fetch them. For which purpose was sent into England, Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, the Pope's commissioner, better chosen than were the commissioners of Pope Leo afterwards employed for Germany: for he carried the business with great wisdom, and sem- 10 blance of holiness: insomuch as he levied great sums of money within this land to the Pope's use, with little or no scandal. It was thought the King shared in the money. But it appeareth by a letter which cardinal Adrian, the King's pensioner, wrote to the King from 15 Rome some few years after, that this was not so. For this cardinal, being to persuade Pope Julius, on the King's behalf, to expedite the bull of dispensation for the marriage between Prince Henry and the lady Catharine, finding the Pope difficile in granting thereof, doth use it as a 20 principal argument concerning the King's merit towards that see, that he had touched none of those deniers which had been levied by Pons in England. But that it might the better appear, for the satisfaction of the common 25 people, that this was consecrated money, the same nuncio brought unto the King a brief from the Pope, wherein the King was exhorted and summoned to come in person against the Turk: for that the Pope, out of the care of an universal father, seeing almost under his eyes the successes and progresses of that great enemy of the faith, had had 30 in the conclave, and with the assistance of the ambassador, of foreign Princes, divers consultations about an holy war and a general expedition of Christian Princes against the

Turk: wherein it was agreed and thought fit, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians, should make a war upon Thracia; the French and Spaniards upon Græcia; and that the Pope, willing to sacrifice himself in so good a
 5 cause, in person and in company of the King of England, the Venetians, and such other states as were great in maritime power, would sail with a puissant navy through the Mediterranean unto Constantinople. And that to this end, his Holiness had sent nuncios to all Christian Princes; as
 10 well for a cessation of all quarrels and differences amongst themselves, as for speedy preparations and contributions of forces and treasure for this sacred enterprise.

To this the King, who understood well the court of Rome, made an answer rather solemn than serious: signing,
 15 nifying,

“That no Prince on earth should be more forward and obedient, both by his person, and by all his possible forces and fortunes, to enter into this sacred war, than himself. But that the distance of place was such, as no forces that
 20 he should raise for the seas, could be levied or prepared but with double the charge, and double the time at the least, that they might be from the other Princes, that had their territories nearer adjoining. Besides, that neither the
 25 manner of his ships, having no galleys, nor the experience of his pilots and mariners, could be so apt for those seas as theirs. And therefore that his Holiness might do well to move one of those other Kings, who lay fitter for the
 30 purpose, to accompany him by sea. Whereby both all things would be sooner put in readiness, and with less charge, and the emulation and division of command, which might grow between those Kings of France and Spain, if they should both join in the war by land upon Græcia, might be wisely avoided: and that for his part he

“would not be wanting in aids and contribution. Yet notwithstanding, if both these Kings should refuse, rather than his Holiness should go alone, he would wait upon him as soon as he could be ready : always provided, that he might first see all differences of the Christian Princes amongst themselves fully laid down and appeased, as for his own part he was in none, and that he might have some good towns upon the coast in Italy put into his hands, for the retreat and safeguard of his men.” 5

With this answer Jasper Pons returned, nothing at all discontented : and yet this declaration of the King, as superficial as it was, gave him that reputation abroad, as he was not long after elected by the knights of Rhodes protector of their order ; all things multiplying to honour in a prince, that had gotten such high estimation for his wisdom and sufficiency. 15

There were these two last years some proceedings against heretics, which was rare in this King’s reign, and rather by penances, than by fire. The King had, though he were no good schoolman, the honour to convert one of them by dispute at Canterbury. 20

This year also, though the King were no more haunted with sprites, for that by the sprinkling, partly of blood, and partly of water, he had chased them away ; yet nevertheless he had certain apparitions that troubled him, still shewing themselves from one region, which was the house of York. It came so to pass, that the earl of Suffolk, son to Elizabeth eldest sister to King Edward the fourth, by John duke of Suffolk, her second husband, and brother to John earl of Lincoln, that was slain at Stoke-field, being of an hasty and choleric disposition, had killed a man in his fury ; whereupon the King gave him his pardon. But, either willing to leave a cloud upon him, or the better to make him feel his grace, 30

produced him openly to plead his pardon. This wrought in the earl, as in a haughty stomach it useth to do; for the ignominy printed deeper than the grace. Wherefore he being discontent, fled secretly into Flanders unto his aunt
 5 the duchess of Burgundy. The King startled at it; but, being taught by troubles to use fair and timely remedies, wrought so with him by messages, the lady Margaret also growing, by often failing in her alchemy, weary of her experiments; and partly being a little sweetened, for that the
 10 King had not touched her name in the confession of Perkin, that he came over again upon good terms, and was reconciled to the King.

In the beginning of the next year, being the seventeenth of the King, the lady Catharine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain, arrived in
 15 England at Plymouth the second of October, and was married to Prince Arthur in Paul's the fourteenth of November following: the Prince being then about fifteen years of age, and the lady about eighteen. The manner of her
 20 receiving, the manner of her entry into London, and the celebrity of the marriage, were performed with great and true magnificence in regard of cost, shew, and order. The chief man that took the care was bishop Fox, who was not only a grave counsellor for war or peace, but also a good
 25 surveyor of works, and a good master of ceremonies, and any thing else that was fit for the active part, belonging to the service of the court or state of a great King. This marriage was almost seven years in treaty, which was in
 30 part caused by the tender years of the marriage-couple, especially of the Prince; but the true reason was, that these two Princes, being Princes of great policy and profound judgment, stood a great time looking one upon another's fortunes, how they would go; knowing well, that in the

mean time the very treaty itself gave abroad in the world a reputation of a strait conjunction and amity between them, which served on both sides to many purposes, that their several affairs required, and yet they continued still free. But in the end, when the fortunes of both the Princes 5 did grow every day more and more prosperous and assured, and that looking all about them, they saw no better conditions, they shut it up.

The marriage money the Princess brought, which was turned over to the King by act of renunciation, was two 10 hundred thousand ducats: whereof one hundred thousand were payable ten days after the solemnization, and the other hundred thousand at two payments annual; but part of it to be in jewels and plate, and a due course set down to have them justly and indifferently prized. The jointure or advance- 15 ment of the lady, was the third part of the principality of Wales, and of the dukedom of Cornwall, and of the earldom of Chester, to be after set forth in severalty: and in case she came to be Queen of England, her advancement was left indefinite, but thus; that it should be as great as ever any 20 former Queen of England had.

In all the devices and conceits of the triumphs of this marriage, there was a great deal of astronomy: the lady being resembled to Hesperus, and the Prince to Arcturus, and the old King Alphonsus, that was the greatest astro- 25 nomer of Kings, and was ancestor to the lady, was brought in, to be the fortune-teller of the match. And whossoever had those toys in compiling, they were not altogether pedantical: but you may be sure, that King Arthur the Britain, and the descent of the lady Catharine from the house of 30 Lancaster, was in no wise forgotten. But, as it should seem, it is not good to fetch fortunes from the stars: for this young Prince, that drew upon him at that time, not

only the hopes and affections of his country, but the eyes and expectation of foreigners, after a few months, in the beginning of April, deceased at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residence and court, as Prince of Wales.

5 Of this Prince, in respect he died so young, and by reason of his father's manner of education, that did cast no great lustre upon his children, there is little particular memory: only thus much remaineth, that he was very studious and learned beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great
10 Princes.

The February following, Henry duke of York was created Prince of Wales, and earl of Chester and Flint: for the dukedom of Cornwall devolved to him by statute. The King also being fast-handed, and loth to part with a
15 second dowry, but chiefly being affectionate both by his nature, and out of politic considerations to continue the alliance with Spain, prevailed with the Prince, though not without some reluctance, such as could be in those years, for he was not twelve years of age, to be contracted with
20 the Princess Catharine: The secret providence of God ordaining that marriage to be the occasion of great events and changes.

The same year were the espousals of James King of Scotland with the lady Margaret the King's eldest daughter;
25 which was done by proxy, and published at Paul's cross the five and twentieth of January, and Te Deum solemnly sung. But certain it is, that the joy of the city thereupon shewed, by ringing of bells and bonfires, and such other incense of the people, was more than could be expected,
30 in a case of so great and fresh enmity between the nations, especially in London, which was far enough off from feeling any of the former calamities of the war: and therefore might be truly attributed to a secret instinct and inspiring,

which many times runneth not only in the hearts of Princes, but in the pulse and veins of people, touching the happiness thereby to ensue in time to come. This marriage was in August following consummated at Edinburgh: the King bringing his daughter as far as Colliweston on the way, 5 and then consigning her to the attendance of the earl of Northumberland; who with a great troop of lords and ladies of honour brought her into Scotland, to the King her husband.

This marriage had been in treaty by the space of almost 10 three years, from the time that the King of Scotland did first open his mind to bishop Fox. The sum given in marriage by the King, was ten thousand pounds: and the jointure and advancement assured by the King of Scotland, was two thousand pounds a year, after King James his 15 death, and one thousand pounds a year in present, for the lady's allowance or maintenance. This to be set forth in lands, of the best and most certain revenue. During the treaty, it is reported, that the King remitted the matter to his council; and that some of the table, in the freedom 20 of counsellors, the King being present, did put the case; that if God should take the King's two sons without issue, that then the kingdom of England would fall to the King of Scotland, which might prejudice the monarchy of England. Whereunto the King himself replied; that if that 25 should be, Scotland would be but an accession to England, and not England to Scotland, for that the greater would draw the less: and that it was a safer union for England than that of France. This passed as an oracle, and silenced those that moved the question. 30

The same year was fatal, as well for deaths as marriages, and that with equal temper. For the joys and feasts of the two marriages were compensated with the mournings

and funerals of Prince Arthur, of whom we have spoken, and of Queen Elizabeth, who died in child-bed in the Tower, and the child lived not long after. There died also that year Sir Reginald Bray, who was noted to have had 5 with the King the greatest freedom of any counsellor; but it was but a freedom the better to set off flattery. Yet he bare more than his just part of envy for the exactions.

At this time the King's estate was very prosperous; secured by the amity of Scotland, strengthened by that of 10 Spain, cherished by that of Burgundy, all domestic troubles quenched, and all noise of war, like a thunder afar off, going upon Italy. Wherefore nature, which many times is happily contained and refrained by some bands of fortune, began to take place in the King; carrying, as with 15 a strong tide, his affections and thoughts unto the gathering and heaping up of treasure. And as Kings do more easily find instruments for their will and humour, than for their service and honour; he had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, 20 whom the people esteemed as his horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good family, eloquent, and one that could put hateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a sieve-maker, triumphed 25 always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two persons being lawyers in science, and privy counsellors in authority, as the corruption of the best things is the worst, turned law and justice into worm-wood rapine. For first, their manner was to cause divers 30 subjects to be indicted of sundry crimes, and so far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them: and nevertheless not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer, but

to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by sundry artificial devices and terrors to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations.

Neither did they, towards the end, observe so much as 5 the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indictment; but sent forth their precepts to attach men and convent them before themselves, and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission; and there used to shuffle up a summary proceeding by examination, without trial of jury; 10 assuming to themselves there, to deal both in pleas of the crown, and controversies civil.

Then did they also use to enthrall and charge the subjects' lands with tenures *in capite*, by finding false offices, and thereby to work upon them for wardships, liveries, pre- 15 mier seisins, and alienations, being the fruits of those tenures, refusing, upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those false offices, according to the law. Nay, the King's wards, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without 20 paying excessive fines, far exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion, upon scarce colourable titles.

When men were outlawed in personal actions, they would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, 25 except they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the strict point of law, which upon outlawries giveth forfeiture of goods: nay, contrary to all law and colour, they maintained the King ought to have the half of men's lands and rents, during the space of full two years, for a pain in 30 case of outlawry. They would also ruffle with jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and, if they did not, convent them, imprison them, and fine them.

These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had of preying upon the people; both like tame hawks for their master, and like wild hawks for themselves; insomuch as they grew to great riches and substance: 5 but their principal working was upon penal laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete: but raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror than of rigour, 10 having ever a rabble of promoters, questmongers, and leading jurors at their command, so as they could have any thing found either for fact or valuation.

There remaineth to this day a report, that the King was on a time entertained by the earl of Oxford, that was his 15 principal servant both for war and peace, nobly and sumptuously, at his castle at Henningham. And at the King's going away, the earl's servants stood, in a seemly manner, in their livery coats, with cognisances, ranged on both sides, and made the King a lane. The King called the earl to 20 him, and said, "My lord, I have heard much of your hospitality, but I see it is greater than the speech: These handsome gentlemen and yeomen, which I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants." The earl smiled, and said, "It may please your grace, that were not 25 "for mine ease: they are most of them my retainers, that are come to do me service at such a time as this, and chiefly to see your grace." The King started a little, and said, "By my faith, my lord, I thank you for my good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in 30 "my sight: my attorney must speak with you." And it is part of the report, that the earl compounded for no less than fifteen thousand marks. And to shew farther the King's extreme diligence, I do remember to have seen long

since a book of accompt of Empson's, that had the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places postilled in the margin with the King's hand likewise, where was this remembrance.

“Item, Received of such a one, five marks, for a pardon 5
 “to be procured; and if the pardon do not pass, the
 “money to be repaid; except the party be some
 “other ways satisfied.”

And over against this *Memorandum*, of the King's own hand,
 “Otherwise satisfied.” 10

Which I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a nearness, but yet with a kind of justness. So these little sands and grains of gold and silver, as it seemeth, helped not a little to make up the great heap and bank.

But meanwhile, to keep the King awake, the earl of 15
 Suffolk, having been too gay at Prince Arthur's marriage, and sunk himself deep in debt, had yet once more a mind to be a knight-errant, and to seek adventures in foreign parts; and taking his brother with him, fled again into Flanders. That, no doubt, which gave him confidence, was 20
 the great murmur of the people against the King's government: and being a man of a light and rash spirit, he thought every vapour would be a tempest. Neither wanted he some party within the kingdom: for the murmur of people awakes the discontents of nobles; and again, that calleth up com- 25
 monly some head of sedition. The King resorting to his wonted and tried arts, caused Sir Robert Curson, captain of the castle at Hammes, being at that time beyond sea, and therefore less likely to be wrought upon by the King, to fly from his charge, and to feign himself a servant of the earl's. 30
 This knight, having insinuated himself into the secrets of the earl, and finding by him upon whom chiefly he had

either hope or hold, advertised the King thereof in great
 secrecy: but nevertheless maintained his own credit and in-
 ward trust with the earl. Upon whose advertisements, the
 King attached William Courtney earl of Devonshire, his
 5 brother-in-law, married to the lady Catharine, daughter to
 King Edward the fourth; William de la Pole, brother to the
 earl of Suffolk; Sir James Tirrel, and Sir John Windham,
 and some other meaner persons, and committed them to
 custody. George lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green,
 10 were at the same time apprehended; but as upon less sus-
 picion, so in a freer restraint, and were soon after delivered.
 The earl of Devonshire being interested in the blood of
 York, that was rather feared than nocent; yet as one that
 might be the object of others' plots and designs, remained
 15 prisoner in the Tower, during the King's life. William de
 la Pole was also long restrained, though not so straitly. But
 for Sir James Tirrel, against whom the blood of the innocent
 Princes, Edward the fifth and his brother, did still *cry from*
under the altar, and Sir John Windham, and the other
 20 meaner ones, they were attainted and executed; the two
 knights beheaded. Nevertheless, to confirm the credit of
 Curson, who belike had not yet done all his feats of activity,
 there was published at Paul's cross, about the time of the
 said executions, the Pope's bull of excommunication and
 25 curse against the earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson, and
 some others by name; and likewise in general against all
 the abettors of the said earl: wherein it must be confessed,
 that heaven was made too much to bow to earth, and re-
 ligious to policy. But soon after, Curson, when he saw
 30 time, returned into England, and withal into wonted favour
 with the King, but worse fame with the people. Upon
 whose return the earl was much dismayed, and seeing him-
 self destitute of hopes, the lady Margaret also, by tract of

time and bad success, being now become cool in those attempts, after some wandering in France and Germany, and certain little projects, no better than squibs of an exiled man, being tired out, retired again into the protection of the archduke Philip in Flanders, who by the death of Isabella 5 was at that time King of Castile, in the right of Joan his wife.

This year, being the nineteenth of his reign, the King called his parliament: wherein a man may easily guess how absolute the King took himself to be with his parlia- 10 ment, when Dudley, that was so hateful, was made speaker of the house of commons. In this parliament there were not made any statutes memorable touching public government. But those that were, had still the stamp of the King's wisdom and policy. 15

There was a statute made for the disannulling of all patents of lease or grant, to such as came not upon lawful summons to serve the King in his wars, against the enemies or rebels, or that should depart without the King's licence; with an exception of certain persons of the long robe: 20 providing nevertheless, that they should have the King's wages from their house, till their return home again. There had been the like made before for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. But a man may easily see by many statutes made in this King's time, that the 25 King thought it safest to assist martial law by law of parliament.

Another statute was made, prohibiting the bringing in of manufactures of silk wrought by itself, or mixt with any other thread. But it was not of stuffs of whole piece, for 30 that the realm had of them no manufacture in use at that time, but of knit silk or texture of silk; as ribbons, laces, cauls, points, and girdles, &c. which the people of England

could then well skill to make. This law pointed at a true principle; "That where foreign materials are but superfluties, foreign manufactures should be prohibited." For that will either banish the superfluity, or gain the manufacture.

There was a law also of resumption of patents of gaols, and the reannexing of them to the sheriffwicks; privileged officers being no less an interruption of justice, than privileged places.

10 There was likewise a law to restrain the by-laws, or ordinances of corporations; which many times were against the prerogative of the King, the common law of the realm, and the liberty of the subject, being fraternities in evil. It was therefore provided, that they should not be put in
15 execution, without the allowance of the chancellor, treasurer, and the two chief justices, or three of them, or of the two justices of circuit where the corporation was.

Another law was, in effect, to bring in the silver of the realm to the mint, in making all clipped, minished, or im-
20 paired coins of silver, not to be current in payments; without giving any remedy of weight, but with an exception only of reasonable wearing, which was as nothing in respect of the uncertainty; and so, upon the matter, to set the mint on work, and to give way to new coins of silver, which
25 should be then minted.

There likewise was a long statute against vagabonds, wherein two things may be noted; the one, the dislike the parliament had of gaoling of them, as that which was chargeable, pesterous, and of no open example. The other, that
30 in the statutes of this King's time, for this of the nineteenth year is not the only statute of that kind, there are ever coupled the punishment of vagabonds, and the forbidding of dice and cards, and unlawful games, unto servants and

mean people, and the putting down and suppressing of alehouses, as strings of one root together, and as if the one were unprofitable without the other.

As for riot and retainers, there passed scarce any parliament in this time without a law against them; the King 5 ever having an eye to might and multitude.

There was granted also that parliament a subsidy, both from the temporality and the clergy. And yet nevertheless, ere the year expired, there went out commissions for a general benevolence, though there were no wars, no fears. 10 The same year the city gave five thousand marks, for confirmation of their liberties; a thing fitter for the beginnings of Kings' reigns, than the latter ends. Neither was it a small matter that the mint gained upon the late statute, by the recoinage of groats and half-groats, now twelve- 15 pences and six-pences. As for Empson and Dudley's mills, they did grind more than ever: so that it was a strange thing to see what golden showers poured down upon the King's treasury at once: the last payments of the marriage-money from Spain; the subsidy; the benevolence; 20 the recoinage; the redemption of the city's liberties; the casualties. And this is the more to be marvelled at, because the King had then no occasions at all of wars or troubles. He had now but one son, and one daughter unbestowed. He was wise; he was of an high mind; he 25 needed not to make riches his glory; he did excel in so many things else; save that certainly avarice doth ever find in itself matter of ambition. Belike he thought to leave his son such a kingdom, and such a mass of treasure, as he might choose his greatness where he would. 30

This year was also kept the serjeants' feast, which was the second call in this King's days.

About this time Isabella Queen of Castile deceased;

a right noble lady, and an honour to her sex and times, and the corner-stone of the greatness of Spain that hath followed. This accident the King took not for news at large, but thought it had a great relation to his own affairs; especially in two points: the one for example, the other for consequence. First, he conceived that the case of Ferdinando of Aragon, after the death of Queen Isabella, was his own case after the death of his own Queen; and the case of Joan the heir unto Castile, was the case of his own son Prince Henry. For if both of the Kings had their kingdoms in the right of their wives, they descended to the heirs, and did not accrue to the husbands. And although his own case had both steel and parchment, more than the other, that is to say, a conquest in the field, and an act of parliament, yet notwithstanding, that natural title of descent in blood did, in the imagination even of a wise man, breed a doubt, that the other two were not safe nor sufficient. Wherefore he was wonderful diligent to inquire and observe what became of the King of Aragon, in holding and continuing the kingdom of Castile; and whether he did hold it in his own right; or as administrator to his daughter; and whether he were like to hold it in fact, or to be put out by his son-in-law. Secondly, he did revolve in his mind, that the state of Christendom might by this late accident have a turn. For whereas before time, himself, with the conjunction of Aragon and Castile, which then was one, and the amity of Maximilian and Philip his son the archduke, was far too strong a party for France; he began to fear, that now the French King, who had great interest in the affections of Philip the young King of Castile, and Philip himself, now King of Castile, who was in ill terms with his father-in-law about the present government of Castile, and thirdly,

Maximilian, Philip's father, who was ever variable, and upon whom the surest aim that could be taken was, that he would not be long as he had been last before, would, all three being potent Princes, enter into some strait league and confederation amongst themselves: whereby though 5 he should not be endangered, yet he should be left to the poor amity of Aragon. And whereas he had been heretofore a kind of arbiter of Europe, he should now go less, and be over-topped by so great a conjunction. He had also, as it seems, an inclination to marry, and bethought 10 himself of some fit conditions abroad: and amongst others he had heard of the beauty and virtuous behaviour of the young Queen of Naples, the widow of Ferdinando the younger, being then of matronal years of seven and twenty: by whose marriage he thought that the kingdom of Naples, 15 having been a goal for a time between the King of Aragon and the French King, and being but newly settled, might in some part be deposited in his hands, who was so able to keep the stakes. Therefore he sent in embassage or message three confident persons, Francis Marsin, James 20 Braybrooke, and John Stile, upon two several inquisitions rather than negotiations. The one touching the person and condition of the young Queen of Naples. The other touching all particulars of estate, that concerned the fortunes and intentions of Ferdinando. And because they 25 may observe best, who themselves are observed least, he sent them under colourable pretexts; giving them letters of kindness and compliment from Catharine the Princess, to her aunt and niece, the old and young Queen of Naples, and delivering to them also a book of new articles of peace; 30 which notwithstanding it had been delivered unto doctor de Puebla, the lieger ambassador of Spain here in England, to be sent; yet for that the King had been long without

hearing from Spain, he thought good those messengers, when they had been with the two Queens, should likewise pass on to the court of Ferdinando, and take a copy of the book with them. The instructions touching the
5 Queen of Naples were so curious and exquisite, being as articles whereby to direct a survey, or framing a particular of her person, for complexion, favour, feature, stature, health, age, customs, behaviour, conditions, and estate, as, if the King had been young, a man would have judged
10 him to be amorous; but, being ancient, it ought to be interpreted, that sure he was very chaste, for that he meant to find all things in one woman, and so to settle his affections without ranging. But in this match he was soon cooled, when he heard from his ambassadors, that this
15 young Queen had had a goodly jointure in the realm of Naples, well answered during the time of her uncle Frederick, yea and during the time of Lewis the French King, in whose division her revenue fell; but since the time that the kingdom was in Ferdinando's hands, all was
20 assigned to the army and garrisons there, and she received only a pension or exhibition out of his coffers.

The other part of the inquiry had a grave and diligent return, informing the King at full of the present state of King Ferdinando. By this report it appeared to the King,
25 that Ferdinando did continue the government of Castile, as administrator unto his daughter Joan, by the title of Queen Isabella's will, and partly by the custom of the kingdom, as he pretended. And that all mandates and grants were expedited in the name of Joan his daughter, and himself as
30 administrator, without mention of Philip her husband. And that King Ferdinando, howsoever he did dismiss himself of the name of King of Castile, yet meant to hold the kingdom without account, and in absolute command.

It appeareth also, that he flattered himself with hopes, that King Philip would permit unto him the government of Castile during his life; which he had laid his plot to work him unto, both by some counsellors of his about him, which Ferdinando had at his devotion, and chiefly by promise, that in case Philip gave not way unto it, he would marry some young lady, whereby to put him by the succession of Aragon and Granada, in case he should have a son; and lastly, by representing unto him that the government of the Burgundians, till Philip were by continuance in Spain made as natural of Spain, would not be endured by the Spaniards. But in all those things, though wisely laid down and considered, Ferdinando failed; but that Pluto was better to him than Pallas.

In the same report also, the ambassadors being mean men, and therefore the more free, did strike upon a string which was somewhat dangerous; for they declared plainly, that the people of Spain, both nobles and commons, were better affected unto the part of Philip, so he brought his wife with him, than to Ferdinando; and expressed the reason to be, because he had imposed upon them many taxes and tallages; which was the King's own case between him and his son.

There was also in this report a declaration of an overture of marriage, which Amason the secretary of Ferdinando had made unto the ambassadors in great secret, between Charles Prince of Castile and Mary the King's second daughter; assuring the King, that the treaty of marriage then on foot for the said Prince and the daughter of France, would break: and that she the said daughter of France should be married to Angolesme, that was the heir apparent of France.

There was a touch also of a speech of marriage between

Ferdinando and Madame de Foix, a lady of the blood of France, which afterwards indeed succeeded. But this was reported as learned in France, and silenced in Spain.

The King by the return of this embassy, which gave
 5 great light unto his affairs, was well instructed, and prepared how to carry himself between Ferdinando King of Aragon and Philip his son-in-law King of Castile; resolving with himself to do all that in him lay, to keep them at one within themselves; but howsoever that succeeded, by a moderate carriage, and bearing the person of a common friend,
 10 to lose neither of their friendships; but yet to run a course more entire with the King of Aragon, but more laboured and officious with the King of Castile. But he was much taken with the overture of marriage with his daughter Mary; both
 15 because it was the greatest marriage of Christendom, and for that it took hold of both allies.

But to corroborate his alliance with Philip, the winds gave him an interview: for Philip choosing the winter season, the better to surprise the King of Aragon, set forth
 20 with a great navy out of Flanders for Spain, in the month of January, the one and twentieth year of the King's reign. But himself was surprised with a cruel tempest, that scattered his ships upon the several coasts of England. And the ship wherein the King and Queen were, with two other
 25 small barks only, torn and in great peril, to escape the fury of the weather thrust into Weymouth. King Philip himself, having not been used, as it seems, to sea, all wearied and extreme sick, would needs land to refresh his spirits, though it was against the opinion of his council, doubting it might
 30 breed delay, his occasions requiring celerity.

The rumour of the arrival of a puissant navy upon the coast, made the country arm. And Sir Thomas Trenchard, with forces suddenly raised, not knowing what the matter

might be, came to Weymouth. Where understanding the accident, he did in all humbleness and humanity invite the King and Queen to his house; and forthwith despatched posts to the court. Soon after came Sir John Carew likewise, with a great troop of men well armed; using the like humbleness and respects towards the King, when he knew the case. King Philip doubting that they, being but subjects, durst not let him pass away again without the King's notice and leave, yielded to their intreaties to stay till they heard from the court. The King, as soon as he heard the news, commanded presently the earl of Arundel to go to visit the King of Castile, and let him understand that as he was sorry for his mishap, so he was glad that he had escaped the danger of the seas, and likewise of the occasion himself had to do him honour; and desiring him to think himself as in his own land; and that the King made all haste possible to come and embrace him. The earl came to him in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse; and, for more state, came by torch-light. After he had done the King's message, King Philip seeing how the world went, the sooner to get away, went upon speed to the King at Windsor, and his Queen followed by easy journeys. The two Kings at their meeting used all the caresses and loving demonstrations that were possible. And the King of Castile said pleasantly to the King, "that he was now punished for that he would not come within his walled town of Calais, when they met last." But the King answered, "that walls and seas were nothing where hearts were open; and that he was here no otherwise but to be served." After a day or two's refreshing, the Kings entered into speech of renewing the treaty; the King saying, that though King Philip's person were the same, yet his fortunes and state were raised: in which case a renovation of treaty was

used amongst Princes. But while these things were in handling, the King choosing a fit time, and drawing the King of Castile into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, and changing his countenance a little from a countenance of entertainment, said to him, "Sir, you have been saved upon my coast, I hope you will not suffer me to wreck upon yours." The King of Castile asked him, "what he meant by that speech?" "I mean it," saith the King, "by that same hare-
 10 "brain wild fellow, my subject, the earl of Suffolk, who is protected in your country, and begins to play the fool, when "all others are weary of it." The King of Castile answered, "I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those "thoughts: but, if it trouble you, I will banish him." The
 15 King replied, "those hornets were best in their nest, and "worst when they did fly abroad; and that his desire was "to have him delivered to him." The King of Castile herewith a little confused, and in a study, said, "That can I "not do with my honour, and less with yours; for you will
 20 "be thought to have used me as a prisoner." The King presently said, "Then the matter is at an end: for I will "take that dishonour upon me, and so your honour is "saved." The King of Castile, who had the King in great estimation, and besides remembered where he was, and
 25 knew not what use he might have of the King's amity, for that himself was new in his estate of Spain, and unsettled both with his father-in-law and with his people, composing his countenance, said, "Sir, you give law to me, but so will
 30 "I to you. You shall have him, but, upon your honour, "you shall not take his life." The King embracing him, said, "Agreed." Saith the King of Castile, "Neither shall "it dislike you, if I send to him in such a fashion, as he "may partly come with his own good will." The King said,

“It was well thought of; and if it pleased him, he would join with him, in sending to the earl a message to that purpose.” They both sent severally, and mean while they continued feasting and pastimes. The King being, on his part, willing to have the earl sure before the King of Castile went; and the King of Castile, being as willing to seem to be enforced. The King also, with many wise and excellent persuasions, did advise the King of Castile to be ruled by the counsel of his father-in-law Ferdinando; a Prince so prudent, so experienced, so fortunate. The King of Castile who was in no very good terms with his said father-in-law, answered, “That if his father-in-law would suffer him to govern his kingdoms, he should govern him.”

There were immediately messengers sent from both Kings, to recall the earl of Suffolk; who upon gentle words used to him was soon charmed, and willing enough to return; assured of his life, and hoping of his liberty. He was brought through Flanders to Calais, and thence landed at Dover, and with sufficient guard delivered and received at the Tower of London. Meanwhile King Henry, to draw out the time, continued his feasting and entertainments, and after he had received the King of Castile into the fraternity of the Garter, and for a reciprocal had his son the Prince admitted to the order of the Golden Fleece, he accompanied King Philip and his Queen to the city of London; where they were entertained with the greatest magnificence and triumph, that could be upon no greater warning. And as soon as the earl of Suffolk had been conveyed to the Tower, which was the serious part, the jollities had an end, and the Kings took leave. Nevertheless during their being here, they in substance concluded that treaty, which the Flemings term *interkursus malus*, and bears date at Windsor; for there be some things in it, more to the

advantage of the English, than of them ; especially, for that the free-fishing of the Dutch upon the coasts and seas of England, granted in the treaty of *undecimo*, was not by this treaty confirmed. All articles that confirm former treaties
 5 being precisely and warily limited and confirmed to matter of commerce only, and not otherwise.

It was observed, that the great tempest which drove Philip into England, blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the
 10 black eagle, which was in Paul's church-yard, in the place, where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down : which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl. This the people interpreted to be an ominous prognostic upon the imperial house, which was, by inter-
 15 pretation also, fulfilled upon Philip the emperor's son, not only in the present disaster of the tempest, but in that that followed. For Philip arriving into Spain, and attaining the possession of the kingdom of Castile without resistance, in-
 20 somuch as Ferdinando, who had spoke so great before, was with difficulty admitted to the speech of his son-in-law, sickened soon after, and deceased. Yet after such time, as there was an observation by the wisest of that court, that if he had lived, his father would have gained upon him in that
 25 sort, as he would have governed his counsels and designs, if not his affections. By this all Spain returned into the power of Ferdinando in state as it was before ; the rather, in regard of the infirmity of Joan his daughter, who loving her husband, by whom she had many children, dearly well, and no less beloved of him, howsoever her father, to make
 30 Philip ill-beloved of the people of Spain, gave out that Philip used her not well, was unable in strength of mind to bear the grief of his decease, and fell distracted of her wits. Of which malady her father was thought no ways to en-

deavour the cure, the better to hold his regal power in Castile. So that as the felicity of Charles the eighth was said to be a dream; so the adversity of Ferdinando was said likewise to be a dream, it passed over so soon.

About this time the King was desirous to bring into the house of Lancaster celestial honour, and became suitor to Pope Julius, to canonise King Henry the sixth for a saint; the rather, in respect of that his famous prediction of the King's own assumption to the crown. Julius referred the matter, as the manner is, to certain cardinals, to take the verification of his holy acts and miracles: but it died under the reference. The general opinion was, that Pope Julius was too dear, and that the King would not come to his rates. But it is more probable, that that Pope, who was extremely jealous of the dignity of the see of Rome, and of the acts thereof, knowing that King Henry the sixth was reputed in the world abroad but for a simple man, was afraid it would but diminish the estimation of that kind of honour, if there were not a distance kept between innocents and saints.

The same year likewise there proceeded a treaty of marriage between the King and the lady Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and sister to the King of Castile; a lady wise, and of great good fame. This matter had been in speech between the two Kings at their meeting, but was soon after resumed; and therein was employed for his first piece the King's then chaplain, and after the great prelate, Thomas Wolsey. It was in the end concluded, with great and ample conditions for the King, but with promise *de futuro* only. It may be the King was the rather induced unto it, for that he heard more and more of the marriage to go on between his great friend and ally Ferdinando of Aragon, and Madame de Fois, whereby that

King began to piece with the French King, from whom he had been always before severed. So fatal a thing it is, for the greatest and straitest amities of Kings at one time or other, to have a little of the wheel: nay, there is a farther
5 tradition in Spain, though not with us, that the King of Aragon, after he knew that the marriage between Charles the young Prince of Castile and Mary the King's second daughter went roundly on, which though it was first moved by the King of Aragon, yet it was afterwards wholly ad-
10 vanced and brought to perfection by Maximilian, and the friends on that side, entered into a jealousy, that the King did aspire to the government of Castilia, as administrator during the minority of his son-in-law; as if there should have been a competition of three for that government;
15 Ferdinando, grandfather on the mother's side; Maximilian, grandfather on the father's side; and King Henry, father-in-law to the young Prince. Certainly it is not unlike, but the King's government, carrying the young prince with him, would have been perhaps more welcome to the Spaniards
20 than that of the other two. For the nobility of Castilia, that so lately put out the King of Aragon in favour of King Philip, and had discovered themselves so far, could not be but in a secret distrust and distaste of that King. And as for Maximilian, upon twenty respects he could not have
25 been the man. But this purpose of the King's seemeth to me, considering the King's safe courses, never found to be enterprising or adventurous, not greatly probable, except he should have had a desire to breathe warmer, because he had ill lungs. This marriage with Margaret was protracted from
30 time to time, in respect of the infirmity of the King, who now in the two and twentieth of his reign began to be troubled with the gout: but the defluxion taking also into his breast, wasted his lungs, so that thrice in a year, in a

kind of return, and especially in the spring, he had great fits and labours of the phthisic : nevertheless, he continued to intend business with as great diligence, as before in his health : yet so, as upon this warning he did likewise now more seriously think of the world to come, and of making 5 himself a saint, as well as King Henry the sixth, by treasure better employed, than to be given to Pope Julius : for this year he gave greater alms than accustomed, and discharged all prisoners about the city, that lay for fees or debts under forty shillings. He did also make haste with religious foun- 10 dations ; and in the year following, which was the three and twentieth, finished that of the Savoy. And hearing also of the bitter cries of his people against the oppressions of Dudley and Empson, and their complices ; partly by devout persons about him, and partly by public sermons, the 15 preachers doing their duty therein, he was touched with great remorse for the same. Nevertheless Empson and Dudley, though they could not but hear of these scruples in the King's conscience ; yet, as if the King's soul and his money were in several offices, that the one was not to inter- 20 meddle with the other, went on with as great rage as ever. For the same three and twentieth year was there a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel now the second time ; and this was for matters of misgovernment in his mayoralty : the greater matter being, that in some payments he had 25 taken knowledge of false moneys, and did not his diligence to examine and beat it out, who were the offenders. For this and some other things laid to his charge, he was condemned to pay two thousand pounds ; and being a man of stomach, and hardened by his former troubles, refused to 30 pay a mite ; and belike used some untoward speeches of the proceedings, for which he was sent to the Tower, and there remained till the King's death. Knesworth likewise,

that had been lately mayor of London, and both his sheriffs, were for abuses in their offices questioned, and imprisoned, and delivered, upon one thousand four hundred pounds paid. Hawis, an alderman of London, was put in trouble, 5 and died with thought and anguish, before his business came to an end. Sir Lawrence Ailmer, who had likewise been mayor of London, and his two sheriffs, were put to the fine of one thousand pounds. And Sir Lawrence, for refusing to make payment, was committed to prison, where 10 he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place.

It is no marvel, if the faults were so light, and the rates so heavy, that the King's treasure of store, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key and keeping, at Richmond, amounted, as by tradition it is reported to have done, unto the sum of near eighteen hundred 15 thousand pounds sterling; a huge mass of money even for these times.

The last act of state that concluded this King's temporal felicity, was the conclusion of a glorious match between his 20 daughter Mary, and Charles Prince of Castile, afterwards the great emperor, both being of tender years: which treaty was perfected by bishop Fox, and other his commissioners at Calais, the year before the King's death. In which alliance, it seemeth, he himself took so high contentment, as in 25 a letter which he wrote thereupon to the city of London, commanding all possible demonstrations of joy to be made for the same, he expresseth himself, as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his kingdom: when he had for his sons-in-law, a King of Scotland, and a prince of Castile 30 and Burgundy. So as now there was nothing to be added to this great King's felicity, being at the top of all worldly bliss, in regard of the high marriages of his children, his great renown throughout Europe, and his scarce credible

riches, and the perpetual constancy of his prosperous successes, but an opportune death, to withdraw him from any future blow of fortune: which certainly (in regard of the great hatred of his people, and the title of his son, being then come to eighteen years of age, and being a bold Prince 5 and liberal, and that gained upon the people by his very aspect and presence) had not been impossible to have come upon him.

To crown also the last year of his reign, as well as his first, he did an act of piety, rare, and worthy to be taken 10 into imitation. For he granted forth a general pardon: as expecting a second coronation in a better kingdom. He did also declare in his will, that his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers. 15

And thus this Solomon of England, for Solomon also was too heavy upon his people in exactions, having lived two and fifty years, and thereof reigned three and twenty years, and eight months, being in perfect memory, and in a most blessed mind, in a great calm of a consuming sick- 20 ness passed to a better world, the two and twentieth of April 1508, at his palace of Richmond, which himself had built.

THIS King, to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving, was one of the best sort of wonders; a wonder 25 for wise men. He had parts, both in his virtues and his fortune, not so fit for a common-place, as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear, for those times, through superstition, so he would be blinded, now and 30 then, by human policy. He advanced churchmen; he was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they

wrought him much mischief. He built and endowed many religious foundations, besides his memorable hospital of the Savoy: and yet was he a great almsgiver in secret; which shewed, that his works in public were dedicated
 5 rather to God's glory than his own. He professed always to love and seek peace: and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of
 10 fear or softness; for he was valiant and active, and therefore, no doubt, it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars: therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It
 15 was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace, should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate; neither did he know what a disaster meant. The war of his coming in, and the rebellions of the earl of Lincoln, and the lord Audley,
 20 were ended by victory. The wars of France and Scotland, by peaces sought at his hands. That of Britain, by accident of the duke's death. The insurrection of the lord Lovel, and that of Perkin at Exeter, and in Kent, by flight of the rebels before they came to blows. So that his
 25 fortune of arms was still inviolate: the rather sure, for that in the quenching of the commotions of his subjects, he ever went in person: sometimes reserving himself to back and second his lieutenants, but ever in action; and yet that was not merely forwardness, but partly distrust of
 30 others.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws; which, nevertheless, was no impediment to him to work his will: for it was so handled, that neither prerogative

nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint, and wars, and martial discipline, things of absolute power, he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well 5 administered in his time, save where the King was party: save also, that the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning; but in that part both of justice and policy, which is the durable part, 10 and cut, as it were, in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice, he was also a merciful prince: as in whose time, there were but three of the nobility that suffered; the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the lord Audley: though the 15 first two were instead of numbers, in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions, expiated with so little blood, drawn by the hand of justice, as the two rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. As for the severity used upon those which were taken in 20 Kent, it was but upon a scum of people. His pardons went ever both before and after his sword. But then he had withal a strange kind of interchanging of large and unexpected pardons, with severe executions: which, his wisdom considered, could not be imputed to any incon- 25 stancy or inequality; but either to some reason which we do not now know, or to a principle he had set unto himself, that he would vary, and try both ways in turn. But the less blood he drew, the more he took of treasure. And, as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one, 30 that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure, and was a little poor in

admiring riches. The people, into whom there is infused, for the preservation of monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their princes, though it be with the unjust charge of their counsellors and ministers, did impute this unto
 5 cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray: who, as it after appeared, as counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so second his humours, as nevertheless they did temper them. Whereas Empson and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise than
 10 by the servile following of his bent, did not give way only, as the first did, but shape him way to those extremities, for which himself was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor renounced and sought to purge. This excess of his had at that time many glosses and
 15 interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed, had made him grow to hate his people: some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs, and to keep them low: some, for that he would leave his son a golden fleece: some suspected he
 20 had some high design upon foreign parts: but those perhaps shall come nearest the truth, that fetch not their reasons so far off; but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit. Whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion
 25 to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great Princes abroad, it did the better, by comparison, set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was magnificent,
 30 but his rewards were very limited: so that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others.

He was of an high mind, and loved his own will and

his own way: as one that revered himself and would reign indeed. Had he been a private man, he would have been termed proud. But in a wise Prince, it was but keeping of distance, which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach, either to his power, or to his secrets: for he was governed by none. His Queen, notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children, and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it, could do nothing with him. His mother he revered much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society, such as was Hastings to King Edward the fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the eighth, he had none: except we should account for such persons, Fox, and Bray, and Empson, because they were so much with him: but it was but as the instrument is much with the workman. He had nothing in him of vainglory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height: being sensible, that majesty maketh the people bow, but vainglory boweth to them.

To his confederates abroad he was constant and just, but not open. But rather such was his inquiry, and such his closeness, as they stood in the light towards him, and he stood in the dark to them. Yet without strangeness, but with a semblance of mutual communication of affairs. As for little envies, or emulations upon sovereign princes, which are frequent with many Kings, he had never any; but went substantially to his own business. Certain it is, that though his reputation was great at home, yet it was greater abroad. For foreigners that could not see the passages of affairs, but made their judgments upon the issues of them, noted that he was ever in strife, and ever aloft. It grew also from the airs which the princes and states abroad received from their ambassadors and agents here; which were attend-

ing the court in great number: whom he did not only content with courtesy, reward, and privateness; but, upon such conferences as passed with them, put them in admiration, to find his universal insight into the affairs of the world: which though he did suck chiefly from themselves, yet that which he had gathered from them all, seemed admirable to every one. So that they did write ever to their superiors in high terms, considering his wisdom and art of rule: nay, when they were returned, they did commonly maintain intelligence with him. Such a dexterity he had to impropriate to himself all foreign instruments.

He was careful and liberal to obtain good intelligence from all parts abroad: wherein he did not only use his interest in the liegers here, and his pensioners, which he had both in the court of Rome, and other the courts of Christendom; but the industry and vigilance of his own ambassadors in foreign parts. For which purpose his instructions were ever extreme, curious and articulate; and in them more articles touching inquisition, than touching negotiation: requiring likewise from his ambassadors an answer, in particular distinct articles, respectively to his questions.

As for his secret spies, which he did employ both at home and abroad, by them to discover what practices and conspiracies were against him, surely his case required it; he had such moles perpetually working and casting to undermine him. Neither can it be reprehended; for if spies be lawful against lawful enemies, much more against conspirators and traitors. But indeed to give them credence by oaths or curses, that cannot be well maintained; for those are too holy vestments for a disguise. Yet surely there was this farther good in his employing of these spies and familiars; that as the use of them was cause that many conspiracies were revealed, so the fame and suspicion of

them kept, no doubt, many conspiracies from being attempted.

Towards his Queen he was nothing uxorious, nor scarce indulgent; but companionable and respectful, and without jealousy. Towards his children he was full of paternal affection, careful of their education, aspiring to their high advancement, regular to see that they should not want of any due honour and respect, but not greatly willing to cast any popular lustre upon them. 5

To his council he did refer much, and sat oft in person; knowing it to be the way to assist his power, and inform his judgment. In which respect also he was fairly patient of liberty, both of advice, and of vote, till himself were declared. He kept a strait hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as, I am persuaded, it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign; for that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Lewis the eleventh was: but contrariwise, he was served by the ablest men that were to be found; without which his affairs could not have prospered as they did. For war, Bedford, Oxford, Surrey, Daubeney, Brook, Poynings; for other affairs, Morton, Fox, Bray, the prior of Lanthony, Warham, Urswick, Hussey, Frowick, and others. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well; for it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles; yet in twenty-four years' reign, he never put down, or dis- 10 15 20 25 30

composed counsellor, or near servant, save only Stanley the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him; that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects
5 to their sovereigns, love, fear, and reverence; he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholden to the other two.

He was a Prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his
10 own hand, especially touching persons. As, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey, set on as
15 it was thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal notebook all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth: whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport.

He was indeed full of apprehensions and suspicions:
20 but as he did easily take them, so he did easily check them and master them; whereby they were not dangerous, but troubled himself more than others. It is true, his thoughts were so many, as they could not well always stand together; but that which did good one way, did hurt another. Neither
25 did he at some times weigh them aright in their proportions. Certainly, that rumour which did him so much mischief, that the duke of York should be saved, and alive, was, at the first, of his own nourishing; because he would have more reason not to reign in the right of his wife. He was
30 affable, and both well and fair-spoken; and would use strange sweetness and blandishments of words, where he desired to effect or persuade any thing that he took to heart. He was rather studious than learned; reading most books

that were of any worth, in the French tongue, yet he understood the Latin, as appeareth in that cardinal Adrian and others, who could very well have written French, did use to write to him in Latin.

For his pleasures, there is no news of them: and yet by 5
his instructions to Marsin and Stile, touching the Queen of
Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty.
He did by pleasures, as great Princes do by banquets, come
and look a little upon them, and turn away. For never
Prince was more wholly given to his affairs, nor in them 10
more of himself: insomuch as in triumphs of jousts and tour-
neys, and balls, and masks, which they then called disguises,
he was rather a princely and gentle spectator, than seemed
much to be delighted.

No doubt, in him, as in all men, and most of all in 15
Kings, his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature
upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a
private fortune, which might endow him with moderation; but
also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened
in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times 20
being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence
by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His
wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather
into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers, when they
pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove 25
them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind
was like some sights of eyes; rather strong at hand, than to
carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion;
and so much the more, if the occasion were sharpened by
danger. Again, whether it were the shortness of his fore- 30
sight, or the strength of his will, or the dazzling of his sus-
picions, or what it was; certain it is, that the perpetual
troubles of his fortunes, there being no more matter out of

which they grew, could not have been without some great defects and main errors in his nature, customs, and proceedings, which he had enough to do to save and help with a thousand little industries and watches. But those do best
 5 appear in the story itself. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the Kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Lewis the twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change
 10 Lewis the twelfth for Lewis the eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Lewis the eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of Kings of those ages. To conclude, if this King did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what
 15 he minded he compassed.

He was a comely personage, a little above just stature, well and straight limbed, but slender. His countenance was reverend, and a little like a churchman: and as it was not strange or dark, so neither was it winning or pleasing, but
 20 as the face of one well disposed. But it was to the disadvantage of the painter, for it was best when he spake.

His worth may bear a tale or two, that may put upon him somewhat that may seem divine. When the lady Margaret his mother had divers great suitors for marriage,
 25 she dreamed one night, that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund earl of Richmond, the King's father, for her husband, neither had she ever any child but the King, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry the sixth, whose innocency gave him
 30 holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said; "This
 "is the lad that shall possess quietly that, that we now strive for." But that, that was truly divine in him, was that he

had the fortune of a true Christian, as well as of a great King, in living exercised, and dying repentant: So as he had an happy warfare in both conflicts, both of sin, and the cross.

He was born at Pembroke castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel, and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond, or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame. 5
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NOTES.

Dedication, p. 3. *Prince Charles*, son of James I, and afterwards King Charles I. The History of Henry VII was written in 1622, three years before the death of James I. Prince Henry the eldest son of James I died in 1612, whereupon Charles became Prince of Wales, &c.

Prince of Wales. This title was first bestowed on the heir to the English throne by Edward I, who created his son Edward, born at Caernarvon, Prince of Wales in 1284.

Duke of Cornwall. This title was first given to the Prince of Wales when Edward III created the Black Prince duke of Cornwall in 1335.

Earl of Chester. This title existed in early times, and was not at first a title of the royal house, but was made such by Henry III, who bestowed it on his son Prince Edward in 1245. On an attempt which was made during this reign to obtain it for other than the royal family see p. 125, l. 4.

Line 1. *It may please, &c.* The more usual order in modern times is, *May it please*. In the older form some expression, as *I hope*, is to be mentally supplied. For an example of a similar character see p. 136, line 27.

4. *last King of England, that was ancestor, &c.* Henry VII was father of Margaret, who married James IV of Scotland. Their son was James V, the father of Mary, Queen of Scots, who was mother of James VI of Scotland and I of England.

6. *both unions*, i. e. first, the union of the two families of York and Lancaster by the marriage of Henry VII, the representative of the Lancastrian house, with Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, of the Yorkist line; and secondly, in later times, the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland under the same monarch, which was brought about by the succession of James I to the English throne on the death of Queen Elizabeth. Both these events may be referred to Henry VII.

P. 4, line 1. *better for the liver*, i. e. more comfortable for those who live in them. Uneventful times may be said to be such, while stirring times supply more details for the writer of history. The Latin text is: *alterum genus temporum viventibus commodius, alterum scribentibus gratius*. The noun *liver* is not of frequent occurrence. It is found in

Shakespeare, *Cymb.* III. 4. 15: "Prithee, think there's livers out of Britain."

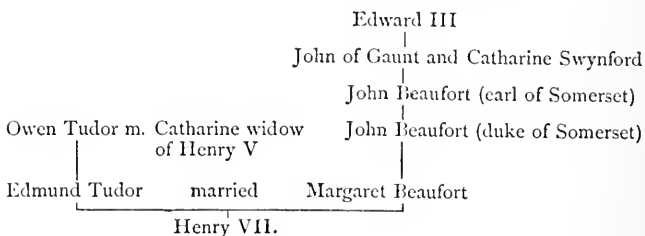
2. *took*. In modern English we should write *taken*. But this confused use as a participle of the form which has since been confined to the past tense was not uncommon in Bacon's time. Cf. Shakespeare, *M.* for *M.* II. 2. 74: "and he that might the vantage best have *took*."

5. *incomparable*. It must be remembered that Bacon wrote this in the year after his condemnation by the House of Lords. King James had remitted both parts of the sentence, the fine and the imprisonment, and so the strength of this epithet may be due in some measure to that circumstance, but compare the dedication of the *Advancement of Learning*, written in 1605, where even stronger language than that in our text appears. Cf. p. 3 (Clarendon Press Series), "I am well assured that this which I shall say is no amplification at all, but a positive and measured truth; which is that there hath not been since Christ's time any king or temporal prince which hath been so learned in all literature and erudition divine and human, &c." The dedication of the Authorized Version of the Bible to this same King is in a like laudatory and flattering style, which was, as it seems, the common mode of addressing this pedantic monarch.

7. *pieces*, i. e. pictures, keeping up the metaphor from painting which he had employed in the previous sentence. The Latin text has *exemplar*. For the English word in this sense cf. Shaks. *Timon*, I. 1. 28: "Let's see your piece; 'Tis a good piece...what a mental power this eye shoots forth."

10. *Francis St Alban*. Bacon was created Viscount St Alban January 27th, 1620—1.

Text, p. 5. *Henry the Seventh*. The connection of the King with the house of Lancaster will be seen from the following table:



John Beaufort (earl of Somerset) was one of several natural children of John of Gaunt by Catharine Swynford, who subsequently became his third wife. The children were called Beaufort from the name of the castle in France where they were born. These illegitimate children were legitimated by an Act of Parliament in 1397, and no restriction was then put upon their claim to the throne.

Line 1. *in fact*. An English representation of the Latin phrase *de facto*, as opposed to *de jure*. See below, p. 15, l. 11.

2. *regiment* = rule, government. Cf. the title of John Knox's work, "The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous *regiment* of women," a work in which he assails the rule of the three Marys, Mary of Guise, queen-dowager and regent of Scotland; Mary queen of Scots and queen Mary of England. The Latin has *regimen*.

8. *a devout mother*. The name of Lady Margaret, the mother of Henry VII, still survives in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, in the titles bestowed upon the readers in divinity, the chairs for which she endowed. Christ's College and St John's in Cambridge are also monuments of her devotion. She was likewise a benefactress to the monasteries of Thorney, Peterborough, Croyland, Bourn and Spalding. See Cooper's *Lady Margaret*, lately edited by Professor Mayor. Her parentage is seen from the pedigree on the previous page. She was first given in marriage, at the age of nine, by her guardian William de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, to his son John who afterwards became duke of Suffolk. But when her guardian was attainted in 1450, this marriage was regarded as a nullity, and she afterwards married Edmund Tudor the father of Henry VII. Her husband dying before their son was born, she afterwards married lord Henry Stafford, a younger son of Humphrey Stafford first duke of Buckingham. This second husband died in 1482, and she soon after was married to Thomas, second lord Stanley. Lady Margaret was born in 1441 and died in 1509.

13. *the body of Richard*. The body of the late king was stripped, laid across a horse behind a pursuivant-at-arms, and conveyed to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried with little ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars. Ten years later Henry VII caused a tomb to be erected over the grave.

14. *diriges*, funeral-hymns. The name is said to be derived from the Latin word *dirige* which occurs in the first line of a solemn Latin hymn of the Romish Church: *Dirige gressus meos*. Hence the modern word *dirge*. This etymology has been disputed but no better has been suggested in its place. The word occurs in Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, line 454: "Their *diriges*, their trentals and their shrifts."

18. *religious people*. Monks and nuns are frequently thus spoken of, as being more devoted to a life of religion than others. Cf. Roy's "Read me and be not wroth" (Arber's Reprints), p. 152: "The apostles had all thynges in comone, lyke as soche clarkes and *religyous* saye they have nowe. In tokenynge whereof no man sayd...thys ys myne, so our clarkes and namely [i. e. especially] *religyous people* when they will speak in terms of their religyon."

P. 6, line 2. *unworthy of* = inappropriate to, unmeet for, undeserved, in the sense of being too bad for. Latin, *injuriousus*. Cf. Shakespeare, *Richard III*, 1. 2. 88:

... doing worthy vengeance on thyself

Which didst *unworthy* slaughter upon others.

executioner of King Henry VI. Edward IV had the report cir-

culated that Henry VI died of grief, as had formerly been reported of Richard II; but the writers under the next dynasty all agree in stating that he was murdered, if not by the hand, at all events by the direction, of Richard, duke of Gloucester.

4. *contriver of the death of the duke of Clarence.* The reason why this has been laid at the door of the duke of Gloucester is doubtless because of the disputes between him and Clarence about the disposal of the wealth of the earl of Warwick, one of whose daughters they had each married, Clarence the eldest, and Gloucester the younger.

5. *his two nephews*, i. e. Edward V and Richard duke of York.

7. *failing of him* = should he die without issue.

8. *impoisoner of his wife.* Richard's wife was Anne the younger daughter of Warwick the king-maker. She died 16th March, 1485. It was rumoured that her death was by poison, and that Richard wished to marry his niece Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV. It is said that in the festivities of the previous Christmas the princess Elizabeth had been dressed in robes of the same fashion and colour as those of the queen. Ratchiffe and Catesby, the king's confidants, are credited with having represented to Richard that this marriage of so near a kinswoman would be an object of horror to the people, and bring on him the condemnation of the clergy.

9. *degrees forbidden*, i. e. degrees of kinship or affinity within which marriages are forbidden to take place.

10. *in military virtue approved.* Even the writers who are loudest in the praise of Henry VII, do not deny to Richard the merit of great bravery.

jealous...lawmaker. In his address to his parliament Richard is reported to have said, "We be determined rather to adventure and commit us to the peril of our life and jeopardy of death, than to live in such thralldom and bondage as we have lived long time heretofore, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions against the laws of God and man, and liberty, old policy and laws of this realm wherein every Englishman is inherited." Among his good laws may be mentioned one against the arbitrary exactions of money under the name of "Benevolences" which had been so common in the reign of Edward IV. He regulated the laws relating to bail, and enacted that the goods of suspected persons should not be seized before their conviction. He made good laws to secure the rights of buyers to any property which they had purchased, and facilitated the transfer of landed property by the act known as "the Statute of Fines."

13. *parricides.* This word derived from *pater*, a father, and *cedo*, to kill, was originally applied to the murder of parents, but even in Latin its signification was extended till it came to be used of any murder.

21. *trains and mines*, schemes and underhand plans. For *trains* cf. Shakspeare, *Macbeth*, IV. 3. 118:

Macbeth by many of these trains hath sought to win me.

24. *disorders* = riotous living. Lingard sums up this part of the character of Edward IV thus:—"The love of pleasure was his ruling

passion. Few princes have been more magnificent in their dress, or more licentious in their amours; few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table." His voluptuous life is again mentioned by Bacon, p. 7. Towards the latter part of his life he became very unwieldy in body, and incapacitated for any active exertion.

31. *Piqueny*. (Modern orthography Picquigny.) On the Somme, a little N.W. of Amiens. The treaty made at this place was in 1475. Edward the IVth had been urged by Charles, duke of Burgundy, to prosecute his claims on France, and aid from Burgundy had been promised him. But the duke was far from fulfilling his promises, and Louis XI found means to persuade the King of England to return home. The treaty was made on a wooden bridge hastily thrown over the Somme, on which two lodges were erected for the royal interview. There was much murmuring in England at the turn of events, the King was accused of avarice, and his counsellors of having suffered themselves to be bribed by Louis. These are the circumstances of which Bacon states that Richard took advantage.

P. 7, line 3. *mean marriage*. The wife of Edward IV was Elizabeth Wydeville, daughter of Sir Richard Wydeville, Lord Rivers, and his wife Jaquetta duchess of Bedford. She had previously been married to Sir John Grey a Lancastrian who was killed at the second battle of St Albans. Her marriage with Edward was kept secret from May 1464 till the following September. When the King acknowledged his wife there were many who murmured, and could ill disguise their jealousy at the elevation to the throne of one whose father a few years ago was no more than a simple knight. Sir Richard Wydeville had been created Lord Rivers in 1448. For further notice of this queen and her family see pp. 28, 29, and the notes thereon.

7. *brocage*. This word is from the same root as *broker*. It was applied in contempt to the mean trafficking of a petty dealer, and then came to be applied to any mean arts or practices, as here to the designing conduct of the duke of Gloucester. Cf. Warner, *Albion's England*, VIII. 41 :

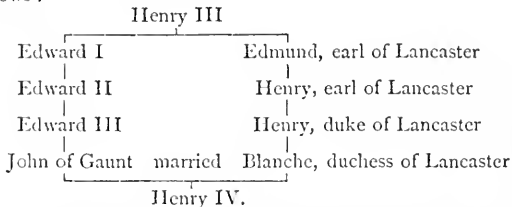
And should he know (I shame he should)
Of this your *brocage* base,
He would acquaint you what it were
Your sovereign to disgrace.

13. *able to trouble*, i. e. enough to trouble, calculated to trouble. Latin *posset perturbare*. Cf. Bacon's *Essays* (the edition by Mr W. Aldis Wright is that which is always referred to, and I here acknowledge a multitude of obligations to his valuable volumes which it would be endless to mention as they recur). *Essay XXIX*. p. 129, "Donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies were things able to enflame all men's courages."

19. *precedent pact*, i. e. previous compact or agreement. See p. 8, line 30. A compact of this kind had been known to the duke of Buckingham before his revolt against Richard III. The crown was

to be settled on Henry earl of Richmond and Elizabeth daughter of Edward IV, now the nearest representatives of the Houses of Lancaster and York. See Dugdale, Vol. I. p. 168. For an account of the first movement in this compact and of the Lady Margaret's consent thereto in the name of her son, see Lingard IV. pp. 119, 120. Grafton (p. 864) says that Henry when in Brittany took an oath to Elizabeth queen of Edward IV to marry her eldest daughter.

21. *by plea and arms.* The plea which had always been put forward on behalf of the Lancastrian line was that there had been a wrong succession since the time of Edward I. The line of descent was as follows:—



It was pretended that Edmund earl of Lancaster was the elder of the sons of Henry III, but being deformed, had been set aside by his own consent. Yet through Edmund's great-granddaughter Blanche Henry IV might on this ground claim to be the rightful heir, and set aside any of the children of Edward III, of whom only the family of Lionel duke of Clarence could claim before him.

The claim by arms was through the *de facto* Kings Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI.

30. *plausible*, here not used in any derogatory sense, but meaning praiseworthy. Cf. Earle's "Microcosmographie" (Arber's Reprints), p. 101: "All men put on to him (the poor man) a kind of churlish fashion, and even more *plausible* natures [are] churlish to him.

33. *at courtesy*, i.e. by sufferance. We now call the titles given in compliment to younger sons of nobility *courtesy* titles.

P. 8, line 6. *civil act of estates.* The parliament was (and is) spoken of as the three *estates* of the realm, which were in these times Lords, Commons, and Convocation. A King by an act of estates is therefore a King by act of parliament.

16. *a title condemned by parliament.* This condemnation of the title of the House of Lancaster took place in the parliament which met in November, 1461, after the coronation of Edward the IVth. Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI were declared late, in fact, but not of right, Kings of England. A bill of attainder was passed at the same time whereby all the distinguished supporters of the House of Lancaster, as well as the King and his kinsfolk were adjudged to suffer the penalties of treason, the loss of their honours, the forfeiture of their estates and an ignominious death. *Rot. Parl.* Vol. v. pp. 463, 476, 486.

19. *indubitate*=undoubted. It is worth while to notice the number of Latin words which were, by the revival of learning, imported into the English of this and the previous century, with a mere modification of termination. As the language advanced in vigour these fell away and had their places supplied by other words, less Latin in form. Cf. *casualties*, 17, 28: *prejudice*, 21, 30: *person* (in the sense of *character*), 23, 14: *office*, 38, 6, and many more.

25. *Sir William Stanley*, brother of Thomas, Lord Stanley, and so uncle to Lord Strange. Sir William Stanley was chamberlain of North Wales under Richard III and engaged in concert with Lord Strange and Sir John Savage to join the army of the earl of Richmond, which they eventually did, though they continued to wear the appearance of hostility till the field of Bosworth because Richard had possession of the person of Lord Strange. More particulars concerning Sir William Stanley will be found on pp. 124, 125, and the notes thereon.

28. *and was found*, i.e. and *which* (crown) was found. Both relatives and personal pronouns were frequently omitted in Bacon's time, though a sentence containing another nominative intervened between the pronoun and its verb, where now for greater clearness we repeat them. Cf. *infra*, p. 24, line 18: "She was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing-chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the King against King Richard the third been hatched; which the King knew, and remembered perhaps but too well: and was (*where now we should say and she was*)... extremely discontent with the King." Cf. also p. 72, line 16, where to make the sense clear *there are* must be inserted before *no middle people*.

P. 9, line 5. *forbore to use that claim*. William the Conqueror put forward his claims to the English crown on the right he had by the bequest of Edward the Confessor and also his personal claim on Harold as his sworn man. See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, Vol. III. p. 431.

8. *cast the die*. This phrase in the active form is rare in English. The passive form, *the die was cast*, is common enough. Cf. North's Plutarch, p. 549: "Crying out...let the die be cast...he (Julius Cæsar) passed over with his army."

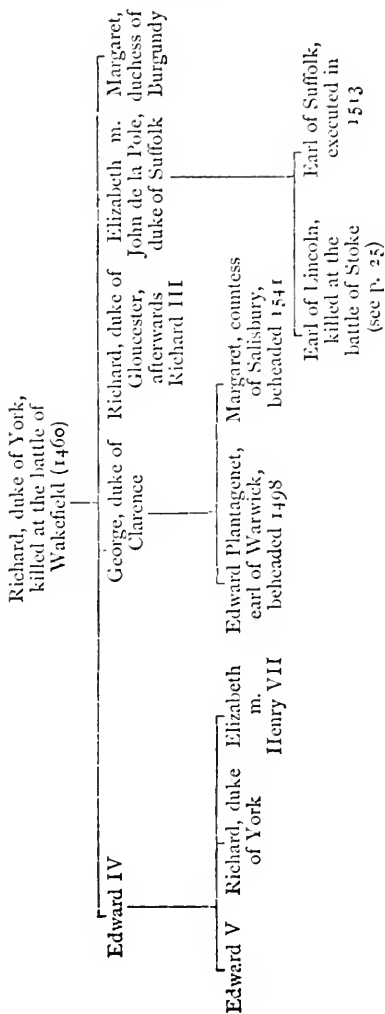
10. *interreign*. The more completely Latin form *interregnum* has, contrary to most other instances, won its way to general acceptance.

15. *an entertainer of fortune by the day*, one who took fortune as it came without great attempts at provision for the distant future.

21. *three descents*, i.e. Henry IV, Henry V and Henry VI, the three successive monarchs of the house of Lancaster.

30. *Sir Robert Willoughby*, created in 1485 Lord Willoughby of Brook (p. 18). This nobleman commanded the forces sent over in 1488 to the aid of the duke of Brittany. See page 60.

33. *Edward Plantagenet*. It may be convenient to give here a genealogical table which will make plain the relationship of all those persons who were interested in the succession to the crown at the death of Edward the IVth and afterwards at the death of Richard III.



P. 10, line 7. *doctor Shaw's tale at Paul's cross.* While Richard duke of Gloucester was protector, and was preparing his way to the throne, he appointed Dr Shaw (the brother of the Lord Mayor) to preach at St Paul's Cross. He (says Lingard) "selected for his text the following passage of the Book of Wisdom (iv. 3): 'Bastard slips shall not strike deep roots.' Having maintained from different examples that children were seldom permitted to enjoy the fruits of their father's iniquity, he proceeded to describe the well-known libertinism of the late King." The preacher after this proceeded to state that previous to the King's marriage with Lady Grey, he had been privately married to Eleanor, the widow of the Lord Boteler of Sudely, and therefore the children born to the King and Lady Grey were illegitimate and so could have no claim to the succession of their father.

10. *ever*=utterly. For this emphatic use of the adverb *ever*, cf. Shakespeare, *Pericles*, v. 1. 204:

Truth can never be confirm'd enough,
Though doubts did ever sleep.

13. *did use*=was wont. Cf. Shaksp. *J. Cæs.* I. 2. 72:

Were I a common laughèr, or did use
To stale with ordinary oaths my love.

20. *forwards.* The *s* at the end of this and other similar words compounded with *ward* is the genitive case-ending. But the compounds of *ward* are formed with the accusative ending as well, and so we have pairs of forms, forward and forwards, toward and towards, &c.

24. *as*=as if. Cf. Shaksp. *Macbeth*, II. 4. 5: "Thou seest the heavens, as troubled with man's act, threaten his bloody stage."

P. 11, line 8. *assurance, security.* Cp. p. 32, line 20, also Deuteronomy xxviii. 66: "Thou shalt fear day and night, and shalt have none assurance of thy life."

11. *first upon an observation*, i.e. first because he had noticed the circumstance, that Saturday was always a lucky day. For another mention of this idea of King Henry's and of an action regulated thereby see p. 154, line 14.

13. *mayor.* The orthography in the original edition is *major*, which exhibits the etymology better than our present form. The word is Lat. *major*=greater. The mayor at this time was Thomas Hill, who died afterwards in the sweating sickness (see p. 12), and Thomas Bretay and Richard Chester were the Sheriffs.

companies of the city. At a meeting of the Common Council 31 Aug. 1485, it was agreed that 435 persons representing 66 companies of guilds should ride to meet the King in cloaks of bright murrey (i. e. dark red). The mayor and aldermen wore cloaks of scarlet. (See *Materials for History of Henry VII*, Rolls Series, pp. 4, 5.)

19. *keep state*=maintain dignity. The expression is a common one with Bacon. See p. 107, l. 8 and p. 146, l. 5. Cf. Shaksp. *Hen. V.* I. 2. 273:

"But tell the Dauphin I will keep my state,
Be like a king, and shew my sail of greatness."

25. *bishop of London*. The Bishop of London at this time was Thomas Kemp, who had been previously Archdeacon of Middlesex and Chancellor of York. The palace of the Bishop was then, as now, at Fulham.

31. *Britain*, i. e. Brittany. This orthography has been preserved throughout, and *Britons* for the people of the duchy.

P. 12, line 6. *howsoever*=although. A frequent use of the word in Bacon. See p. 14, l. 28. Cf. Shakspeare, *Cymbeline*, I. 1. 64 :

Howsoe'er 'tis strange, yet it is true.

15. *reflect upon her*, look towards, have regard unto her. The word is not common in this sense, and is no doubt due to the Latin text, which has "ne vota ordinum ullatenus in Elizabetham *reflecterent*."

19. *sweating sickness*. Two lord mayors (Thomas Hill and Sir William Stokker) and six aldermen died of this disease in one week in London (see Hall's Chronicle), and it is said that of those whom it attacked not more than one in a hundred escaped. The disease appeared afterwards in 1517, and occasioned also great mortality in Oxford in 1575.

P. 13, line 3. *surprise of nature*, i. e. an attack of sickness for which nature was unprepared and which therefore was the more severely felt.

5. *temper*=temperature. The Latin text has *temperamentum*. The English word in this sense I have not found until a much later date, as Dryden, *Ovid*, *Met.* I. 59 :

Betwixt the extremes two happier climates hold

The *temper* that partakes of hot and cold.

See also Warton, *Virgil*, *Georg.* I. 489.

8. *infinite persons*. This adjective is more commonly used of things than of persons. The only passage in Shakespeare which at all corresponds with this use is *Hen. VIII*, III. I. 82, "Your hopes and friends are infinite," where, however, the adjective is as much connected with the first noun as the second.

14. *Simon and Jude's eve*, i. e. 27th of October.

Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop from 1454 to 1486, previously Bishop of Worcester and then of Ely. He had taken a prominent part in the stirring times of the Wars of the Roses, and had at one time effected a temporary reconciliation between the two rival Houses. He attended the Yorkist army to Northampton. He was also one of the ambassadors to France at the peace of Picquigny. He was created a cardinal in 1467. He crowned both Richard III and Henry VII, and officiated at the marriage of Henry. Fuller describes this his last official act as the holding of "the posie on which the White Rose and the Red were tied together." Bourchier was a benefactor to the Cathedral at Ely, and to poor scholars at both the Universities.

16. *Lambeth*, where is the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

17. *knights bannerets*. This is the title given originally to knights who are created by the King in person, on the battle-field under the royal banner in a time of open war. If so created the knight ranks after knights of the Garter. If not created on the field (as was the case here) he ranks after baronets. For an account of such creations on the field see p. 155, at the conclusion of the Cornish rebellion by the victory at Blackheath.

20. *Jasper, earl of Pembroke.* This was Jasper Tudor the brother of Edmund Tudor, and second son of Owen Tudor. It was in his castle, at Pembroke, that Henry VII was born after his father's death, the Lady Margaret having retired thither. The title was extinct in 1497.

22. *Thomas, the lord Stanley.* This was the third husband of the Countess of Richmond, the King's mother. He was the second Lord Stanley, and was third cousin of the Lady Margaret, so that a papal dispensation was needed to sanction the marriage. He had deserted the side of Richard III at Bosworth. He acted as high constable at the King's coronation and played a distinguished part during the whole of Henry the VIIth's reign.

23. *Edward Courteney* In the patent of his creation he is described as Edward Courtenay, knight, heir male of Hugh Courtenay, whilom earl of Devon, and Margaret his wife, daughter of Elizabeth, daughter of Edward I.

30. *Innocent the eighth, Pope of Rome* (1484—1492).

Frederick the third, Emperor of Almain (1440—1493).

Almain. This name for Germany, which the French still retain in *L'Allemagne*, is derived from Alemanni the name of an ancient German people dwelling between the Danube, the Rhine and the Maine.

31. *Maximilian his son, King of the Romans.* He became emperor in 1493—1519, succeeding his father. The title King of the Romans belonged to the heir apparent to the empire of Germany, known in old times as the Holy Roman Empire. Maximilian was at this time a widower: his wife had been Mary daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. She left him a son and daughter, the latter betrothed to Charles King of France, and living in France for her education. See P. 32.

32. *Charles the eighth, King of France* (1483—1498). He had been betrothed to the daughter of Maximilian, while he was dauphin, after the peace of Arras.

33. *Ferdinando and Isabella, Kings of Spain* (1476—1516). Ferdinand was son of John, King of Aragon; and on his marriage with Isabella, queen of Castile, the two monarchies of Spain were united and have never been severed.

James the third, King of Scotland (1460—88). For his fate, see p. 68.

P. 14, line 6. *yeomen of his guard.* This is the first occasion of the appointment of a royal body guard. Grafton says of it: "Men thought that he learned this president [precedent] of the French King when he was in France, for men remembre not anye King of Englande before that tyme which used such a furniture of daylye souldiours."

25. *in his danger,* at his mercy. Cf. Shakespeare, *Merch. of Venice*, IV. 1. 180: "You stand within his danger."

29. *reclaim* = tame, subdue, make gentle, one of the many technical terms which were used in hawking. Cf. Shakespeare, *Rom. and Juliet*, IV. 2. 47: "This wayward girl is so reclaimed."

32. *more than that* = except that. The Latin has *præterquam quod*. P. 15, line 3. *the act.* The words of the bill are as follows, and quite bear out the statement in the text: "To the pleasure of Almighty

God, the wealth, prosperity, and surety of this realm of England, to the singular comfort of all the King's subjects of the same, and in avoiding of all ambiguities and questions, be it ordained, stablished and enacted by the authority of this present Parliament that the inheritance of the crowns of England and of France with all the pre-eminence and dignity royal to the same pertaining, and all other seigniories to the King belonging beyond the sea, with the appurtenances thereto in any wise due or pertaining, be, rest, remain and abide in the most royal person of our new sovereign lord King Harry the VIIth and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming perpetually with the grace of God so to endure and in none others."

12. *fair*, i. e. open. Latin *in medio relinquebatur*.

P. 16, line 3. *the King's party*, i. e. the party of him who was now King Henry VII, but then earl of Richmond.

exchequer-chamber. This court has no original jurisdiction over crimes or offences, but only upon writs of error to rectify any injustice or mistake of the law. It is therefore called in the text the council chamber of the judges.

26. *corruption of blood*. This was the effect of a bill of attainder till the reign of William IV. An attainted person in consequence could neither inherit lands from his ancestors, nor retain those of which he was already in possession nor transmit them to any heir.

33. *duke of Norfolk*. This was John, Lord Howard, who had become in 1483 duke of Norfolk in right of his wife, Margaret, coheir of John Mowbray, duke of Norfolk. The title forfeited in 1485 was restored in 1513.

Earl of Surrey. Thomas Howard, son of the above-named duke of Norfolk. He was created earl of Surrey when his father became duke. His dignity, now forfeited, was restored to him in 1489. See p. 66.

P. 17, line 1. *Viscount Lovel*. Francis, Lord Lovel. He had been created Viscount Lovel in 1482. He had been one of the chief advisers of Richard III. It was of him and Ratcliffe and Catesby, mentioned below, that the rhyme was made in Richard's reign,

The rat, the cat, and Lovel our dog
Rule all England under the hog.

"By whiche," says Fabyan, fol. cxxxx., "was ment that Catisby, Ratelyffe and the Lord Lovell ruled the lande under the Kynge which bare the whyte Bore for his consyaunce." "But," adds Grafton, "because the first line ended in dog, the Metrician could not ende the second verse in Bore, but called the Bore an hog." The metrician was a certain William Colyngbourne who was executed for his metre.

Lord Ferrers. Walter Devereux, who became lord Ferrers of Chartley in 1470 in right of his wife Anne, daughter of William, lord Ferrers.

Lord Zouch. John le Zouch, lord Zouch of Haringworth. This barony, forfeited in 1485, was restored in 1509.

Richard Ratcliffe. Knight of the body to Richard III.

2. *William Catesby*. Esquire of the body to Richard III. He

was one of the three persons executed by order of Henry VII, from the prisoners taken at Bosworth field.

many others. The number of persons included in this act of attainder was thirty, see Lingard, iv. 132.

5. *stay.* The Latin has *temperantia*. The English word, which I have not met with elsewhere in this sense, is used to indicate the knowledge of when to stop in any business, a knowledge which Henry VII possessed in a high degree in the matter of the punishment of offenders.

13. *grace of restitution*=an opportunity of repairing their offence by submission, and of being restored to their possessions again. The Latin has *restitutionem fortunarum*.

28. *casualties*=things which had fallen in, windfalls as we now call them. Lat. *casualia*. The English of Bacon's time was largely mixed with Latin words only Anglicised in the termination. This use of *casualties* seems to be peculiar to Bacon.

31. *form sake.* The omission of the *s* of the genitive case in nouns followed by a word beginning with a sibilant letter can be readily understood, from the desire of getting rid of the too great amount of hissing sounds. In Skelton, i. 261, we have "For my fancy sake," and in Shaks. Love's L. L. iv. 1. 37, "Only for praise sake when they strive to be lords o'er their lords." See Mätzner, Eng. Grammatik, i. 235.

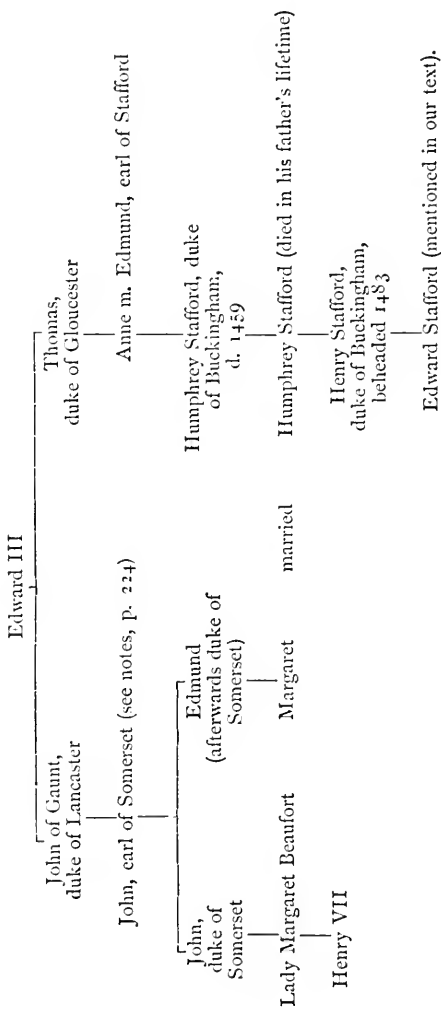
32. *reduce aliens, &c.* i.e. to make foreign-born persons, although they have become naturalized in England, yet remain on the same footing as mere unnaturalized foreigners, in the matter of the customs and dues which they might have to pay.

P. 18, line 1. *compositions, &c.* The political economy of Henry the VIIth's time aimed at letting as little coin of the realm go out of the country as possible. It was therefore enacted that Italian and other merchants who brought the commodities of their own countries to England, should be fined if they did not expend the receipts in English products to carry away instead of coin. These fines were the *compositions* for *not-employment*. On the warrant of a similar statute Erasmus when returning to his own country was only allowed to carry six angels in money with him, the rest being seized for the royal exchequer. See Seebohm's Oxford Reformers, p. 161.

9. *Lord Chandos.* His creation is dated 6 Jan. 1486. He is therein called Philibert de Shaunde, and along with his title he is granted 100 marks out of the issues of the counties of Somerset and Dorset for the support of his estate. The preamble of the creation recites the exertions which had been made by the recipient on behalf of the restoration of Henry. The title became extinct with the death of the first earl.

10. *Lord Daubeney.* This title descended through two generations and became extinct in 1548. This first lord Daubeney afterwards became deputy of Calais, see p. 76.

14. *Edward Stafford.* This was the duke of Buckingham who was afterwards attainted and executed in 1521. He was descended from Edward III both by father and mother. The subjoined table will show his close relationship to King Henry VII, and the connection of both with the line of Edward III.



23. *Marquis Dorset*. This was Sir Thomas Grey (a son by her first marriage of Elizabeth, queen of Edward IV) who had been attainted by King Richard III in his first year, and was restored in 1485. His petition to the King for reversal of the attainder sets forth that it had been incurred by "the true service which he owed and did unto the now King's Grace." (See Materials for History of Hen. VII, Rolls Series, p. 138.) Before he became Marquis Dorset in 1475, he had been earl of Huntingdon, and previously Lord Grey of Groby. For his further history see p. 34, and the notes thereon.

Sir John Bouchier (afterwards Lord Berners). His grandfather had been knight of the garter and constable of Windsor Castle. Sir John distinguished himself in 1495 in the suppression of the Cornish rebellion. He was made lieutenant of Calais by Henry VIII. He conducted the Princess Mary, sister to Henry VIII, to France when she was married to Louis XII. He died at Calais in 1532. We owe to him a noble translation of Froissart's Chronicle, printed in 1523. He also wrote several other works, among the rest "The History of Arthur of Lytell Brytayne."

27. *Master Bray*. This was Sir Reginald Bray, who had taken an active part in the plans for placing Henry on the throne. He was formerly steward of the household to Lady Margaret, and a trustee under her marriage with Lord Stanley. He died in 1503. In Kippis's Biographia Britannica is a memoir of Sir Reginald Bray, II. 572.

28. *prest*, here = a loan. The word is very common (as might be expected) in the documents connected with the early part of this reign, but not quite in the sense in which it is here used. For examples of the word = loan, see North's Plutarch (1595), p. 638, "It chanced the King was without money: whereupon he sent to all his friends to take up money in prest, and among others unto Eumenes, of whom he requested three hundred talents. Eumenes lent him but a hundred." Cf. Cooper's Lady Margaret (Mayor), Glossary, p. 278. In the Materials for History of Hen. VII, the word seems to imply a *fine* or *deduction*. See I. pp. 97, 262, 264, 265. Thus p. 262, "Mandate to the treasurer and chamberlains of the Exchequer to pay (without delay, upon the sight hereof, in ready money without *prest* or other charge) to Nicolas Warley of London, goldsmith, &c."

29. *six thousand marks*. The value of the mark was 13s. 4d. So that the sum asked for was £4000, of which the King obtained only one half. It must be borne in mind that the value of money was then more than twelve times what it is now. See Froude, History of England, Vol. I. p. 26.

33. *John Morton* was now bishop of Ely, but in 1486 succeeded Bouchier as archbishop of Canterbury, which see he held till his death in 1500. He commenced life as a lawyer, which may perhaps account for the position which he afterwards occupied among the influential advisers of Henry VII. He espoused the cause of the house of Lancaster, and was present at their defeat at the battle of Towton. He fled into Flanders with Queen Margaret, and did not return till the battle of Barnet. But when the Lancastrian cause was utterly over-

thrown at Tewkesbury Morton submitted, and sent in his adhesion to the victorious family, and was advanced by Edward the IVth in the most lavish manner. His preferments are far too numerous to register here. He was (among many other offices) Master of the Rolls in 1472, archdeacon of Winchester and archdeacon of Chester both in 1474, and became bishop of Ely in 1479. He attended the deathbed of King Edward IV. He was arrested by Richard duke of Gloucester when protector, after that scene which occurred when Lord Hastings was seized and executed, which Shakespeare sets forth so graphically, Richard III, Act 3, Sc. 4. After his arrest he was committed to the charge of the duke of Buckingham, and with him entered into a correspondence with Lady Margaret for the purpose of raising Henry, earl of Richmond, to the throne. It was not long after this that Morton escaped from Brecknock, where he was in custody, and left England for Flanders. He did not join Henry in Brittany, but kept up a communication between England and Flanders, which enabled him to supply the earl of Richmond with valuable information. After the coronation of Henry VII, Morton's attainder was reversed, and on his return he was made one of the Privy Council, and throughout the whole reign of Henry was one of that king's chief counsellors. He was made Lord Chancellor of England and Archbishop of Canterbury in the same year. On the dilemma termed Morton's fork see p. 93, and for a notice of his death and character, p. 182.

P. 19, line 1. *Richard Fox*. At this time bishop of Exeter and Lord Privy Seal, but afterwards promoted first to be bishop of Durham and afterwards bishop of Winchester. He was a trusted friend of Lady Margaret and was appointed one of her executors, and, with Morton, Bray and Daubeney, was of much influence with Henry VII during his whole reign.

12. *carried their reward upon themselves*. Those who received, as rewards for their services, rich bishoprics had reward enough therein, and needed no more from the King's bounty.

14. *first fruits (annates or primitie)* was the value of every spiritual living by the year, which the Pope, claiming the disposition of all ecclesiastical livings within Christendom, reserved out of every living. As to what Pope first imposed first fruits historians do not agree. Blackstone ascribes the imposition to Pope Innocent IV. In the 34 Edward I in a parliament held at Carlisle a complaint was made of the intolerable oppressions by the papal legate, principally concerning first fruits, and the King hereupon denied the payment of first fruits, and the pope relinquished his demand of first fruits of abbeys, in which parliament the first fruits for two years were granted to the King. There were many alterations in the period between that parliament and the 25 Henry VIII, when the first fruits were expressly annexed to the Crown. The text indicates that the first fruits of bishoprics were in Henry the VIIth's time paid to the Crown. For full particulars on this subject, see Burn's Eccl. Law (by Phillimore), Vol. II. p. 273 seqq.

17. *long expected and so much desired marriage*. On the 10th Dec. 1485, the Commons in full Parliament prayed the King "that he

would please to take the noble Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward the IV, as his wife and consort. Whereupon the Lords Spiritual and Temporal being present at the same Parliament, rose from their seats, and standing before the King as he sat on his royal throne with their heads bowed and with lowly voice made unto the King the same request. To whom, with his own lips, he replied that he was content to proceed according to their desire and request." Translated from *Materials for History of Hen. VII.* (Rolls Series), Vol. I. p. 209.

The marriage, which took place on the 18th January, 1485—6, was thought by some to have been too long delayed, and historians have declaimed against Henry on this account. He had pledged himself by a solemn oath taken on Christmas day 1483, at the church of Rennes, to marry the princess Elizabeth, or, in case of her death or previous union with another, her sister Cecilia. Dean Hook (*Lives of Archbishops*, v. 384) thinks that the delay was partly attributable to the prevalence of the sweating sickness. Perhaps also, as the papal dispensation was required for their marriage, the application may have consumed some part of the time. The text of this dispensation is given in *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.*, p. 392. It is noteworthy that in the same records very little is found in the way of entries for expenses on the marriage, though there are several connected with the queen's coronation, as we shall hereafter have to notice.

24. *no very indulgent husband.* The charge of coldness and severity towards his consort, which has been so frequently urged by historians against Henry VII, is far from true (see Nicolas's *Memoir of Elizabeth of York*, LXXXII. Excerpta Historica, 86). "There is ample proof that he lived with all his family in the greatest harmony." Excerpta Historica, 286, quoted by Prof. Mayor in *The Lady Margaret*, p. 33.

27. *so...as=so...that.* This is the usual form in Bacon's language. Cp. pp. 22. 1: 28. 14, *et passim.*

P. 20, line 5. *the northern parts.* Richard III. was crowned a second time at York, and the inhabitants had been instructed on that occasion to shew by their conduct how they rejoiced at his accession, so "that the southern lords might mark the receiving of their Graces." This second coronation was held to please the men of the North, among whom Richard had for some years been popular. See Lingard, IV. 117.

10. *over-cast.* The word is used as we now employ *cast* in the phrase "to cast accounts," and signifies, to add up to too large a total, to count too much on. The Latin text is *in fortunæ suæ supputatione et calculis iudicio suo magnopere falsus est.* I have not found the English word elsewhere in this sense.

14. *Lord Lovel.* Some interesting particulars connected with this nobleman's share in the rebellion may be gathered from the *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), Vol. III. Letters 889 seqq. Lord Lovel had married Anne, the daughter of Alice Lady Fitzhugh, one of Paston's correspondents. In letter 890, he is said, contrary to the statement in our text, p. 21, line 8, to have fled into the Isle of Ely to provide, if he could,

means for escaping out of the country, or else to betake himself to the sanctuary again. But this may perhaps have been before he made his way into Lancashire. Of his death see p. 37 and the note there.

14. *Humphrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford.* These were the sons of that Humphrey Stafford (Stafford and Hastings) who was slain by Jack Cade, 1450, and who was buried at Bromsgrove, with which place (see Nash's *Worcestershire*, i. 157) the family was connected. For the circumstances of the father's death see Lingard, iv. 49. The elder son Humphrey, who had fought for Richard III at Bosworth, left a family of two sons and three daughters, but their property was seized to the crown in consequence of their father's attainder, and was granted to Sir Gilbert Talbot. Thomas the younger brother was the founder of the family of Stafford of Tottenho in Buckinghamshire. When these brothers were first seized they were brought to Worcester to be executed at once, but the abbot of Abingdon arrived at Worcester in time to prevent their immediate execution, and their case was brought in consequence, as is related by Bacon, before the King's Bench.

25. *had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York.* The Latin text says "had no connection with the cause of the Yorkist family:" *ne ad causam familie Eboracensis quidquam pertinere.*

28. *core*, used for *midst*, as we now use it of the central seed-pods of apples and such fruits. The word itself is derived from *cor*=the heart. The Latin text is *in medio populi sibi suspecti.*

31. *well assured*, i. e. on whose fidelity he could rely.

P. 21, line 6. *the heralds were the great ordnance.* The proclamations of pardon which they made were the most effective engines of war that were employed. Lat.: *heraldi enim pro tormentis bellicis erant.* The history of the word *ordnance* is peculiar, and somewhat like that of the word *artillery*. It is the French *ordonnance*, and was at first applied to the *ordinary* men of arms of France when formed into certain companies under particular *orders* by King Charles VII in 1444. These men must be archers, and the bow being in mediæval warfare the most potent arm, the name at first applied to bowmen, came after the introduction of cannon to be used for those engines. *Artillery*, used of bows and arrows, as in 1 Sam. xx. 40, "And Jonathan gave his *artillery* unto his lad," and in 1 Macc. vi. 51, has undergone a similar change of application.

9. *Sir Thomas Broughton.* He was of Broughton in Lancashire. Afterwards he was induced to join Lambert Simnel's party in 1487, and is said by some to have been slain at Stoke, by others to have escaped and lived in concealment with a retainer of his family in Westmorland, and to have died without issue in 1495. His property was added to the possessions of the house of Stanley by Henry VII (*Itinerary of Lancashire*, p. 322).

14. *despaired and dispersed.* There may frequently be found in Bacon's English traces of the influence of Euphuism in his employment of alliteration. A like tendency is to be found in much of the language of this period, and is very perceptible in the diction of the Book of Common Prayer. For another instance see p. 22, l. 24, *refresh and*

reflect; also p. 26, l. 30, If the great ones were in *forwardness* the people were in *fury*. Examples may be found in every two or three pages.

15. *upon view of their privilege in the King's Bench*, i. e. When the judges of the King's Bench had enquired whether the Sanctuary at Colnham was sufficient protection for such a crime as theirs. Lat. *inspectâ ejus loci chartâ privilegii per judices de Banco regis*.

When the judges were first consulted by the King whether Colnham had the privilege of a sanctuary, they replied that it was hard to give an opinion on a matter which they would afterwards have to decide judicially. This was the reason why the point was argued before all the judges, when the claim of sanctuary was rejected.

18. *Tyburn*, a place in London at which felons were generally executed.

24. *in honour of the British race...named Arthur*. The famous King Arthur to whom allusion here is made was the son of King Uther Pendragon, and Igera, a lady celebrated for her beauty, and who had formerly been the wife of Gorlois duke of Cornwall. Arthur was crowned King at the age of fifteen at Silchester by St Dubricius, and is celebrated as the hero of a long series of conquests, many of which are doubtless fabulous, but, as is intimated in the text, the marvellous history of this king has a substratum of truth. For a full knowledge of the many legends connected with him the student should read the *Mort d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, now accessible in the Globe series.

26. *Britains*, i. e. people of Britain. Bacon's orthography is here retained to prevent confusion, as in the text *Britons* always means people of Brittany.

30. *prejudge*, i. e. entertain a prejudice against, doom prematurely. The verb has well-nigh died out, but its noun *prejudice* remains. The verb is found *Reliq. Wotton*, p. 576: "Yet I will not anticipate or prejudge mine own mishaps." Bacon's Latin is *male ominantur*.

P. 22, line 2. *it hath fallen out often*, i. e. there have been frequent instances of persons assuming a false name and character to gain a kingdom, as Bacon repeats on the next page. In ancient times the most well-known instance is that of the usurper Smerdis. He was a Magian named Oropastes, and after Cambyses King of Persia had murdered his brother and heir presumptive Smerdis, this impostor assumed the name of the murdered prince, and succeeded to the kingdom for a brief period. See Herod. III. c. 61. In modern times the most conspicuous instances have been those of this reign of Henry VII.

7. *green in his estate*, i. e. inexperienced in his new position as King. This metaphorical use of the word was common and classical enough in Shakespeare's time. Cf. *Ant. and Cleop.* I. 5. 74,

"My salad days,
When I was green in judgement."

The Latin text has *novus in regno suo*.

11. *affected*, clung to with liking. Hence the noun *affection*, which

remains, though the verb has nearly passed out of use in this sense. The Latin has *prosequi*. Cf. Shaks. Cym. v. 5. 37,

“First she confessed she never loved you, only
Affected greatness got by you, not you :
Married your royalty.”

16. *the coronation*. This took place after an unaccountably long delay at Westminster, on the feast of St Catharine (Nov. 25), 1487. On the previous Friday the queen went in a triumphant procession by water from Greenwich to the tower of London. There was a grand coronation banquet afterwards in Westminster Hall. In the *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII* there is much more notice of the expenditure on the coronation than on the marriage of the Queen.

The two following extracts from pp. 253, 254 may suffice as specimens.

“Memorandum, that ther is due and owing unto John Bromhall, joynour, of London for canapye staves and in the tymber work of ii cherez (chairs) of estate, of hym boughte, ayenste [against] the coronacion of our souverayne lady the quene, the somme of xxiiij^s.”

“Memorandum that there is due and owing unto William Rowthewelle, mercer, of London, for skarlet by hym delyvered unto the Kynges grete wardrobe ayenst the coronacion of our souverayne lady the quene the somme of £54. 12. 9.” The last item would represent a sum of more than six hundred pounds of our present money.

20. *closely*=secretly. The Lat. has *clanculum*. For this sense cf. Shaks. Romeo, v. 3. 255,

“Meaning to keep her closely at my cell.”

P. 23, line 2. *had to his pupil*. For this use of the preposition *to* where we should now say *for* or *as*; cf. Judges xvii. 13: “Then said Micah, Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite *to* my priest.”

4. *well favoured*, i.e. of good looks. Cf. Gen. xxxix. 6: “Joseph was a goodly person, and well favoured.”

10. *in the manage*=as the plan was being carried out, in the process. The Latin is *inter rem agendam consilium mutavit*.

14. *person*. From Latin *persona*; which originally meant a mask with a mouthpiece contrived as a speaking-trumpet to aid the actor in making himself heard, (*per* through, and *sonare*=to sound): then any assumed character.

19. *drunk with news and talk*=excited by fresh events and public rumours.

20. *hath no appearance*=does not seem at all likely to occur. An attempt like this appears on the face of it improbable. Lat. *minime videtur probabile*.

P. 24, line 6. *on the mother's side*. His mother being the daughter of the Earl of Warwick and Salisbury the King-maker. The son of Clarence received one part of his grandfather's title, the daughter, the Countess of Salisbury (who afterwards married Sir Richard Pole and one of whose sons became Cardinal Pole), the other.

13. *Queen dowager*, i. e. Elizabeth the widow of Edward IV. She had lived at court up to this time. Lingard (IV. 136 *note*) suspects that the whole story, told in the text of the arrest of the Queen dowager, has no other foundation than the fact that for the three or four last years of her life Queen Elizabeth chose to live in retirement at Bermondsey. This is the more probable from what Bacon says below, that there was no legal proceeding taken for her seclusion.

15. *withdrawing-chamber*. This form is the original of the modern *drawing-room* = withdrawing-room, but by aphæresis the first syllable has disappeared.

18. *and was* = and she was. See note on p. 6. l. 28.

23. *nor no more*. Such instances of double negatives are not uncommon in the language of this period. See p. 71, l. 6, and note there.

26. *at his peril* = using him as their tool and instrument. The infinitive *to make way* depends on the clause *it was the meaning of the better and sager sort*. They intended to use Lambert as a means to overthrow the king, but did not intend to crown their idol.

31. *Bermondsey*. This was a nunnery of the Cluniac order, founded in 1082, by Alwinus Child, a citizen of London. It was connected with the monastery of St Saviour's, Bermondsey. See Dugdale's *Monasticon*, Vol. 1. p. 639.

32. *close* = secret. See note on p. 22, l. 20. The Latin has *consilium ostiis clausis habitum*.

P. 25, line 10. *many clergymen*. The clergy were exempt from temporal jurisdiction, by reason of a privilege called "benefit of clergy." This privilege was not entirely abolished till 1828, and was originally devised to shield from civil penalties all who could plead their clerkship (*privilegium clericale*), and in an age of very general ignorance all were held to be clerks who could read. Indeed to such a length had the claim been allowed that the ability to repeat a single verse of the Psalter (Ps. li. 1) was held sufficient proof of a man's clerkship, and this verse was hence called in common phrase the neck-verse, because the knowledge of it saved the culprit's neck from the halter: see Sir Walter Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto I, Stanza xxiv.

"Letter nor line know I never a one
Wer't my neck-verse at Hairibec."

Hairibec was the place on the Scotch border at which prisoners taken in the border feuds were wont to be executed.

13. *Stoke-field*. The battle of Stoke was fought 16 June, 1487. For the family connection of the Earl of Lincoln, see Table in notes p. 230.

20. *it was voiced*, i. e. noised abroad. Cf. Shaks. *Timon*, IV. 3. 81,

"Is this the Athenian minion whom the world
Voiced so regardfully?"

28. *it pieced better* = was a more apt arrangement, and suited the circumstances of the supposed escape of the Earl of Warwick.

P. 26, line 2. *affection to the house of York.* Among the English settlers in Ireland the partisans of the house of York had maintained a decided ascendancy ever since the administration of Richard duke of York in that island in the reign of Henry the VIth. The Butlers alone had dared to unsheathe the sword in favour of the Lancastrians. Richard duke of York was lord lieutenant in Ireland from 1449—1459. (Beatson's *Political Index*, III. 295).

15. *Ireland.* At the commencement of the reign of Henry VII, half Louth, half Dublin, half Meath and half Kildare were the only parts of Ireland which could be said to be really subject to the English law. This district was called the "Pale." Outside these limits, the house of Fitzgerard (or Fitzgerald), sometimes spoken of as the Geraldines, exercised a rude supremacy in Leinster and Munster, the O'Briens in Clare, the Butlers in Kilkenny, and the O'Neils and O'Donnells in the north.

18. *Thomas Fitz-Gerald.* His first appointment as Lord Deputy was in 1478.

P. 27, line 6. *had said enough for them,* i. e. there was no need to regard the claim of these daughters, as by the act of Richard III in setting them aside their claim had been shown to be easily disposed of.

26. *Shene* (now Richmond), a favourite residence of Henry VII, who, when it was destroyed by fire, built the present palace of Richmond.

P. 28, line 31. *a distressed suitor.* When Edward IV visited the duchess of Bedford at Grafton, Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Gray, and daughter of the duchess, seized the opportunity to appeal to the King for a reversal, in favour of her children, of the attainder of her husband who had fallen in fighting on the Lancastrian side at the second battle of St Albans.

P. 29, line 1. *King's flight,* i. e. when Edward IV was obliged to flee, and Henry VI was restored in 1470. At that time Queen Elizabeth took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster.

5. *much* = very. For an example of much thus used as qualifying an adjective, cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus*, IV. 1. 45,

... "I fear
We shall be much unwelcome."

6. *her own kindred.* Richard Wydville was created Earl of Rivers in 1466; Anthony Wydville, his eldest son, Lord Scales in 1469; and many other promotions of the families of Gray and Wydville occur in the reign of Edward IV.

10. *Lord Hastings.* William, Lord Hastings of Ashby-de-la-Zouche, put to death by Richard duke of Gloucester in 1483.

14. *her brother beheaded.* Lord Rivers, beheaded, at Pontefract in 1483, by order of the duke of Gloucester.

26. *Queen's College in Cambridge,* really founded by Queen Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, in 1448, but refounded by Queen Elizabeth wife of Edward IV, in 1465. Grafton adds to his account of the foundation: "Queen's College, a name surely meet for such a place

wherein scholars diligently studying in all doctrine and sciences, prove excellent clerks and come to great honours."

P. 30, line 16. *ceremony of a procession*. As the procession was made to the cathedral of St Paul's, it might be looked upon as a religious act, and if it were made with a mere pretender in the procession, would be a sort of profanation of religion.

26. *John Earl of Lincoln*. See the genealogical table, notes p. 230.

P. 31, line 1. *incompetent pretexes*=groundless reasons.

16. *refrain the business*=hold back from the undertaking. We generally say 'refrain from.' For an example without this preposition see Shakespeare, 3rd pt. Hen. VI. 2. 11. 110:

...“ For scarce I can refrain
The execution of my big-swoln heart
Upon that Clifford.”

24. *leaving a correspondence*=arranging for a means of communication.

P. 32, line 2. *Charles, surnamed the Hardy*. This duke of Burgundy, to whom Margaret the younger daughter of Richard duke of York became the second wife, died 1477 (in the battle of Nancy), leaving an only daughter, Mary, who was married afterwards to Maximilian, King of the Romans, and the two children mentioned in the text, Philip and Margaret, were Maximilian's children.

26. *Martin Swart*. Of this captain little more can be said than is found in the text.

P. 33, line 8. *upon far better cards*. The Latin is *copiis multo majoribus instructi*, furnished with far more abundant resources.

26. *and in affection*, i.e. were possessed with desire. Lat. *multa cupiditate ferebantur*.

P. 34, line 21. *kept an ear*=was disposed to listen kindly and receive him. Lat. *aurem ei benignam reservare*.

31. *Walsingham* in Norfolk, famous for the shrine of the Virgin Mary. There is an amusing account of a visit made to this shrine by Erasmus, given in his Colloquy of the *Religious Pilgrimage*.

P. 35, line 1. *Cambridge*. There is a mention of this visit in Leland's *Collectanea*, iv. 209, where it is said the King went from Cambridge by Huntingdon and Northampton to Coventry, and kept the feast of St George at the last-named town. See Cooper's *Annals*, i. 233.

3. *Fouldrey*, in the southern extremity of Furness in Lancashire, called by Grafton "The pyle of Fowdrey."

9. *Earl of Oxford*. This was John de Vere, who having suffered attainder in 1461, was restored in 1485, and made Admiral of England, Ireland and Aquitaine.

11. *for discovery*, to spy out the position of the foe. Lat. *ad hostium res explorandas*.

18. *personate*, to cause a good impression concerning their King. Lat. *ut regis sui decus tuerentur*.

28. *their army*, i.e. the army of Simnel and his supporters.

P. 36, line 4. *past retract*=gone beyond withdrawal. The noun is not common, the French form *retreat* having soon supplanted the more Latin form of the word.

15. *missives*, letters of summons. Shakespeare always uses this word of *messengers*. Cf. *Macbeth*, I. v. 7, "While I stood rapt in the wonder of it came missives...who all-hailed me."

18. *Earl of Shrewsbury*. This was George Talbot son of John, late earl of Shrewsbury. He had been a ward of the crown and licence of entry on his inheritance was granted to him in Nov. 1485.

Lord Strange, i.e. George Stanley, son of Thomas Stanley, step-father to Henry VII, on which account in grants made to him George Stanley is sometimes called the King's brother. See *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Series), p. 266.

27. *commodity*=use, advantage. The word is common in this sense in Shakespeare. It occurs several times in a speech of the Bastard Faulconbridge, *King John*, II. 2; the last words of which are

"Since kings break faith upon commodity,
Gain be my lord! for I will worship thee."

P. 37, line 4. *three battles*, i.e. three divisions. Cf. *Hen. V.* IV. 3. 69,

"The French are bravely in their *battles* set,
And will with all expedience charge on us."

15. *skain*, a kind of knife or dagger used by the Irish and the Highlanders. Gaelic *sgian*.

P. 38, line 7. *mattacina* (Italian) is a pantomime, a mockery or satire. Lat. *ludibrium*.

19. *engine*=contrivance, plot. Cf. Shakespeare, *Othello*, IV. 2. 219, "Take me from this world with treachery, and devise engines for my life."

P. 39, line 5. *martial law*, i.e. inflicting summary penalties, as is the custom in the army, where the offender is tried and punished immediately on the discovery of his offence.

6. *commission*, i.e. in the ordinary way of justice, by appointing commissioners to try, in due form of law, some of those who had offended.

P. 40, line 4. *at the Cross*. At St Paul's Cross, where special sermons were preached in the open air while the congregation sat under the shrouds which were attached to the side of the church. In this place were preached some of Latimer's sermons before King Edward the VIth, and Dr Shaw's sermon already noticed, p. 10, l. 7, and the note thereon.

17. *Pope Innocent*. Pope Innocent had granted a dispensation for the marriage, and therefore it might seem fit that he should be formally apprised of the coronation which placed the queen on the throne as queen consort with her husband.

18. *Another Æneas*, alluding to the storm-beaten course of that hero before his arrival in Italy as recited in Virgil's *Æneid*.

22. *his ambassador*. This was the bishop of Imola, who was the legate of Innocent VIII. He first granted the needful dispensation, but Henry applied for another to the Pontiff himself, and the lapse of time which ensued, may perhaps explain this late acknowledgment of the ambassador's presence at the royal marriage. The dispensations are both given in extenso in Rymer, XII. pp. 294 and 313.

31. *much made on* = received with great honour. Cf. Shakespeare, Cor. IV. 5, 203, "Why, he is so made on here within, as if he were son and heir to Mars."

knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable. The pontificate of Innocent VIII was a time of great depravity, in which it was said that immunity from all punishment was to be bought, if only a sufficient price were offered. The feuds of the Colonna and Orsini factions were distracting Rome, and in 1485 the Pope increased the disorders by allowing all who had been banished for whatever cause to return. In consequence Rome became the haunt of villains of every kind, who eagerly flocked to avail themselves of the papal clemency. Robbery and murder were frequent; churches were plundered of their plate and ornaments; every morning's light discovered in the streets the bodies of men who had been assassinated during the night. After a time the Pope found it necessary to withdraw his clemency and banish offenders, but the spirit of his administration was sarcastically expressed by one who said, "God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay and live." Such a Pope deserves even stronger language than is used by Bacon.

P. 41, line 3. *sanctuary*. According to the ancient customs of England, *sanctuary* denoted an asylum or place privileged for the safeguard of the lives of men guilty of capital crimes. Different degrees of protection were afforded according to the character of the grant by which each sanctuary was established. Down to the time of Henry VIII all churches and churchyards were sanctuaries. It was required that the sanctuary-man should within forty days of his taking sanctuary go in sackcloth and declare his offence to the coroner. After which he made a solemn oath to abjure the realm, and to leave by the nearest port assigned to him. In his journey to the sea-side, which was to be made with a cross in his hand, he had the privilege of a sanctuary man. The abuses of these asylums had been very great, and were in some degree abated by the bull mentioned in the text. The Acts 27 Hen. VIII. c. 19, and 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12, made further curtailments of the privileges, and by 21 Jas. I. c. 28, they were abolished altogether.

12. *appoint him* = appoint for himself. For an instance of this dative use cf. Shakespeare, Macb. v. 4, 4, "Let every soldier hew *him* down a bough."

20. *James the third*. This monarch had long cherished a marked partiality for the English, so marked indeed that it formed the principal of the charges alleged against him by the rebels, who afterwards

deprived him of life. He had sent a deputation to assist at the coronation of Henry VII.

23. *Sir Richard Edgcombe.* In the *Materials for Hist. of Henry VII* there are numerous entries of grants to Sir Richard Edgcombe, two of which may be quoted, p. 19, Sep. 20. 1485, "Grant for life to Richard Edgcombe gent. of the office of one of the chamberlains of the receipt of the exchequer, or of one of the chamberlains of the exchequer (viz. that office which William Catesby lately had by grant from King Edward IV), together with the appointment and ordering of one of the ushers of the exchequer when a vacancy shall happen." The next entry quoted shews the value set on the services of this knight. 7 June, 1486, p. 448, "Grant in tail male, to Richard Edgcombe Knt. (in consideration of services as well in the parts beyond the sea as in the Kingdom of England) of the castle, honour and lordship or manor of Totenesse, the lordship and manor of Corneworthy, the manors of Huesshe and Lodeswell with their members and appurtenances," &c. He was also on the same day appointed controller of the King's mines of silver within the counties of Devon and Cornwall.

P. 42, line 8. *spread estate*, i. e. more extended in territory, by the recovery of the provinces mentioned below in line 13.

P. 43, line 6. *obnoxious*, going back to one of the original meanings of the Latin word *obnoxius* = indebted to.

11. *Lewis duke of Orleans.* This prince was the first noble of the blood royal, and afterwards became Lewis XII of France. At this time he among others was a suitor for the hand of Anne of Brittany, whom he did afterwards marry when she was the widow of Charles VIII.

27. *inwardness* = confidential communication.

P. 44, line 1. *Duke of Britain.* This was Francis, the last duke of Brittany. Grafton says that Charles "and his counsaile knew well that duke Francis was an impotent man sore diseased and well stricken in age, and had never an heir male, wherefore they determined by some means to compass the duchy of Brittany." Francis died in 1488.

18. *what went upon it in example* = how much evil would come of such an example. The Lat. has *quam perniciosi exempli res sit*.

20. *comfort* = strengthen, support with their aid. This is the original force of the word, to give material support. Cf. Wickliffe's translation of Is. xli. 7, "And he counfortide hym with nailes that it shulde not be moved." For an example closely resembling that in the text, see Shaks. Tit. And. II. 3. 209, "Why dost not comfort me and help me out?"

P. 45, line 3. *howsoever it stood for the point of obligation*, i. e. under whatever degree of obligation King Henry might be to the duke of Brittany.

11. *when time was*, i. e. when the opportunity offered.

24. *daughter of Maximilian.* This was Margaret the daughter of Maximilian and of his first wife, Mary of Burgundy. She was at this time living at the court of France, and being educated as the future wife of Charles. She was sent back to her father before Charles' marriage with Anne of Brittany.

27. *kingdom of Naples*. The ground on which Charles VIII rested his claim to the Kingdom of Naples was that it had been bequeathed by the last count of Provence to Lewis XI King of France, and the conquest of Naples was to be a step towards the recovery of Constantinople and Jerusalem from the infidels.

28. *hither parts*, the parts nearest to England.

P. 46, line 1. *reception*, recovery. A word due entirely to the Latinized character imparted to the English of this period by the numerous translations of the classics.

5. *most obliged*. When Henry (as earl of Richmond) was attainted by Edward IV, he fled with his uncle Jasper, and intending to make for France was driven by stress of weather into Brittany, where he lived till the death of Edward IV. The duke of Brittany not only sheltered him, but promised his aid to the scheme for putting Henry on the throne of England. Charles VIII also supplied him with French auxiliaries, who fought for him on the field of Bosworth. Hence the expression in the text.

26. *French*, i. e. French King. This kind of ellipsis is not very common. But cf. the use of *Dane* for Danish King, Hamlet, I. I. 15, "Liegemens to the Dane."

P. 47, line 2. *carried*=gained as a prize, conquered. Cf. Shaks. Cor. IV. 7. 27,

"Lieut. Sir, I beseech you, think you he'll carry Rome?"

Auf. All places yield to him ere he sits down."

6. *a young King*. Charles VIII ascended the throne of France in 1483 at the age of fourteen, so that he was now about eighteen. The duke of Orleans was about ten years his senior. The young King was sickly and almost deformed and feeble in mental power, but yet had his imagination filled with visions of crusading exploits and renown.

16. *Christopher Urswick*. Dr Christopher Urswick was sometime master of King's Hall in Cambridge. He was chaplain to the King's mother, and was employed by Henry as his own chaplain, great almoner and ambassador.

18. *churchman*, an ecclesiastic. Cf. Shakespeare, Merry Wives, II. 3. 49, "Though we are justices and doctors and churchmen, we have some salt of our youth in us."

P. 48, line 1. *straightways*, not now so usual a form as *straightway*, but the same double sets of compounds exist with *way* as with *ward*; so that we have alway and always, and straightway and straightways side by side. See note on p. 10, l. 20.

6. *in one*=at one and the same time. Lat. *simul*.

11. *make faith in him*=cause him to believe. Lat. *regem Anglie in opinione perstiturum*.

15. *the treaty to be kept on foot*. The dependence of this clause is not clear. The sentence is elliptical, and some expression like *would be able* must be understood after the word *treaty*.

21. *perfect in his memory*. Grafton (p. 872) says on this matter, "The Duke (because himselfe had beene long sicke, and thereby his

memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appointed to heare the message with other of his counsellors, Lewis Duke of Orleauce.”

P. 49, line 9. *sort to his desire*, fall out according to his wish. Lat. *secundum expectationem suam cadere*. Cf. Shaks. 2d Hen. VI. 1. 2. 107,

“Sort how it will, I shall have gold for all.”

10. *took hold of them* = seized the opportunity.

14. *treaty* = treatment or handling of the matter. This is a very unusual sense of the English word. The Latin has *tractatus*. In the next clause *the one* means force, *the other*, persuasion.

17. *to rule him* = that he (Henry) might rule him (Charles).

27. *Nantz* (modern spelling Nantes), on the Loire, in the extreme south of the duchy of Brittany.

29. *dissemble home*, i. e. dissemble in such a way as to produce the intended effect. Cf. Shaks. Tempest, v. 1. 70,

“I will pay thy graces
Home both in word and deed.”

The Latin text has a curious variation here. It runs thus: “*qui simulationum artes in sinu patris optime perdidicerat*,” who had learnt the arts of dissimulation under his father’s tuition and fostering.

P. 50, line 1. *Bernard D’Aubigny*. Grafton (p. 873) calls him Barnarde, a Scot borne, called the Lorde Daubeny. This captain, whose name occurs frequently in the history of the wars between France and Italy at this period, was Bernard Stuart, Sieur d’Aubigny. He is mentioned in a letter on the negotiations of the English ambassadors with Maximilian, Gairdner’s *Letters, &c.* Vol. 1. p. 199.

5. *the Abbot of Abingdon*. This was John Saint.

6. *Sir Richard Tunstal*. In Grafton there is no mention of this person as an ambassador, but instead of him we find Sir Richard Edgecombe, of whom see notes on p. 41. He is called a fatherly, wise, and grave personage.

Urswick. Urswick was not of the first appointment to this embassy, but “John Lilye, borne in Luke [Laeca] the Bishop of Rome’s Collector and Doctor of lawe, but he fell sick on the gowte so that he was not able to travayle in so long a jorney, and so weightie a business.” So chaplain Urswick was sent in his stead.

9. *Lord Woodvile*. This was Edward Wydville, the brother of Elizabeth queen of Edward IV, at this time governor of the Isle of Wight. There is a notice of this expedition, *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), Vol. III. p. 344.

17. *to better a party* = to take the side of, and give help to either party. The Latin has merely *auxilia submittere*.

27. *privilege of ambassadors*, i. e. that they should be safe from all violence during their embassy.

P. 51, line 4. *made fair weather*, i. e. he replied with calmness and with a shew of friendship. Cf. Shakspeare, 2d Hen. VI. v. 1. 30,

“But I must make fair weather yet a while,
Till Henry be more weak and I more strong!”

15. *cast* = estimated, calculated, as in the phrase to cast accounts. Lat. *Ita rex cogitaverat*. See Shaks. 2d Hen. IV. 1. 1. 166,

“You cast the event of war, my noble lord,
And summ’d the account of chance, before you said,
‘Let us make head’.”

20. *childless*. Charles VIII died without issue, and his widow became the queen of his successor.

21. *heir-apparent*, i. e. the duke of Orleans. No party in France would be anxious to side with great zeal against the prince who was, in all probability, to be their future King.

31. *affectionate unto the quarrel*, well disposed towards, and anxious to take part with the duke of Brittany. Cf. *supra*, p. 20, line 4, affectionate to the House of York.

P. 52, line 4. *capable of*, able to comprehend and appreciate. Lat. *capaces*. See Shaks. Hamlet. III. 4. 127,

“His form and cause conjoin’d, preaching to stones
Would make them capable.”

10. *blessed person*, the character of a peacemaker, on whom a blessing is pronounced in the Sermon on the Mount (St Matth. v. 9).

14. *consent*, agreement, sympathy.

15. *particularly interested*. As being betrothed to Anne the daughter of the duke of Brittany.

25. *principal*, i. e. chief persons. Cf. Ps. lxxviii. 52 (Prayer Book Version), “And smote all the firstborn in Egypt, the most principal and mightiest in the dwellings of Ham.”

P. 53, line 12. *his partakers*, those who had taken his part in the struggle for the crown, his partizans. The word occurs often in the text; for references see Glossary.

23. *this present* = this present time. Cf. the Absolution in the Book of Common Prayer, “which we do at this present.”

31. *taketh for his enemies* = judgeth to be his enemies. Cf. Shaks. Temp. v. 1. 296,

“What a thrice-double ass
Was I, to take this drunkard for a god.”

P. 54, line 4. *yielded to treat*, consented to treat. Cf. Shakespeare, Richard III. III. 7. 145,

“Tonguetied ambition, not replying, yielded
To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty.”

6. *not upon*, &c., not by reason of any confidence they have in their own powers of resistance, or through stubbornness, but because they distrust the true meaning.

27. *to eye*, to have regard to. So Shaks. Temp. III. 1. 40,

“Full many a lady
I have eyed with best regard.”

30. *at interest of danger*. The idea is that future dangers are like

the interest paid for a sum of money borrowed. The King says he will not have peace on such condition that he must pay a kind of interest in the shape of dangers to come for the immediate advantage of a pacification.

P. 55, line 5. *hand of protection*—in allusion to the asylum which Henry found in Brittany during the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III.

6. *hand of help*. In the form of auxiliaries to aid in the conquest of England. Of this Lingard says (IV. 125) Henry "had raised, with the permission of Charles, an army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normans."

10. *enforced*, in the sense in which we now use the simple verb *force*. Cf. Shaksp. Two Gentlemen, IV. 3. 16,

... "My father would enforce me marry
Vain Thurio, whom my very soul abhors."

14. *some corrupt persons about him*. King Richard III spared no expense to procure the most accurate information about the numbers and projects of Henry's partizans while the Earl of Richmond was resident in Brittany, and the useful aid of Landois the Breton minister was purchased with valuable presents. The duke Francis listened by degrees to the suggestions of his favourite, an armistice between England and Brittany prepared the way for more frequent intercourse, the King raised a body of a thousand archers for his new made friend the duke, and a plot was formed for the apprehension of Henry and his principal adherents (Rymer, XII. 226, 229). They would have been caught in the toils of their wily adversary had they not been warned of their danger early in 1484, and found a new and safer asylum in the dominions of Charles VIII, where they employed more than a year in making preparations for their intended expedition.

20. *disinterest*=to relieve from a claim. In the use of this word Bacon has sought a contrast to the word interest used in line 17. Interest (noun) means often a right or claim (cf. 1st Hen. IV. III. 2. 98, "He hath more worthy interest to the state than thou the shadow of succession"); thus *dis-interest* comes to signify to do away with a claim. So Henry means to say that his regard for his own subjects outweighs (and so removes) any obligations of gratitude to Brittany or France. A like compound is found in *dis-quantity*. Shakespeare, Lear, I. 4. 270, "A little to disquantity your train."

25. *it is much as*=it very much depends upon. The consequences to England would vary according to the intentions of the King of France. If he meant only to reduce his rebels and not to annex Brittany, then the war was nothing to England; but if he aimed at permanent conquest, then English interests were most seriously involved by the nearer proximity to this country of the French power, and by the large increase of seaboard which the French King would thus acquire.

26. *range*, i. e. reduce, bring to order. The Latin has *in ordinem ralignere*.

30. *follow all one*, result as a natural consequence. Lat. *sponte secuturum*. We should say now, *follow all the same*. Cf. Bacon, *Adv. of Learning* (Clarendon Press), p. 158, l. 1: "The same action of the mind which inventeth, judgeth; all one as in the sense."

33. *import*, to be of consequence to. The verb is more frequently followed by a preposition, *to* or *unto*, but cf. Bacon *Adv.* p. 163, l. 24: "The caution of them [i.e. of fallacies] doth extremely import the true conduct of human judgment."

P. 56, line 2. *stretcheth his boughs*. An imitation of the language of Ps. lxxx. 11.

7. *Burgundy*. This duchy had of course been an ally of England, as the duke Charles the Bold had for his second wife Margaret, the sister of Edward IV, who wrought so much trouble for Henry in this reign. But when duke Charles was slain at the battle of Nancy in January, 1477, Louis XI sent forces to seize Burgundy and the Franche-Comté, and others to occupy Picardy and Artois, and by the beginning of April in that year Louis was recognized as sovereign of Burgundy. This is what is meant by *Burgundy being already cast partly into the greatness of France*. Then by the marriage of Mary, the daughter of Charles the Bold, to Maximilian, King of the Romans and Archduke of Austria, the districts which formed her dower were *cast into the greatness of Austria*.

20. *universal*, one which touches everybody, and is of general concern. This Bacon exemplifies by the instances which he gives a few lines below.

23. *Italy*. The states which maintained the balance of power in Italy at this period were Milan (where the Sforza had established themselves); Venice, which possessed half of Lombardy; Florence, governed by the Medici; the States of the Church, and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.

P. 57, line 24. *as he greatly desired, otherwise than*, as he greatly desired to do, except when he was obliged to use it for the administration of justice. For *otherwise than* the Lat. has *preterquam*.

29. *thorns in their sides*. An allusion to the threatening of Numb. xxxiii. 35.

30. *therefore*. This word is here used in the sense of *propterea* = on account of that, rather than in the more usual sense of *igitur* = therefore, so. The old English word *forthi* was really an ablative case *thi*, from the pronoun *se, seo, that* (a like form to which is still preserved in *why* = *quâ re*), and preceded by the governing preposition *for*. Perhaps the distinction might be preserved in English by writing the word in such instances as that in the text, in the form *therefor*.

P. 58, line 1. *the marshal's sword*. The Lat. has *gladius martialis* = the sword drawn in warfare.

6. *liveries, tokens*. Lat. *vestium distinctiones, tesserae*. The distinctive dresses and badges were used as party symbols, and the wearing thereof tended greatly to keep alive the quarrels between different clans and followings in this age. To put them down in Ireland was one aim of Poyning's Law, which will hereafter be noticed.

13. *wisdoms*: not of very common occurrence in the plural, but it is again found on the next page, l. 14.

20. *bastard and barren employment of moneys to usury*. For a long time language like that in the text was employed concerning loans of money on contract to receive not only the principal sum again, but also an increase by way of compensation for the use. The objectors to such employment of money rested their objection on the prohibition contained in the law of Moses, and also on the doctrine of Aristotle, that money is naturally barren, and to make it breed money is preposterous, and a perversion of the end of its institution, which was only to serve the purpose of exchange and not of increase. In the Merchant of Venice Shylock describes such objections as being made by Antonio to his calling of money-lender. The modern study of political economy has taught us that the rate of interest may best be left to regulate itself by the demand for money and the nature of the circumstances under which it is borrowed.

23. *royal trading*. The Latin text calls this merely *nobile commercium*.

26. *avoided*, got rid of, extirpated. Cf. Shaks. Merry Wives, III. 5. 152, "What I am I cannot avoid."

30. *employed upon the commodities of the land*. Notice has already been taken of this maxim of the national economy in early times, which was enforced by statute to prevent the withdrawal of coin from the realm in exchange for foreign merchandise. See note on p. 18, l. 1. The Lat. text says the money received is to be employed *ad merces nativas nostras coemendas*.

P. 59, line 4. *aids*. These, which are also called subsidies (see line 29) and supplies, constitute the extraordinary, as distinguished from the ordinary revenue of the Crown. They are granted by Parliament, and the mode in which they shall be raised is settled by what is now called a committee of ways and means.

5. *good husband*. Lat. *notis regem frugis esse*, i. e. an economical and thrifty monarch. Cf. Shaks. Taming of Shrew, v. 1. 71, "While I play the good husband at home my son and servant spend all at the university."

11. *not fit to find the King*. An idiomatic way of saying, not times wherein the King should be found.

27. *roundly*, spiritedly and without ceremony. Cf. Letter to the Mayor of Coventry in Cooper's *Lady Margaret* (Mayor), p. 230, "Wherfor we wol [will] and in the Kinges name commaunde you to call befor you the said parties and *roundly* to examyn them."

P. 60, line 8. *limited*, bidden, commanded. The Latin has *imperare*. Cf. Shaks. Macbeth, II. 3. 56, "Tis my limited service."

13. *grew to manifest declination* = clearly began to decline.

14. St Alban (modern orthography St Aubin), a town to the west of Rennes in Brittany. The battle was fought July 27, 1488.

15. *duke of Orleans*. Grafton says (p. 876) of the result of this battle to the duke, "The duke of Orliancee was taken prisoner, which duke (although he were next heyre apparaunt to the Crowne of Francee)

should have lost his head, if Ladie Jane his wife which was sister to the French King, had not obteyned perdon and remission of his trespasse and offence. Howbeit he was long after kept prisoner in the great tower at Bourges in Berry." This Lady Jane was Jeanne daughter of Lewis XI, and was the first wife of the duke of Orleans, from whom he procured a divorce when he ascended the throne as Lewis XII; the second wife of this prince was Anne duchess of Brittany, widow of Charles VIII, and his third, Mary daughter of Henry VII of England.

20. *James Galeot*. Grafton calls him "Lord James Galeas," and adds that he was "borne in Naples." He was a captain of great fame in the fifteenth century. He was attached to the House of Anjou, and particularly to John duke of Calabria. He next served in the wars of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, and lastly under Charles VIII of France. He fell as related in the text in the battle of St Aubin, and is buried at Angers. See *Phil. de Commines*, lib. IV. c. 13.

24. *went...for lost*. The Latin has *perditum iri*, in which sense the text must evidently be understood. Brittany was on the point to be lost.

33. *fast*=close, near.

P. 61, line 9. *Francis duke of Britain deceased*. His death took place Sept. 9, 1488. His elder daughter Anne, to whom his estates devolved, as the deceased duke had no son, was at this time in her thirteenth year. Charles VIII immediately claimed the guardianship of the young duchess, and required that she should not assume her title till the question of succession had been judicially settled between her and the crown. This demand was rejected, and an invasion of Brittany by a French army was the consequence. On the steps by which Brittany became united to the French crown, see pp. 77 seqq. and notes there.

21. *retire*=withdrawal. C. Shakespeare, K. John, v. 5, 4,

"When English measure backward their own ground
In faint retire."

22. *after some time*. The marriage of Charles VIII with Anne of Brittany did not take place till Dec. 6, 1491.

27. *took not*=did not succeed. The Lat. has *male cesserunt*. C1. Shakespeare, Hen. VIII. III. 2. 218,

"I know
A way, if it take right, in spite of fortune
Will bring me off again."

33. *star-chamber*. This court, originally composed of all the members of the King's ordinary council, had in old times jurisdiction in both civil and criminal causes. Its name is most probably derived from the Hebrew word *shetar*, a bond. In the early Norman times the bonds and business documents of Jews, whom the Conqueror found it convenient to protect, were deposited for safety in a room at Westminster, hence called *shetar-chamber*, and then *star-chamber*. (See Hist. MSS. Commission, Fourth Report, p. 182. Among things relating to the estates of the Jews are mentioned "Eleven Hebrew stars," "Ninety-three pieces of parchment being Hebrew stars." See also p. 458 for a *star*

preserve^d among the MS. treasures of Magd. Coll. Oxford.) The name was continued after the place had been devoted to other uses. By the time of Edward III the jurisdiction of this court had become so oppressive that various statutes were made to restrain it, as was necessary in a court where there was no jury, and the judicial members whereof were the sole judges alike of *law*, of *fact*, and of *penalty*. The regulations introduced by this act of Henry VII were virtually the erection of a new court of star-chamber on the ruins of the old. This court consisted of the chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord privy seal, together with a spiritual lord and a temporal lord, and the two chief justices, or in their absence two other justices. The nature of their jurisdiction is mentioned in the text below, on which see the notes. The jurisdiction of the Star-Chamber was greatly extended in the reign of Henry VIII, and its exercise of criminal jurisdiction rendered it a most odious institution under the succeeding monarchs. It was abolished by the Long Parliament in 1641.

P. 62, line 1. *common laws*. That is, those laws of which the original institution and authority are not set down in writing, though the decisions which have sprung out of them are contained in the records of the courts of justice. Such law receives its binding power from immemorial usage, and from its universal reception. It thus differs from statute law, which is the creation of acts of parliament.

2. *act of parliament*. The new Court of Star-Chamber had its origin from parliament, and so depended on statute, not on common law.

4. *besides*, here=*other than*, with the exception of. Bacon means that over all the courts of ordinary justice there had always been reserved to the King's Council a high and preeminent power, but such power had not been given them over the high court of parliament.

6. *King's Bench* (called in the reign of a Queen, *Queen's Bench*) is the supreme court of common law in the kingdom. Blackstone says of it, "It keeps all inferior jurisdictions within the bounds of their authority: it superintends all the civil corporations in the kingdom: it commands magistrates and others to do what their duty requires in every case where there is no other specific remedy. It protects the liberty of the subject, by speedy and summary interposition." It takes cognizance of criminal causes and civil likewise wherever they savour of a criminal nature, as for instance, trespass forcibly committed, or actions wherein any fraud is alleged.

Common-pleas. This is the other branch into which the *aula regia* of old times was divided. It is now frequently called Common Bench, as the former is called King's Bench, but its most usual name is Court of Common Pleas. It takes cognizance of all civil actions which depend between subject and subject. These are called *common pleas*, as distinguished from *pleas of the crown*, which comprehend all crimes and misdemeanors wherein the sovereign is the plaintiff.

7. *Exchequer*. This court, which was reduced almost to its pre-

sent order in the reign of Edward I, deals with all matters connected with the revenue of the crown, and recovers all the sovereign's debts and duties. One branch is called the receipt, the other the court or judicial section of the business of the exchequer.

8. *Chancery*. The High Court of Chancery is presided over by the Lord Chancellor, who is the highest legal authority in the realm, and his court is a court of *equity* as distinguished from *law*. He mitigates the severity or supplies the defects of the judgments pronounced in the courts of law on weighing the circumstances of the case, or, as Bacon says in the text, "by the conscience of a good man." Among the Romans a like power was given to one of their magistrates called *Prætor*, and the *jus prætorium*, or the decisions given by this magistrate, were distinct from the standing laws of the nation. This is the distinction to which Bacon alludes.

11. *King's Council*. Bacon is here speaking of the time anterior to Henry VII, who remodelled the Star-Chamber and appointed special persons as judges there.

17. *Censorian*. Among the Romans an officer called Censor was appointed every five years, and his office was considered the highest dignity in the Republic. Among other functions the Censors exercised a moral jurisdiction and superintendence which extended itself in time over the whole public and private life of the citizens. We have instances where the Censors punished people for not marrying, for breaking a promise of marriage, for divorce, for bad conduct during marriage, for improper education of children, for extravagance, and for other irregularities of private life. They also punished magistrates for bribery or neglect of duty, and persons who had committed perjury, or were neglectful of their civil or military duties. Bacon compares the jurisdiction of the Star-Chamber to the court of the Roman Censor.

19. *consisteth of four kinds of persons*, i. e. by the regulations of Henry VII. The first kind was the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Privy Seal as judges; then (2) one Bishop; (3) one Temporal Lord; and (4) the two Chief Justices, or, in their absence, two other justices.

21. *forces*, i. e. the unlawful use of force, as it is explained below, the combination of multitudes for unlawful purposes and the patronage bestowed by great men and men of influence on such combinations. All the laws which relate to the keeping of a large number of retainers have in view the suppression of illegal outbreaks and faction fights. The Lat. explains this by *suppressio turbarum illicitarum*.

22. *stellionate*, any cozening or counterfeiting of merchandise, any unjust or deceitful gaining, a malicious or fraudulent bereaving another of his money, wares, due provision or bargain (see Cotgrave's Dict. s. v.). *inchoations*, i. e. the prompting, aiding, and abetting, and being what is called an accessory before the fact.

P. 63, line 2. *Lord Chancellor*, i. e. the Archbishop Morton appointed Lord Chancellor in 1486.

7. *in check-roll*, i. e. those only who were actually enrolled in the king's household. The Lat. explains by *famulitium conscriptum*.

11. *in any case of felony*, i.e. in any case under the degree of treason, wherein the will is taken for the deed. Lat. *alias quam in criminibus læsæ majestatis*.

15. *is indifferent*, i.e. applies equally.

31. *and was*, i.e. and (which) was. Cf. note on p. 8, l. 28.

P. 64, line 1. *expect*, wait till the lapse of. It was arranged by this act that the murderer should, without waiting, be arraigned at the king's suit, while the crime was fresh, but even if the accused were acquitted on such trial he should not be set at liberty till the year and the day were expired wherein the wife or heir of the murdered man was allowed the right of appeal to the law. See *Statutes at Large*, 3 Hen. VII. c. 1.

7. *flagrante crimine*, while the crime is fresh.

13. *privilege of clergy*, was the exemptions of the persons of clergymen from criminal proceedings before a secular judge. At first it applied only to a few cases but was gradually extended, till it was interpreted to apply to all cases, and to comprehend under its protection every little subordinate officer of the church, and many that were totally laymen. The brand appointed was to be M if the person had been convicted of murder, and T for any other crime. See 4 Hen. VII. c. 13. (This is 1489—90, and not in the same session as the law about the repression of murders and manslaughters.)

17. *was after branded by Perkin's proclamation*. See p. 142, l. 23.

22. *unlawful retainers*. In case they were retained by liveries as servants of others, and so constituted themselves partizans of their superiors in routs and unlawful assemblies. The Lat. explains *si famulitiis nobilium aut aliorum, nisi domestici essent, se aggregarent*.

29. *against usury*. The act 3 Hen. VII. c. 6, says, all unlawful cheivance and usury shall be extirpate. All brokers of such bargains shall be set on the pillory, put to open shame, be half-a-year imprisoned, and pay twenty pounds.

30. *chievances*. The word is the noun akin to the latter part of the verb achieve (Fr. *achever*=to bring to a head), and means a bargain or purchase. The more common form of the word is *cheivance*. See previous note.

32. *procedures*, i.e. money produced by the sale. The act on this subject was a confirmation of that of 17 Edw. IV. c. 1.

P. 65, line 6. *was inned*, i.e. gathered in as a harvest, *messis coacta est*. For the use of this verb cf. Shakesp. All's Well, 1. 3. 48, "To in the crop".

14. *memory of King Richard*, see note on p. 20, l. 5.

18. *bare principal stroke*, were most influential.

20. *Earl of Northumberland*. This was Henry Percy, fourth earl. He was one of those who deserted from the side of Richard III. at Bosworth field.

31. *were concluded*, i.e. were included. The votes of the multitude were represented by the votes of Parliament.

P. 66, l. 2. *which needed not* = for which there was no necessity.

6. *himself*, i.e. the Earl of Northumberland.

7. *routed*, not common as a verb = assemble in a rout or rabble.

10. *Sir John Egremond*. He had had an annuity of forty marks sterling granted him (3 May, 1486) out of the forfeited lands of Francis Lord Lovel. *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.* Vol. I. p. 422.

11. *borne an ill talent*, Lat. *infensus erat*, had borne a grudge at.

13. *boutefeux*, Fr. firebrand.

14. *popular*. Mr Spedding alters this word into populace, and says, "The Ed. of 1622 has popular. In the MS. (which is preserved in the British Museum) the word seems to have been originally *populare*, but the *r* has apparently been corrected into *c*."

19. *Earl of Surrey*, see note on p. 16, l. 33.

30. *paramount*, preeminent. Lat. *transcendens*.

P. 67, line 4. *He marched towards them*. Mr Spedding observes in his notes that Henry "departed from Hereford towards the north (Lel. iv. p. 246) on the 22nd of May, about two months after the forces had sailed for Brittany". We are to remember, therefore, that the war in Brittany was going on at the same time as this rebellion. Bacon thought that the forces had returned to England two or three months before, and was not aware that Henry had any other important business on his hands at this time. On this see Introduction.

9. *Sir Richard Tunstal*. He had previously proved himself a faithful servant to King Henry, for which he is granted, on 18 June, 1486, an annuity of £100 sterling out of the customs and subsidies in the port of Hull. He was also appointed (with others) to admit into the King's grace the rebels about Furness Fells and Cartmell after Simnel's overthrow. See *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.* (l. 541).

13. *ally of*, we should now say *ally in*. For this use of the preposition of=in, cf. Shakespeare, *All's Well*, v. 3. 1, "We lost a jewel of her".

James the Third. The date here must not be closely pressed, when Bacon says "about the same time". James III. was killed as described in the text, on the 11 June, 1488, nearly seven weeks before the battle of St Aubin, while Henry was endeavouring to mediate between the king of France and the duke of Brittany. So that there was nearly a year between the death of the Scotch king and the events which led to the death of the duke of Northumberland. Mr Spedding traces the error back to Polydore Vergil. See his note.

18. *James his son*, afterwards James IV, who married Margaret, elder daughter of King Henry VII.

19. *partly by force*, &c. The meaning of this very involved sentence is, that the rebels got prince James into their power, partly by force, and partly by threats that they would give over the kingdom to the English monarch, and then used the prince as a shadow for their rebellion, and conducted it in his name as though he were their leader.

P. 68, line 3. *taking no place*, i.e. not being successful. The Lat. explains *tractatu pacis abrupto*, the treating for peace being broken off.

4. *Strivelin*, i.e. the modern Stirling. The mill where James III was killed was the mill of Beaton.

11. *Adrian de Castello*. Grafton calls him "a man of Heturia, borne in the towne of Cornete, called in the old time Newcastle." He

first was made a prebendary of St Paul's; he became Bishop of Hereford in 1502, and of Bath and Wells in 1504. He was deposed by Pope Leo, for his conspiracy in 1518, and Wolsey succeeded him. It was for him that the palace, now known as Giraud Torlonia, was built. He gave it to King Henry VIII, and it afterwards became the residence of the English ambassadors to Rome. Adrian lived at Venice till the death of Leo X, and is supposed to have been murdered on his way to the election of a successor. See further, *Gairdner's Richd. III. and Hen. VII.* (Chron. and Mem.), II. 121.

29. *Alphonso Petrucci*, cardinal of St Theodore, and son of the lord of Siena. He had been very influential in securing the election of Leo X as successor to Julius II.

30. *Pope Leo*, i.e. Leo X. He was John de Medici, and reigned from 1513 to 1522.

P. 69, line 10. *Adrian the sixth*, Pope 1522—1523.

13. *fff.h.* The fifth year of Henry VII extended from 22 August, 1489, to 21 August, 1490. *These things* must therefore mean the favour and first preferment of Adrian.

end of the fourth year, meaning the session of October 1489.

15. *the former Parliament*, i.e. the session of January, 1488—9. Bacon supposed this parliament to have been called in June or July, 1488, and refers to it the acts passed by the Parliament of Nov. 1487. Cf. Spedding, *Bacon, Henry VII.* (VI. 92), and the previous note on p. 64, l. 13.

25. *Edward the first*. From the wisdom of his legislation often spoken of as the English Justinian. His laws were directed to the restraint of the clergy in their acquisition of lands for the church, which he did by the statute of mortmain; he enacted the statute of Winchester, which was for regulating the militia, and for the protection of the person and property of the subjects from robbery; he provided for the creation of entail, appointed justices of peace, prohibited the subdivision of manors, granted a statute *de tallagio non concedendo*, by which the King was prevented from imposing taxes or tolls without consent of parliament. These and some similar statutes made his name justly famous as a legal reformer.

30. *heroical times*: alluding to such legislators as Solon in Athens, and Lycurgus in Sparta, and Minos in Crete.

P. 70, l. 3. *ffines*. A translation of the Latin text written to make the history of Henry VII accessible to foreigners, will make the meaning of this sentence more intelligible to the reader who is not learned in the law. "It was ordained that fines, as they are called (which is a certain solemn legal process), should be in reality final, and should extinguish not only all rights of parties concerned but of all others, so that after fines of this nature had been levied and solemnly proclaimed, the subject should have a space of five years after his title accrued, wherein to recover his right or at least to make his claim, and if that time lapsed, he should be excluded from his right for ever." Thus a fine (which is described by Hallam as a fictitious process of law, of the same nature as what is called a common recovery) when levied

with proclamations in a public court of justice, shall after five years (except in particular cases, as of minors, &c., mentioned below) be a bar to all claims upon land. See Hallam, *Const. Hist.* Vol. 1. p. 13.

The *index Vocabulorum* to Bacon describes a Fine as "a legal instrument whereby inheritances are transferred, and which is of force to extinguish the claims of all persons who do not make them within the prescribed period."

10. *An ancient statute of the realm*, i.e. the statute *de finibus* of 17 Edward I. c. 1.

13. *Statute of non-claim*. This statute, which was abolished by the statute of fines of Henry VII, had been passed 34 Edward III. c. 16. The words of Henry's enactment speak of Edward III's statute as "the universal trouble of the King's subjects."

26. *manured*, i.e. worked, tilled. The word is a shortened form of *manœuvred*, and in Bacon's time had not come to be used in the limited signification in which it is now employed.

28. *rid*. This verb, in the sense which it bears here of *to dispatch, to bring to an end, complete*, is much more frequently used of persons and states than of things. But cf. Shakspeare, *Hen. VI.* pt. 3, v. 3. 20,

"We having now the best at Barnet field
Will thither straight, for willingness rids way";

i.e. easily completes the work of a journey.

30. *This bred a decay*. Sir Thomas More (*Utopia*, pt. 1. p. 33. Pitt Press Series) laments over the decay caused by turning arable lands into pasture, and so bringing them all into the owner's sole use. "That one covetous and unsatiable cormorant and very plague of his native country may compass about and enclose many thousand acres of ground together within one pale or hedge, the husbandmen be thrust out of their own...by hook or crook they must needs depart away, poor wretched souls, men, women, husbands, wives, fatherless children, widows, woful mothers with their young babes, and their whole household small in substance and much in number, as husbandry requireth many hands." The act alluded to in the text is 4 Hen. VII. c. 19.

P. 71, line 4. *improvement of the patrimony*, &c.: i.e. by means of a more productive cultivation. (Spedding.)

6. *nor tillage they would not*. Double negatives are very common in early English. Cf. Ascham's *Scholemaster* (Prof. Mayor's Edition), p. 37: "No sonne, were he never so old of yeares, never so great of birth, though he were a kynges sonne, might *not* mary."

8. *depopulating enclosures*, &c., i.e. such kinds of enclosures and pasturage as manifestly induced depopulation. (Spedding.)

10. *by consequence*, i.e. as the practical result.

11. *were used with*, i.e. had annexed to them. (Spedding.)

16. *his successor's time*. The act alluded to was passed in the 6th year of Henry VIII, "Against decaying of husbandry, &c."

17. *upon forfeiture*, i.e. if any one offended against this statute he was not to be proceeded against by a civil action, but the half profits of

his lands were to be forfeited till houses and lands were restored as the act directs.

25. *on going*. This is the earlier form, for which we now use *a going*. Thus alive = on live, and afoot = on foot.

26. *mannerhood*. The Latin has no expression for this word. It seems to savour of the meaning contained in the motto of William of Wykeham, "Manners maketh man," and to signify *manly character*. I have never met with the word *mannerhood* elsewhere.

P. 72, line 2. *howsoever some few*, &c., i.e. although some few men have differed in opinion on the matter, which admits of distinctions between one time or place and another.

16. *and no middle people*, i.e. and there is no middle people.

25. *Hydra's teeth*. Alluding to the fable of Cadmus. The story is told (among other places) in Ovid, Met. III. 15 seqq.

32. *English bottoms*, i.e. English vessels. The act was passed in February, 1489—90, and is cited as 4 Hen. VII. c. 10. Under English the act includes vessels belonging to England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick-upon-Tweed. The design of the King was to employ as many of his subjects as he could in a seafaring life.

P. 73, line 1. *incite*. The Lat. text has *invitant*, invite.

6. *justices of peace*. The act is 4 Hen. VII. c. 12.

14. *to the left hand*, in the wrong direction, i.e. he grew culpably greedy of forfeitures.

17. *informations by collusion*, i.e. wherein the prosecutor is in collusion with the defendant, and has arranged not to prosecute in any earnest manner. Such collusive information had before this been allowed to be a bar to any real prosecution commenced afterwards. The act is 4 Hen. VII. c. 23.

23. *foreign coin current*, i.e. such as had been allowed to pass current in England. Spanish doubloons were often allowed to be used as current coins in England. This was the statute 4 Hen. VII. c. 18.

25. *keep treasure within the realm*. This had for some time been a maxim of English policy, and this act of Henry VII was but a revival for 20 years of the 17 Edward IV. c. 1.

26. *lay in least room*, and so could be most easily smuggled out of the country.

27. *drapery*, i.e. the manufacture of cloth. This statute 4 Hen. VII. c. 8, provides that "Whosoever shall sell by retail a broad yard of the finest scarlet grained or other grained cloth of the finest making above 16s., or a broad yard of any other coloured cloth above 11s., shall forfeit 40s. for every yard so sold."

P. 74, line 1. *not to exceed a rate*, i.e. the maximum price was fixed. Then the draper (i.e. the maker of cloth) might either make his cloth of as good quality as he could for the maximum price, or make it of an inferior quality and sell it cheaper, as he found best suited to his market.

9. *some correspondence to my person*, i.e. Bacon being himself a lawyer takes interest in the legislative history on this account. The Lat.

has *vitae nostrae generi et instituto conjunctum sit*: connected with my way and employment in life.

20. Mr Spedding observes that Fabyan says the King borrowed this sum in his *third* year, not in the fourth. Also according to an old chronicle (preserved in the British Museum, Cott. Vitell. A. xvi, and of which Mr Spedding has made good use) he borrowed another sum of £2000 in July, 1488. This would be just after the murder of James III. in Scotland, and was perhaps borrowed for employment in defending the northern border.

27. *touching Britain*. It has been already pointed out in the notes on p. 61, that Bacon had been led astray in his conception of Henry's policy towards Brittany, and that the English troops did not return as he there states, "five months after their landing," having in fact never gone, because the King until after the battle of St Aubin's (July 28, 1488), hoped to succeed by negotiation and to have no need to send forces. Commissions to raise archers for the relief of Brittany were issued in December 1488, and musters were commanded to be taken in February, 1489. (See Gairdner, *Paston Letters*, III. 348.)

P. 75, line 2. *Gaunt*, i.e. Ghent.

12. *Lord Ravenstein*. Grafton (p. 888) calls him "Philip Mounsure Lord of Ravenstone." Ravenstein was a title of the junior branch of the house of Cleves (from which in the next reign came one of the wives of Henry VIII). The present Philip was son of Adolph, Lord of Ravenstein, and grandson of Adolph IV, duke of Cleves.

13. *oath of abolition*, i.e. the oath just mentioned that he would pardon their offences, &c.

14. *pretending the religion thereof*, i.e. professing to be scrupulous about the observance of his oath.

19. *Lord Cordes*. This was Philip Crevecoeur, seigneur d'Esquerdes. In the early part of his life he had served in the wars of Charles of Burgundy. After the death of Charles, Lewis XI made him governor of Picardy, and he was afterwards created a marshal of France in 1483. He died in 1494 near Lyons, in the expedition of Charles VIII for the conquest of Naples.

P. 76, line 2. *Lord Morley*. This was Henry Lovell, second Lord Morley of that house. He left no issue on his death as described in the text.

P. 77, line 19. *stated*, i.e. treated with all the ceremonial of state, as though she were Maximilian's wife.

26. *pretended consummation*, the form of marriage by proxy.

30. *point of religion*, the scruple about religion.

P. 78, line 1. *the marriage halted upon both feet*. The prospect of Charles VIII's marriage with Anne of Brittany was open to two objections. She had been married by proxy to the Archduke, and Charles was affianced to the daughter of Maximilian.

24. *Francis, Lord of Luxemburg*. Viscount of Martiga.

Charles Marignian. In Rymer (XII. 432) this member of the embassy is called Wallerandus de Sams, dominus de Marigny.

Robert Gagrinn, a learned French churchman, born at Calline in

Artois, and at one time in charge of the Royal Library in Paris. He was high in the favour of both Charles VIII. and afterwards of Lewis XII. He died in 1502. A history of France is the best known of his literary works.

25. *bons-hommes of the Trinity*. This order, called also the "Order of the Redemption of Captives" (with which object it was first founded), was one of the numerous religious orders which were established in connexion with the crusades. It was founded in 1211 by John de Matha and Felix de Valois.

P. 79, line 6 *right of seigniory*. His right as feudal lord to bestow his ward in marriage as he might see best. See text, p. 84.

7. *depend upon*, look up to and be observant of.

16. *Charles the Great*, i. e. Charlemagne (768—814).

P. 81, line 3. *olive-branch, than a laurel-branch*, rather seeking for peace, symbolized by the former; than conquest or victory, of which the laurel is the token.

7. *went upon it*, were involved in it.

22. *The subjects of Burgundy*: meaning (it would seem) the Flemings. It was through his marriage with the heiress of Burgundy that they became Maximilian's subjects; and it was as subjects of Burgundy that the King of France claimed to be their lord in chief (Spedding).

28. *purchase*=gain or profit. Lat. *emolumentum*.

P. 82, line 13. *kingdom of Naples*. The king at this time was Ferdinand I, the illegitimate son of Alfonso V of Aragon, and I of Naples of the line of Aragon. Ferdinand reigned from 1469 to 1494.

15. *by clear and undoubted right*. This right Charles claimed to inherit from his father, to whom the rights of the princes of the house of Anjou to the kingdom of Naples had been transmitted by the last direct heir, Charles, count of Maine and Provence.

17. *neither acquit, &c.*, i. e. neither leave his honour untarnished, nor give a satisfactory account to his subjects of his neglect to urge his claim.

23. *Ottomans*. The Turkish empire was so called after *Othoman*, the famous king of the Turks, who died in 1328. Knolles says of him (p. 177), "Of a poor lordship he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of the lesser Asia, and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turkes great kingdom and empire. Of him the Turkish kings and emperors ever since have been called the Othoman kings".

29. *thrice Christian King and the eldest son of the church*. This was the title given by the Popes to the French monarchs, as Defender of the Faith was conferred on the kings of England.

31. *Henry the fourth*. Of the purpose of Henry IV to war against the Mahometan power, Hall's Chronicle has, under the fourteenth year of that king's reign, "He called a great council of the three estates of the realm, in the which he deliberately consulted and concluded, as well for the politic governance of his realm, as also for the war to be made against the infidels, and especially for the recovery of the Holy City of Jerusalem, in which Christian wars he intended to end his transitory life".

33. *ancestor.* The Latin merely says *prædecessor*, which is the more correct.

P. 83, line 6. *Moors.* Roderick, the last Gothic king in Spain, was overcome by the Moors in 714, and the Moorish power continued in Spain till 1492.

22. *Gemes, brother unto Bajazet.* This is Bajazet II, who succeeded his father, Mahomet the Great, as emperor of the Turks in 1481. Gemes (who is called also Zemes, and Zizimus) was his younger brother. On the death of Mahomet, the nobles first placed Corcutus, a son of Bajazet, on the throne. But this youth of eighteen presently resigned in favour of his father. Gemes raised an army against his elder brother, and endeavoured to make himself sovereign in the Asiatic part of the Turkish empire. He was much favoured in his attempts by the friendly feeling of the people toward him. Bajazet advanced into Asia against him, and defeated him, after which Gemes fled to the Sultan of Egypt. After a short time he, with the aid of the King of Caramania, made a second revolution against his brother, but was again defeated and put to flight. He at first took refuge in Rhodes, and Bajazet endeavoured to persuade the grand master of the Knights of Malta, who then held sway there, to deliver him up, but was not successful. He then agreed to pay a yearly sum in consideration that the grand master should keep Gemes in safe custody, so that he should no more trouble the Turkish empire. Of the events alluded to in the text, Knolles, in his *History of the Turks*, says (pp. 446—452), "Many great princes desirous of Gemes laboured by their embassadours to have obtained him of the great master of the Rhodes, first Bajazet, his brother, fearing least he should at one time or other againe breake foorth upon him, or else set up by the Christian princes, trouble his estate, offered great summes of money to have had him delivered into his hands. And Charles, the French king, purposing the conquest of Naples (which he in few yeares after performed), and after that to have invaded Græcia, thought Gemes a most fit instrument for the furtherance of those his high designes, and was therefore wonderfull desirous to have had him. Matthias also, king of Hungarie (a fortunat Warriour against the Turke), persuaded, that the having of him might be unto him a great furtherance in the course of his victories, sought by all the meanes he could to have obtained him. At which time also Innocentius, the eight of that name, Bishop of Rome, no lesse desirous than the rest, to have in his keeping so great a pledge of peace and warre (the bridle of the Turke's furie) together with the large pension he was sure to receive yearely from Bajazet for the safe custodie of him, so wrought the matter by Lyonell, bishop of Concordia, his cunning legat, that the great master fearing on the one side to bee constrained by the great power of Bajazet to graunt that he had so often refused, and now so earnestly sollicitated on the other side by the bishop, caused Gemes to be delivered to him at Rome in the yeare 1488, for which doing, he was by the bishop honoured with the honour and title of a cardinall. So Gemes, to the great profit of the bishop (who received from Bajazet a yearely pension of 40000 duckats), remained in safe custodie at Rome all the time of Innocentius,

and also of Alexander the sixth, his successor, until that the French king, Charles the eighth, passing through the heart of Italy with a strong armie against Alphonsus, king of Naples, in the yeare 1495, and making his way through the citie of Rome, so terrified the great bishop, who altogether favoured and furthered the title of Alphonsus, that he was glad to yield to such articles and conditions as pleased the king; and amongst the rest to give in hostage unto the king his gracelesse sonne, Caesar Borgia Valentinus. and also to deliver unto him Gemes his honourable prisoner. But Gemes, within three daies after he was delivered unto the French, dyed at Caieta, being before his deliverance poisoned (as it was thought) with a powder of wonderfull whitenesse and pleasant tast, whose power was not presently to kill, but by little and little dispersing the force thereof, did in short time bring most assured death: which pleasant poison, Alexander the bishop, skilfull in that practise, corrupted by Bajazet his gold, and envying so great a good unto the French, had caused to be cunningly mingled with the sugar wherewith Gemes used to temper the water which he commonly dranke. His dead bodie was not long after sent to Bajazet, by Mustapha, his ambassadour, who to the great contentment of his master, had thus contrived his death with the bishop. Not long after, this dead Lodie so farre brought, was by the appointment of Bajazet, honourably enterred amongst his auncestors at Prusa".

24. *Alcoran*, the Mahomedan Sacred Scriptures, more usually called the Koran, *al* being the Arabic definite article.

Azerroes, an Arabian writer on medicine in the twelfth century.

P. 84, line 4. *run a fair course*, i. e. deal openly and fairly.

27. *impatrouize*, i. e. make himself patron and master. The Lat. uses *potior*.

28. *litigious*, which would involve him in disputes. His heir-presumptive was the duke of Orleans, who had been the chief adviser of the late duke of Brittany in his latter days, and who was afterwards Lewis XII.

P. 85, line 25. *By the book*. The Latin explains this by *Liturg'a*. This (says Mr Spedding) "must not be understood as referring to the French king's intention to marry the duchess himself, for that was not yet in question, but to the right which he claimed of disposing of her in marriage".

29. *to imprison their Prince first*. See text, p. 75, l. 5, seqq.

32. *sent to the subjects of Scotland*. Alluding to the events which preceded the death of James III of Scotland. See text, p. 67, l. 26.

P. 86, line 29. *The King our master's title to France*. This claim was made as Henry VI had been crowned king of France. It was not till the parliamentary union of Ireland with England in 1801, that the title "king of France" was omitted from the style of the English monarch.

P. 87, line 17. *Thomas, earl of Ormond*. This was Thomas Butler, the seventh earl.

20. *Pope Alexander the sixth*. Roderick Borgia, who succeeded pope Innocent VIII in 1492 and sat on the papal throne till 1503.

The moral degradation into which the papacy sank under this pope has no parallel either in its earlier or later history. For the expenses of the profligate court, of the wars of Caesar Borgia (a son of the pope), and the establishment of his other children, Alexander was continually in need of money, and no means were too shameful to be employed in raising it. An epigram of the time accuses him of selling all that was most holy, and giving as his excuse that he had first bought it before he sold.

27. *Borgia's bark.* In allusion to the family name of the pope, which was borne by his numerous children.

33. *found the English ambassadors at Calais.* Mr Spedding points out that Bacon has here confused an embassy from pope Innocent with some later embassy. For Alexander VI did not become pope till 11 August, 1492. The events in our text precede the marriage of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany (see text, next page), and that event occurred in the Dec. of 1491. There is a notice of a papal embassy from pope Innocent soon after mid-lent in 1490.

P. 88, line 4. *a good ominous name,* being the bishop of Concord.

9. *the prior.* This is Robert Gagvien (see notes on p. 78). He is called the Prior of the Trinity (p. 79, l. 12).

16. *Henry.* Henry VIII, born 22nd June, 1491.

18. *marriage between Charles, &c.* They were married at the castle of Langeais in Touraine, 6th Dec., 1491.

P. 89, line 13. *under his cloth of estate,* the canopy over the royal throne. The Latin has merely *solio suo*.

20. *another man's right,* i.e. the duke of Brittany's.

P. 90, line 4. *a French king prisoner in England,* i.e. King John of France, brought prisoner to England by the Black Prince in 1357.

5. *a King of England crowned in France,* i.e. Henry VI, crowned in Paris in 1430.

14. *Tramontanes, Transmontanes.* To the pope the French king was Transmontane. In our own day (from a change in the point of view) the Italians are to us Transmontanes.

19. *of ourse'ves,* we should say now *by ourselves.* Cf. Shakspeare pt. Hen. VI. i. 1. 166 :

“Why should he then protect our sovereign,
He being of age to govern of himself?”

32. *make his son knight.* Apparently pointing his hearers to a way in which they might raise money, as this was one of the three occasions on which aids might be demanded from feudal tenants.

P. 91, line 17. *many years before,* i.e. for many years before.

31. *Russignon* (modern orthography *Roussillon*) was one of the provinces of France in the extreme south, bounded on the south by the Pyrenees. Its chief town was Perpignan. In 1462 Lewis XI acquired possession of this territory, and Cerdagne (a part of Spain adjoining Russignon), in pledge from John II of Aragon, father of Ferdinand, as security for a large sum of money advanced to that prince for the purpose of reducing his revolted subjects, the Catalans. See text, p. 101.

P. 92, line 32. *benevolence*. This illegal exaction was abolished by Richard III in his first parliament (1483).

P. 93, line 7. *and better*, i.e. and more. This, the original sense of the word, which implies something additional or to *boot*, has almost faded out of classical English. It does not occur in Shakespeare.

21. *Scotland*. The declaration of war against Scotland, of which no mention is made in modern histories, is contained in the preamble of an Act (7 Hen. VII. c. 6), by which all Scots, not made denizens, were ordered out of the kingdom within forty days (Spedding). *Infra*, l. 29.

22. *mort-pays*, i.e. taking the King's pay for a larger number of soldiers than a captain had in service, or claiming for men dead (*mortui*) or discharged. The Act (7 Hen. VII. c. 1) says, "If any captain... hath not his whole number of men and soldiers, according as he shall be retained with the King, or give them not their full wages as he shall receive of the King...he shall for such default forfeit to the King all his goods and chattels and his body to prison." Cf. Gascoigne's *Steel Glas*, p. 63 (Arber's Reprints),

"Behold (my lord) these souldiours can I spie
Within my glasse, within my true steele glasse.
I see not one therein which seeks to heape
A world of pence, by pinching of *dead payes*,
And so beguiles the prince in time of nede,
When muster day and foughten fieldes are odde."

27. *finis for alienation*. These were due to the crown as feudal lord, but to encourage men to alienate, and thus raise money for the wars, the King remitted these fines.

30. *standard of the exchequer*, i.e. specimens of weights and measures, according to the legal standard of the exchequer, that there might be uniformity of weight and measure in the land.

P. 94, line 8. *Gaunt*, i.e. Ghent. I have left Bacon's orthography here, because the name is familiar in that form as having been the title of John, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III.

17. *avails*, produce, value, profit. Cf. Shaks. All's Well, III. i. 22,

"You know your places well

When better fall, for your *avails* they fell."

28. *duke of Saxony*. Albert, duke of Upper Saxony, a great friend of the King of the Romans, see Hall's Chronicle.

P. 95, line 4. *bearing them in hand*=making them believe. Cf. Tyndale's Exposition (Parker Soc.), p. 28: "Beware...of them that would bear thee in hand how that suffering should be satisfaction of thy sins."

17. *from their friends*. The Latin explains this, adding, "from the French," who knew that some new dangers were threatening the people of Dam.

24. *to the King*, i.e. to the King of England.

33. *Sir Edward Poynings*. One of Henry's most able officers, afterwards Lord Deputy of Ireland (1494), in which office he drew up the Statute of Drogheda, often called Poynings' Law. See text, p. 127.

P. 96, line 10. *brother of the Earl of Oxford's*, Sir Richard (?) de Vere.

32. *about this time*. The ceremony in St Paul's took place, April 6th, 1492. See Hall (6th year of Hen. VII).

P. 97, line 1. *conquest of Granada*. Hall (as his manner is) gives

an elaborate account of all that took place on the entry of Ferdinand and Isabella (whom he always calls Elizabeth). The religious punctos (i. e. observances) seem to have been very numerous, and Hall's account of the conduct of the Moors at the raising of the cross is worth quoting: "The sayde crosse was iii times devoutly elevate, and at every exaltation, the Moores, beyng within the cytie, roared, howled and cryed prosternyng them selves grovelynge on the grounde making dolorous noyes and pitiful outcryes."

9. *greater tower*, called Alhambra (Hall).

15. *Saint James*, the patron saint of Spain.

21. *a psalm*. It was the *Benedictus*, Luke i. 68 (Hall).

P. 98, line 1. *now cardinal*. Archbishop Morton was made a Cardinal in 1493, with the title of St Anastasia (Hook's *Lives*, v. 462).

11. *Kings*. This word, applied to both King and Queen, may be compared with Shakespeare's use of *Prince* for both male and female. See King John, II. 1. 445, "These two princes if you marry them." The first occurrence of the word *Kings* thus used is p. 13. 33, then 101. 24.

27. *in procession*. Using the *Te Deum* as a processional hymn.

P. 99, line 14. *Sir John Riseley*. One of the early trusted servants of Henry VII. In a grant of offices made to him, 22 Sept. 1485, it is said to be made "in consideration of the true heart and service that our servant and true liegeman Sir John Riseley, knight, hath borne and done unto us in sundry wise herebefore, as well beyond the sea as at our late victorious field within this realm to his great charge labour and jeopardy and he faithfully intendeth to continue his truth and service unto us during his life."

18. *Countebalt*, described by Hall (6 Hen. VII) as "James Contibald, a man of great gravity."

27. *His mother in law*, i. e. Margaret duchess of Burgundy.

P. 100, line 1. *So as the formal part*, &c. So that as far as all the forms of an embassy were concerned they might seem to have a good reason for remaining. They had not received an answer, but an ample one was promised.

13. *Thomas earl of Arundel*. In his first summons to parliament (22 Edw. IV) he is named Thomas Arundal de Matravers. He married a daughter of Richard Wydville, Lord Rivers, and one of his daughters was wife of John, Earl of Lincoln, who fell at Stoke-field.

14. *George earl of Shrewsbury*, son of John, 3rd Earl of Shrewsbury. His mother was a daughter of Humphrey, Earl of Stafford. This nobleman had fought for Henry at Stoke-field.

Edmond earl of Suffolk, Edmund de la Pole, brother of the Earl of Lincoln.

15. *George earl of Kent*. George Grey had succeeded his father Edmund in the Earldom in 4 Hen. VII. His mother was a daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, killed in the subsidy-riot in Yorkshire (see p. 66). George, Earl of Kent, took an active part in the suppression of the Cornish rebellion. See Dugdale, I. 718.

The earl of Essex. Henry Bourchier. He also took part in the suppression of the Cornish rebellion, Dugdale, II. 130.

16. *Thomas earl of Ormond.* This was Thomas Bullen, he was afterwards created (1495) an English peer as Baron Rochford of Rochford in Essex.

P. 101, line 7. *The hotter he was*, &c. Cf. p. 77. 10 for an example of this heat.

31. *so potent a confederate*, i. e. Ferdinand of Spain.

P. 102, line 2. *Bishop of Exeter.* This was Fox.

9. *Sir John Savage.* He had gone (says Hall) privily out of his pavilion with Sir John Riseley, and was suddenly intercepted and taken of the enemy, and he being inflamed with ire, although he were captain, of his high courage disdained to be taken of such villains, defended his life to the uttermost, and was manfully (I will not say wilfully) slain.

15. *a peace*, known as the Peace of Estaples. It was concluded there Nov. 30, 1492. For the articles thereof, see Molinet (Buchon), IV 328 seqq. The sums mentioned by Molinet are not in accordance with those given below in the text.

20. *ducat*, here apparently used vaguely = crown. King Henry's letter, read in the Guildhall, Nov. 9, calls the sum "745,000 scutis, which amounteth in sterling money to £127,666. 13s. 4d." The sum was to be paid in consideration of the expenses incurred by the English King in the defence of Brittany, which Henry estimated at 620,000 crowns, and to clear off the sum remaining due upon the pension granted to Edward IV by Lewis XI (at the peace of Picquigny), which was estimated at 125,000 crowns. Henry agreed now to accept a payment of 25,000 francs every half-year till the whole should be cleared off. These half-yearly payments continued to be made down to the year 1514, when further claims on the part of the English led to a new treaty with Lewis XII. See Rymer, XIII. 428.

in present (line 20) is a mistake. The large sum was to be paid by instalments. See Spedding, Vol. VI. p. 103 note.

24. *alteration of the hand*, i. e. making another person rather than Maximilian responsible for this payment. This Henry counted to be worth as much as the whole sum.

P. 103, line 6. *under their hands*, i. e. in a written document signed by them.

16. *to plume*, here = to strip off the feathers, a meaning very different from the usual sense of the verb.

32. *Alphonso, duke of Calabria*, who in 1494, succeeded his father as King of Naples and Sicily by the title of Alphonso II.

P. 105, line 12. *Turk's commissioners for children of tribute.* The Lat. version explains this as "those agents of the Turks who exact children as a tribute," i. e. demand from the subject races so many children annually as a tributary payment, and pick out the most promising.

31. *to have made somewhat to the matter*, i. e. to have contributed to, or helped on, the proceeding.

P. 106, line 1. *Gossip, godfather.* The last syllable is common, in the Lowlands of Scotland, in the form *sib* = related to, akin.

12. *John Osbeck*. Mr Spedding has pointed out, as Sir Frederick Madden (whom he quotes) had done before, that Bacon has formed a wrong conception of the meaning of Speed's text on which his narrative is based. According to that King Edward was not the godfather of Perkin, but of a certain Jew, who at baptism took the name of Edward. Perkin was the son of John Osbeck as related in the text, but there is no evidence to shew that Osbeck was a Jew or was ever in London, but Perkin his son appears to have been clerk, or apprentice or servant to Edward the converted Jew who lived in London, and in this way he came to be acquainted with the court and doings of Edward IV. See Sir Fred. Madden's article in the *Archæologia*, Vol. xxvii. p. 163. In reference to the variation of the name *Osbeck* into *Warbeck* there is a curious form of the word in the provisions of the Irish Parliament of 1498, where it is ordered that William Barry, commonly called Lord Barry of Munster, and John Water of Cork, merchant, having of late received divers letters from *Parkyn Wosebek*, are to be attainted of high treason. This form may explain the transition from one orthography and pronunciation to the other. For the easy interchange of *r* and *s*, cf. *ure*=*use* in the text, p. 181. 17.

21. *Perkin*. This termination *kin* is not only used as a diminutive in proper names, as *Wilkin*=little Will, *Watkin*=little Walter, but in common nouns as *firkin*=a fourth part of a barrel, the word being a diminutive of *four*; so *gherkin* of which the first syllable is akin to *gourd*, a species of cucumber, and the diminutive ending is the same as in the previous examples.

P. 107, line 6. *The while*. Lat. *quo temporis spatio*, i. e. in the meanwhile. Cf. Shakespeare, *Com. Err.* V. 1. 174: "My master preaches patience to him, and the while his man with scissors nicks him like a fool."

23. *things that a very few could control*=such as only one here and there could venture to dispute. Lat. *pauci admodum arguere possent*.

P. 108, line 9. In the first edition there is no stop at *time*. But the Latin text clearly shews that there ought to be a period here. It runs thus *A qua cali plaga cometa iste se primo ostendere deberet et quo tempore Constituit autem, &c.*

30. The metaphor is continued from line 8 where Perkin was compared to a blazing star.

P. 109, line 2. *afterwards*, for an account of this confession see text p. 170, l. 20.

4. *and bare him down*, i. e. and asserted in spite of all that he could say. The phrase is carried a little farther in sense than is usual, but the idea is the same. It is usually employed to mean, *to overturn*, *to overwhelm*. Cf. Shaksp. *M. of Ven.* IV. 1. 214, "Malice bears down truth." So that in the text it is implied that the Irishmen would hear nothing that he had to say, and silenced all his protestations.

15. *Earl of Desmond*. This nobleman was one of the Fitzgeralds, a kinsman of the Earl of Kildare. The present Earl of Desmond was Maurice Fitzgerald

19. *Stephen Fr.ou*. His grant for life of the office of Clerk of the

Signet and Secretary for the French tongue to the King, with a salary of £40 a year, is dated 3rd Oct. 1485.

23. *he* = Charles VIII. The Latin leaves no doubt on the subject, but has *bellum inter reges aperte pullulare cepisset*. War between the Kings had shewn signs of commencement.

P. 110, line 10. *Lord Congresall*. The Lord of Congressault. He was of a Scotch family of the name of Monipeny, see Pinkerton's Scotland, ii. 438.

11. *though it be ill mocking with the French*, i. e. though they are not adepts at playing a part. Lat. *licet apud Gallos ludos facere in proclivi non sit*.

12. *applied themselves to their King's bent*, humoured their sovereign's inclination, fashioned their behaviour according to his wish, seeing that a political end was to be served thereby.

14. *Sir George Neville*. A son of Lord Abergavenny. See *Mem. for Hist. of Hen. VII.* Vol. i. p. 432, where is a petition to the King from Sir George asking that power should be granted him to recover certain rents and duties due to him from tenants in Wales. He prays that this may be done by a letter under the King's Privy Seal.

26. *laboured*. This use of the word is not common. It means to be hard pressed, much urged; Lat. has *interpellatus*, i. e. importuned.

P. 111, line 3. *even in that*, i. e. even in the case of Lambert Simnell.

5. *pose*, to question. The noun *poser* is still used for the title of an examiner at some public schools, e. g. Eton.

17. *matter*. For *matter* used thus of a person; cf. Shakespeare Sonn. 87. 14, "In sleep a king, but waking no such *matter*."

20. *wanting to himself*. Nor did he fail to play his part well.

28. *with oft telling a lie*. Cf. for the sentiment, Shakesp. *Temp.* I. 2. 100.

"Like one
Who having unto Truth, by telling oft
Made such a sinner of his memory
To credit his own lie, he did believe
He was indeed the Duke."

P. 112, line 1. *halberdiers*. The name is derived from the weapon with which they were armed, which was a kind of pole-axe. In Old German the word was spelt *helmbarte*; *helm* = pole and *barte* (connected with *bart*, bearded) indicating the hanging form of the iron head.

3. *Dutch*. The Latin says *Flandri* = Flemings.

12. *upon*. The Latin in this and the following lines has *propter* = on account of. This meaning of *upon* is not rare in Shakespeare. Cf. King John, II. I. 597. "Kings break faith upon commodity."

31. *footings up and down*, i. e. footprints going backward and forward and so leaving only a confused impression.

P. 113, line 1. *Sir William Stanley*. The first grant to Sir William Stanley as King's Chamberlain dates 24th Jan. 1486.

2. *Lord Fitzwalter*, i. e. Sir John Ratchiffe, who became Lord Fitzwalter by marrying the daughter and heiress of the last Lord of that

name of the house of Mandeville. He had been employed by Henry VII in connection with Sir Reginald Bray in exercising the office of chief justice of the forests beyond the Trent. He was beheaded for attempting to escape from prison in Calais.

Sir Simon Mountfort. Made steward for life of the Lordship of Castle Bromwich, 26 Dec. 1485.

Sir Thomas Thwaites. He had been made treasurer of Calais and the marches thereof, 4 March, 1486.

5. *Sir Robert Clifford.* He was the youngest son of Sir Thomas Clifford who was slain in the battle of St Albans. His first employment under Henry VII dates Mar. 15, 1486, as chamberlain of the town and port of Berwick upon Tweed. The text explains his after history. Among the Privy Purse expenses of Hen. VII (*Excerpta Historica*, p. 100) is found an entry of £500 paid by Sir Reginald Bray to Sir Robert Clifford as a bribe for his services in betraying Warbeck and his adherents (see text, p. 116).

6. *William Barley.* These two who negotiated the matter with Sir Robert are also highly paid. In the same place is a notice of the promise of pardon and high reward to Barley.

21. *came to have a correspondence.* Began to have a party which favoured it in either country, and who established inter-communication.

P. 114, line 13. *Brackenbury.* The account here given is drawn from Sir Thos. More's life of Richard III, (p. 68, ed. 1557) where mention is also made of this examination of Tirrel and Dighton. It is also narrated that Tirrel accepted the work of murdering the princes because "the man had an high heart and sore longed upward, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept under by the means of Sir Richard Ratcliffe and Sir William Catesby which longing for no more parteners of the princes favour and namely [i.e. especially] not for him whose pride they wist would bere no pere, kept him by secrete driftes out of all secrete trust." In the progress of the story in More, Miles Forrest is described as "a fellow fleshed in murder beforetime," and his fate is noticed thus, "Miles Forest at Saint Martens pecemele rotted away." Dighton is said to have been Tirrel's horsekeeper, "a big brode square strong knave" and it is added "he indede yet walketh on alive in good possibilitie to be hanged ere he dye. But Sir James Tirrel dyed at Tower Hill beheaded for treason."

P. 115, line 18. *to advertise*, i.e. to send *him* information, to keep *him* informed. They were not to publish abroad what they found, as the word now mostly signifies. The Lat. makes this clear by expressing the pronoun.

29. *board.* The Latin explains this by *allicere*=to entice.

P. 116, line 13. *had intelligence with*, i.e. entered into secret correspondence with these men, as the Latin explains, in order that through their means he might gain information of the plans of his adversaries.

15. *did use to have them cursed*, i.e. although they were in his own employ, he had their names enrolled among those who were accursed as

the King's foes, that thus their actions abroad might be less suspected of being undertaken at his instigation.

29. *might receive the more or the less*, i. e. as the examinations and enquiries were not completed, some of the statements might receive additional confirmation, and others be weakened by further search. It would not therefore have been wise to put forth what had been learnt, in such a formal manner as a proclamation would have assumed.

30. *print*, i. e. penetrate, sink into men's minds.

32. *Archduke Philip*, i. e. Maximilian's son who had now become Archduke. His father had become emperor of Germany in 1493.

P. 117, line 1. *Sir William Warham*. Who was afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, from 1503—32. Although his embassy on this occasion did not lead to success yet he retained the King's favour and was frequently employed. (See Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops*, New series, I. 168.) He is mentioned as Master of the Rolls, p. 146.

21. *thought to be in the King's own power*, i. e. to be contrived by the King and so fashioned as to serve his own purposes, and therefore not to be accepted without question.

P. 119, line 16. *a patrimonial dowry*. This is the reading of the text of 1622, but the Latin has *dotem matrimonialem*, which is what the sense requires, as the possessions of the Lady Margaret of Burgundy were those which she held in virtue of her marriage and under the will of her late husband.

carried no part of sovereignty or command of forces, i. e. gave her no rights such as a sovereign possesses to command the forces of the country.

19. *howsoever*, &c. i. e. although the Archduke pretended only to connive at the sheltering of Perkin.

21. *partly out of courage*. The Lat. explains: *partim animum explere cupiens*, i. e. desiring to satisfy his own feelings. Cf. line 29, "being sensible in point of honour."

28. *trade*, i. e. between England and Flanders. The proclamation was directed to be published on 18th Sept. 1483.

31. The first *he* in this sentence is of course Henry and the *he* in the next line refers to the pretender Warbeck.

P. 120, line 7. *done to his hand*. By Henry's previous command to them to withdraw.

17. *William Daubeney*. Mentioned (*Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.* Vol. I. p. 214) as formerly keeper of the jewels to the "pretensed" King Richard, Duke of Gloucester. This may account for his being found among the adherents of Warbeck.

The list of persons apprehended is considerably enlarged in the chronicles of Hall and Grafton who add to the names here given "certain priests and religious men as Sir William Richeforde, doctor of divinitee and Sir Thomas Poynes bothe freers of Sainet Dominikes order, Doctor William Sutton, and Robert Layborne and Sir Richard Lessey.

23. *he dealt with his keeper*, i. e. he made proposals to the keeper to allow him to escape.

28. *William Worsley*. This was the dean of St Paul's, he received his pardon on the 6th June, 1495.

31. *was not touched*. Mr Spedding notices from Tytler's Hist. of Scotland (iv. 374) a raid made into the North of England by the Scotch, of which the only mention is found in the record of Justiciary, Nov. 1493. Mr Tytler conjectures that this was a movement of the Scotch in concert with Flanders, Ireland and the Yorkists in England, but the Scotch were too hasty in crossing the border, for the treachery of Clifford had revealed the whole particulars to Henry, and the apprehension of the chief persons concerned (as stated above) taking place just when it did, broke the whole scheme, and rendered the cause of Perkin hopeless. But it is clear from the absence of all mention of this inroad in our histories that we are not yet in a position to judge of all the circumstances under which King Henry acted, and we can well see why he might be willing to wait before he arrested Sir William Stanley.

P. 121, line 11. *according to the ceremony*, i. e. with the usual rites and ceremonies. See for an account of them Beatson's Political Index, Vol. III. pp. 408—415. There were twenty-four creations on this occasion, and the names are given in Beatson (III. 421). The date of the installation was Sunday, May 19, 1495, at which time prince Henry was little more than four years old.

13. *Westminster*. The MS. Chronicle (Cott. Vitel. A. xvi) says the king kept his Christmas at Greenwich. Stowe says, as Bacon, at Westminster.

20. *presently attached*, i. e. immediately arrested.

26. *assured of his life before*. His pardon is dated 22nd Dec. 1494 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 10 Hen. VII. p. 33).

P. 122, 13. *sadly*, steadily, without wavering or change. The adj. *sad* is from the verb *set*, and so means *fixed*, *firm*, *steady*. So Wycliffe's translation calls Peter a sad stone, and Chaucer, in the Man of Law's Tale, line 645, says,

“This messenger drank *sadly* ale and wine,”

by which he means persistently, going on steadily, without leaving off. Of course the transition of meaning to a look made fixed by sorrow is easy to follow, which is the most usual modern meaning of *sad*; though in some parts of England it is still applied to bread, the dough of which has not risen properly, and so the bread is very close, firm, and solid.

33. *dangerous*, i. e. a person to be dreaded, *a quo periculum imminet*, from whom peril was to be apprehended.

P. 123, line 3. *Holt*. The inventory of the money found at Holt is preserved in the Rolls' House. Chapter-House Records, A. 3. 10. fol. 29 (Spedding).

7. *old rent*. The Latin explains by *antiqui census*, that is, according to estimates which had been made long before, and of which the worth was now greatly increased.

16. *beheaded*. He was arraigned Jan. 31st and executed on the 16th Feb. 1494—5. From some entries given in the *Excerpta Historica* (pp. 101, 102) it is seen that the funeral of Sir William Stanley was

conducted at the King's cost. For his burial at Sion the charge is £15. 19s. The sum of £10 was also given to him at his execution probably as a guerdon to the executioner. Another entry there in connection with the funeral is a payment of £2 to one Simon Digby.

25. *the conditional*, i. e. the conditional particle *if*, which he used, which rendered his statement only equivalent to a statement made upon a supposition, and not a direct acknowledgement of Warbeck.

28. *dangerous thing*, i. e. if persons might be allowed to qualify their words of treason, by framing them in sentences with *ifs* and *ands*, and so utter any malicious and traitorous words, but yet keep clear of the peril of a trial.

31. *blanch*, properly = to whiten, hence to remove any blackness or darkness, and thus to clear or lighten in any wise, as here of danger.

32. *Elizabeth Barton*. On the history of this woman and her ravings, and how greater people, as More and Fisher, came to suffer for giving credence to her, see Knight's History of England, II. 352 seqq. She was executed 21st April, 1534.

P. 124, line 4. *would not admit of treasons upon condition*, i. e. would not allow the shelter of a conditional clause to screen from punishment those who employed words which without the condition amounted to treason.

9. *over-ruling*. This word is much more frequently used in the sense of *controlling*, *swaying*, but the Latin text explains it by *abnegatio*, a denial. I have not found another example of the word thus employed.

15. *as those times were*, i. e. considering the unsettled nature of the times.

16. *some writers*. The statement is from Bernard André, as quoted by Speed.

P. 125, line 2. *pressing down*, &c., alluding to the expression in Luke vi. 38. Bacon is rather fond of biblical phrases and allusions. Another occurs in this very page, line 12, "a little leaven," &c.

15. *time enough*, i. e. in time enough. For this idiomatic omission of the preposition, cf. Shaks. 1 Hen. IV (II. 1. 45):

Sirrah carrier, what time do you mean to come to London?

Time enough to go to bed with a candle.

16. *stayed long enough to endanger it*, i. e. tarried before his coming long enough to let the king come into great danger.

19. *the more because*, &c., i. e. which qualities were of the greater value because he was gentle and moderate.

P. 126, line 1. *quail* = break down, enfeeble. Cf. More's *Utopia* (Pitt Press Series), p. 6, "mine old good wil and hartye affection towards you is not by reason of long tract of time...at all quayed and diminished."

5. *at a gaze*, Lat. *attoniti*, astounded, terrorstricken. Cf. Shaks. Lacer. 1149:

"As the poor frightened deer that stands at gaze."

7. *what with...what with*, Lat. *partim...partim*, partly...partly. Cf.

More's *Utopia* (Pitt Press Series), p. 5, "*what by the force of his pitthie argumentes...and what by hys authority he persuaded me.*"

10. *by the thread.* Lat. *sigillatim*, i. e. *singillatim*, one by one.

11. *Barley.* "William Barlee, *alias* Barley, of Aldebury (Herts), Esquire," received his pardon on July 12, 1498 (Spedding).

13. *at the length.* This expression is not often found with the article. Lat. *ad extremum*, at last. But it is found in the first quarto of Shaks. M. of Ven. II. 2. 84, and is so printed in the Globe edition, "But at the length truth will out."

P. 127, line 5. *of both robes*, representatives of the army and of the long robe of the law. For the prior was to act as Chancellor, while Poyning held both a military and civil power.

both robes. For an illustration of this expression cf. Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*, pp. 31 and 34 (Arber's Reprints). "The Queen began to need and to seek out for men of *both Garbs*, and so I conclude and rank this great instrument of state (i. e. Lord Burleigh) amongst the *Togati* (=civilians, lawyers) for he had not to do with the sword." And again, "Those brave men and plants of honour which acted on the theatre of Mars...of which rank, the number will equal if not exceed that of the *gown-men*."

the Prior of Lanthony. This was Henry Deane, at this time bishop-elect of Bangor. He was subsequently translated to Salisbury, and in 1501 succeeded Morton as Archbishop of Canterbury, which see he held till his death, 16th Feb. 1502—3.

19. *the earl of Kildare.* This earl, Gerald Fitz-morris, was attainted 1st Dec. 1494, by Poyning's Parliament, but that attainder was reversed by the English Parliament in October, 1495.

28. *Poyning's law*, known as the statute of Drogheda. There are two acts known by the name of Sir Edward Poyning's, whereby English law was established in Ireland, and the Irish legislature surrendered its pretence to pass measures which had not first been approved in London. See Froude's *English in Ireland*, Vol. I. p. 35.

P. 128, line 12. *Sir William Capel.* His prosecution occurred in May, 1495. He received a pardon (of course on composition) on 7th Nov. following. On the *other chop* (see *infra*, line 16) compare text, p. 209.

P. 129, line 13. *the north afar off*, i. e. to Latham in Lancashire.

14. *come to the close.* The metaphor is taken from the action of wrestlers.

P. 130, line 9. *run upon an head*, &c. The Lat. explains by *omnia confuse agere et miscere*, to act confusedly and muddle everything. The King visited Latham on 25th June, 1495 (see *Pol. Vergil*).

P. 131, line 1. *Sir Richard Guildford.* His employments under Henry were numerous (see *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.*), where, p. 68, he is appointed master of the ordinance and master of the armoury. On p. 97 he has to make preparation for the king's coronation. Cf. also pp. 407, 499.

7. *the serjeants' feast.* In old times there were great ceremonies attendant upon the creation of Serjeants at Law. Numerous notices of these feasts occur in Hall, Holinshed, Grafton, and Stowe. Sir John

Fortescue in his *de Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, p. 114, tells how each new Serjeant held a feast for seven days, like that at a coronation: that he spent £260 pounds, and that he gave gold rings and liveries of cloth. Festivities of so gorgeous a character might well admit of being presided over by the king in person. Bacon notices a second feast (p. 197), where though mention is not expressly made of the presence of the King, yet the event seemed of enough importance to be included in the list of marked occurrences.

16. *King Charles had conquered the realm of Naples.* Charles VIII had been encouraged to make good his claim to the throne of Naples by Ludovico Sforza, called, from his swarthy complexion, the Moor, who had usurped the government of Milan from his nephew John Galeazzo Sforza. The duchess of Milan, who was a granddaughter of the reigning king of Naples, appealed to her family to assist her in restoring her husband's power. It was in fear of the Neapolitan intervention in Milan that Ludovico invited the French king into Italy. Charles readily consented to an expedition which fell in with his own views. He assembled his army at Lyons, and, after some slight delays in his course, entered Rome 31st Dec. 1494. The Pope (Alexander VI) was compelled to promise Charles the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and placed hostages in the king's hand, among the rest his own son, Cæsar Borgia (who however speedily absconded in the dress of a groom), until the completion of the conquest. Success attended the further progress of the invasion. The Neapolitans hardly offered any resistance. Alphonso II, who had but lately succeeded his father Ferdinand I, abdicated as soon as the French approached, and fled to Sicily, where he shortly after died. His son, Ferdinand II, finding himself deserted by his troops and threatened by an insurgent population, withdrew in his turn precipitately from Naples, and Charles and his troops entered the city 22nd Feb. 1494-5. But the conquest, so easily won, intoxicated Charles, and he gave himself up to every kind of voluptuous enjoyment, and totally neglected to secure and consolidate his authority in his newly acquired dominions. Public offices and dignities were distributed exclusively among his French subjects, while the native aristocracy were treated with coldness and disdain, so that feelings of bitter hostility were quickly engendered against him among all parties. Two months of frivolity and maladministration had scarcely passed before Charles was made aware of the league mentioned in the text, the parties to which are enumerated on the next page (132). Ludovico, who brought in Charles, had grown alarmed, and devised this alliance among the powers of Europe to cut off the retreat of the French from Italy. The compact between the powers was signed at Venice on March 31st, and Charles was informed of it through his envoy at that place, Philip de Commines. He at once determined to evacuate Naples. He departed from that city on the 30th of May, leaving one half of his army as a garrison under his cousin, the Count of Montpensier, whom he appointed viceroy. The retiring troops rapidly traversed the Roman states and gained the Tuscan border, and finding that Florence (now under the rule of Peter de Medici) was in a state of revolutionary commotion turned aside to Pisa and left a garrison there. Their road

to Parma was obstructed by Gonzaga Marquis of Mantua and the allied troops, but the French, though in much inferior numbers, defeated their opponents at the village of Fornovo. They then pressed forward to Vercelli, where Charles was joined by the Duke of Orleans. He negotiated a peace with Ludovico Sforza, which left the latter in peaceable possession of Milan (John Galeazzo had died while Charles was in Italy), and so passing the Alps, by the same route along which they had advanced fourteen months before, the French reached Lyons on 9th Nov. 1495.

27. *faction of the Angevines.* The kingdom of Naples had belonged to the house of Anjou, and had only been bequeathed to the French King in the time of Lewis XI, by the last Angevin prince, Charles, count of Maine and Provence. Of course all favourers of the old line were eager for vengeance on the Aragonese dynasty, and had expected that the French would not treat them in the same manner as they treated the partizans of that dynasty.

30. *Ostia.* At the mouth of the Tiber. It was recovered for the Pope by the "great Spanish captain," Gonsalvo de Aguilar, who was the commander on behalf of Ferdinand II.

P. 132, line 7. *Ferdinando the younger.* Ferdinand II. died (Sept. 7, 1496) soon after the recovery of his kingdom, and on his death his dominions fell to his uncle Frederick.

16. *Augustino Barbado.* He was doge of Venice from 1495 to 1502.

20. *a fee of the church.* The King of Naples was counted a vassal of the pope, and so if the liege-lord were a party to the treaty, his feudatories would be included in its provisions.

22. *Cecile, duchess of York.* She was the daughter of Ralph Nevile, earl of Westmoreland. The three princes crowned were Edward IV, Edward V, and Richard III. The four murdered were Edmund earl of Rutland her second son, who is said to have been murdered in cold blood after the battle of Wakefield, at the age of seventeen; George, earl of Clarence, put to death by Edward IV; and the two princes Edward V and Richard, duke of York, murdered in the Tower.

27. *parliament.* This parliament met October 14th, 1425.

P. 133, line 4. *a law of a strange nature.* This act (11 Hen. VII. c. 1) exempts from the penalties of treason those who shall henceforth serve a *de facto* King. Bacon calls this act magnanimous rather than provident, because of the provision which it made for the safety of all those who should henceforth fight on the winning side. If, therefore, some pretender should rise up and by the power of the sword dethrone Henry, his adherents were by this act freed from all penalties if ever Henry should be able to recover his throne.

17. The quotation is from ii. Sam. xxiv. 17.

32. *conclude itself,* = set limits to its future action by any precedent ordinance.

P. 134, line 13. *a shoring or under-propping act.* This act (11 Hen. VII. c. 10) by providing a means whereby a subsidy or benevo-

lence may be levied, gave to a benevolence a sort of statutory recognition and countenance.

21. *The attainr*: this was to punish the jury who in any civil action had given a false verdict; which false verdict had before this act been regarded as a final settlement, and the party aggrieved by it had been without remedy. The act is 11 Hen. VII. c. 21.

26. *the indictors*, i. e. the grand jury, who find the bill.

32. *favour of life*. In capital cases the juries ought not to be subjected to the risk of pains and penalties, lest they should feel unwilling to give due weight to any extenuating circumstances, which might lessen the gravity of the offence which they were trying.

P. 135, line 2. *not quit the charge*, i. e. the entire sum at issue would not pay the expense of proceeding with an action of attainr.

4. *been advanced*, i. e. received lands. Lat. *ad terras promotæ*. By this act (11 Hen. VII. c. 20) if any woman had an estate in dower, or for term of life, or in tail, any alienation by such wife of the inheritance of her deceased husband is declared void.

10. *charitable*. This law (11 Hen. VII. c. 12) is so called because it regards it as better that the poor man should be able to vex than that he should seem to suffer a wrong by being unable to sue.

21. *watching of beacons upon the coasts, &c.* There are some interesting memoranda published in the last Report (Fifth) of the *Historical MSS Commission*, taken from the records of the corporation of New Romney, in reference to this period, e. g. p. 548, "Paid two men watching by the sea shore 4d." p. 549, "Paid a serjeant of master Ponynges carrying a mandate of our Lord the King as to Peter Warbekke 8d." This last is dated 1497.

33. *King of Scotland*. James IV, who began to reign in 1488 and was killed at Flodden-field in 1513.

P. 136, line 14. *into Scotland*. He arrived at Stirling 20th Nov., 1495.

27. *may be pleased*. See note to Dedication, line 1. The speech here given is taken almost entirely from Speed.

P. 137, line 25. The allusions are to Daniel vi. 22, ii. Kings xi. 2, and Genesis xxii. 12.

P. 139, line 21. *in the person of Henry the sixth*. Alluding to the succour rendered to Queen Margaret, who 1464 was in Scotland when making preparations previous to the battle of Heddeley Moor.

P. 140, line 11. *Lady Catharine Gordon*, daughter of George Gordon, earl of Huntley. She was afterwards married to Sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in the church of Swansea in Wales, where their tomb still exists.

P. 142, line 8. *certain of our sisters*. Beside Elizabeth, wife of Henry VII, the other daughters of Edward IV who married were (1) Cecilia who married John Lord Wells, (2) Anne who was wife of Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, and (3) Catharine who became wife of William Courtney, earl of Devonshire.

9. *sister of the earl of Warwick*. This was Margaret, countess of

Salisbury, who was afterwards beheaded 27 May, 1541. Inhoff, (*Reg. Mag. Brit. Hist. Geneal.*) page 31, says that she was married by Henry VII to a person below her in degree, a Welshman named Sir Richard Pole, afterwards made Knight of the Garter and Chamberlain to Arthur Prince of Wales.

13. Most of the names here given which have not been already noticed are of persons who were among the early adherents of Henry VII, and to whom some of his first grants were made. The Lovel meant here is probably Thomas Lovel, Speaker of the House of Commons, elected 8 Nov. 1485 (see *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII.* p. 113). One William Smith was keeper of the hanaper of the chancery (*ibid.* p. 16). Master Oliver King was archdeacon of Oxford (*ibid.* pp. 192, 356), and was one of the commissioners appointed to meet the commissioners of Charles VIII (3 Dec. 1485) to agree upon and arrange a truce between England and France, and he was on a second commission appointed to take possession in the King's name of Calais, Rysebank, Guynes, and Hammes. David Owen was chief carver to the King (*ibid.* pp. 233, 242, 278) and had a grant of £50 a year for life. He is styled "the King's beloved Knight." John Turbervill, Knt. is (*ibid.* pp. 61, 64) constable and keeper of Corffe castle in Dorsetshire, and also coroner and marshal of the King's household. Sir William Tyler is appointed a commissioner and controller of the King's mines of tin, lead, copper, gold and silver in England and Wales (*ibid.* p. 317). He is also made Constable of the Castle of Sudeley, and has other distinctions. Richard Cholmondely is made guardian of the possessions of the late John Eggerton during the minority of his heir (*ibid.* p. 9). Empson, no doubt the afterwards notorious Richard Empson. He was made attorney general of the duchy of Lancaster on 13th Sept. 1485 (*ibid.* p. 549). James Hobart is a member of an important commission appointed to enquire into the extent and other particulars of the English possessions in France (*ibid.* p. 356). A pardon is granted to John Cutte of London, gentleman, on 29th Nov. 1485, for all manner of offences committed before that date (*ibid.* p. 187). No doubt the offences were against the house of York, and so were merits in Henry's eyes. Henry Wyot is made bailiff of the lordship of Methwold, parcel of the duchy of Lancaster (*ibid.* p. 581).

In Speed and in the MS of Bacon's Life of Hen. VII, which Mr Spedding has used, the list of names is somewhat longer. Sir Charles Somerset, who was captain of the King's guard (see *Mat. Hist. of H. VII.* p. 327) is mentioned. Also Robert Lytton, who has an interest in a licence of alienation granted 3rd Dec. 1485 (*ibid.* p. 193) and Gylforde (most likely Sir Richard Gyldforde) who was early employed in Henry's service (*ibid.* 229, 232, 402).

P. 144, line 19. *do all men to wit*, i.e. proclaim unto all men, make all men to know. *Wit* is the infinitive mood of the old verb *to wit*.

P. 145, line 1. *edify with*, an unusual expression for *to prevail with*, *to move and influence*. Lat. *permovet*.

3. *the company he came in*. The feuds between the inhabitants of

the border land between England and Scotland had created a permanent spirit of dislike between the peoples of the two countries.

5. *rode*. This word which is more commonly spelt *road* presents a curious instance of change of meaning. At the present day it is used only in the sense of a highway or well marked path. But, as may be seen from Macaulay (*Hist.* Vol. I. p. 389), roads of this character were very uncommon in the days when Bacon wrote and for some time after; and the word *road* was employed as *raid* (a dialectic variety of the same word) is now used, to signify an *inroad*. See i. Saml. xxvii. 10, where Achish, anxious that David should spread havoc among all the enemies of the Philistines, inquires "Whither have ye made a road to-day?" meaning, Against whom has your assault been directed?

30. *babies*, i. e. dolls: cf. Macbeth iii. 4. 106, "The *baby* of a girl." The Lat. is, *circa pupas rixari*.

31. Bacon having mentioned by anticipation in the previous clause the attack on Northumberland, now alludes to it, though it has not yet taken place.

P. 146, line 8. *good order*: the Latin explains this as meaning *good contributions*; *bonis contributionibus corroborata*.

10. *for want of vent*, i. e. because all exportation had ceased: yet they bought up all the native produce though it had to lie dead in their hands.

12. *Viscount Wells*. This was John, Lord Wells, the first husband of Cecilia, the second daughter of Edward IV. He was therefore the King's brother in law. He was made by Henry, steward of the lands of the Duke of Buckingham during the minority of Edward his son and heir.

Kendal, prior of St John's, i. e. Sir John Kendal, Prior of the order of St John of Rhodes (see Gairdner's *Letters*, Richd. III. and Hen. VII. i. 402, and ii. 87, 104, 318, 323—325).

15. *the archduke*. The archduke's commissioners were received in London on Candlemas Eve (1 Feb.) 1495—6, and the treaty was concluded in the following April. (Spedding).

16. *Lord Bevers*. Styled by Philip in a letter given in Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. (ii. p. 65) "Our wellbeloved and faithful cousin, lieutenant and governor-general of our country of Artois, and admiral of the sea, the Lord de Beures."

P. 147, line 10. *parliament*. This met on 16th January, 1496—7, and in it there were voted supplies for the Scottish war.

25. *fifteenth*. This should be, according to the name, a fifteenth part of men's goods, but it had long before this time been fixed at a definite sum, much less than that amount.

26. *iron at the top*, &c., i. e. there was a great shew of arming and preparation for a fight, but generally the result was that the gold and silver was coffered by the King.

P. 148, line 1. *exacting upon the trade*, i. e. imposing exactions on all goods which came under their hands, as most of the merchandise of England would do.

8. *subsidy*. This was granted 13th Feb. 1496—7.

32. *escuage*. Bacon in his *Index Vocabulorum* explains this, as "the obligation by which the King's tenants were bound to serve in the wars against the Scots."

P. 149, line 15. *joint and several pratings*, addresses made to the people sometimes in assemblies, and sometimes singly and privately.

26. *ever at pleasure*, i.e. always ready to go where the people please.

31. *provost of Perin*. The Latin says *Præpositus Perkini* = Perkin's provost. But Hall and Grafton both give *Peryn*.

32. *Lord Audley*. This was James Touchet, 14th Lord Audley. He is mentioned in Gairdner's *Letters and papers illustrative of the reigns of R. III. and H. VII.*, vol. ii. 326, as one of the adherents of Perkin Warbeck. He had served with Henry in France. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. ii. 29.

P. 150, line 1. *popular*, i.e. hunting after popular favour. A not very common use of this word.

18. *Earl of Kent*. See notes on p. 100. 15.

Lord Abergavenny. This was George Nevill, son of the Lord Abergavenny who died in the 7th year of Hen. VII. After his command at Blackheath, this nobleman, in the 14th year of the King, was imprisoned on suspicion of favouring Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, but no guilt being proved against him. he was set free, and came into great favour both with this King and his successor. He died in 27 Hen. VIII. (1535). See Dugdale, 1. 310.

19. *Lord Cobham*. This is John Brooke. In the seventh year of the King's reign this nobleman was in the expedition made into Flanders on behalf of Maximilian against the French. He was kinsman of his coadjutor Lord Abergavenny, having married the daughter of Edward Nevill, a former Lord Abergavenny. He died in 1506.

29. *Blackheath*. According to the old Chronicle so frequently cited by Mr Spedding this encampment took place on Friday, June 16th.

P. 152, line 1. *ancient Indian emblem*. The only explanation of this allusion which I have been able to find is in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander the Great*, chap. 65, in a dialogue between Calanus, one of the Indian wise men, and Alexander. In North's translation, the words are : "It is reported that this Calanus did shew Alexander a figure and similitude of his kingdom, which was this. He threw down before him a dry seare piece of leather, and then put his foot upon one of the ends of it. The leather being trodden down on that side rose up in all parts else ; and going up and down withal still treading upon the sides of the leather, he made Alexander see that the leather being trodden down on the one side did rise up of all sides else, until such time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plain alike. His meaning thereby was to let Alexander understand that the most part of his time he should keep in the midst of his country, and not to go far from it." The idea here is exactly that contained in our text, though a dry skin, and not a bladder, is the emblem made use of.

19. *that it stood him upon* = i.e. that it was of the highest importance. Cf. for the expression Hamlet v. 2. 63,

“Doth it not, thinks't thou, stand me now upon?”

See also Abbot's Shakespearian Gram. p. 138. The preposition is to be closely kept to the verb. The phrase = It stands upon (is of importance) to me.

30. *corners of horse*. The Lat. has *turmis aliquot equitum* = some squadrons of cavalry. No doubt *corners* is due to the Lat. *cornu*, used frequently in this military sense.

P. 153, line 11. *St George's fields*. The open nature of the country here at this time may be well seen in the map prefixed to Stow's Survey.

29. *Tate, the lord mayor*. John Tate (the younger) mercer, son of Thomas Tate of Coventry.

30. *Shaw*. Sir John Shaw.

Haddon. Sir Richard Haddon. The King made this Mayor, Robert Sheffield the Recorder, and both the Sheriffs Knights for their service against the rebels at Blaekheath field. (Stow's Survey, vol. v. p. 126).

P. 154, line 13. *two and twentieth of June*. This is the date given by Stowe. The old Chronicle however calls it the 17th, which is no doubt right. The 22nd of June, 1497, fell on a Thursday. (Spedding.)

20. *as at the receipt*. The Latin explains *rebelles intercepturi*, to intercept the rebels.

27. *The army*, i.e. the body of the rebels.

P. 155, line 2. *recovered*, here simply *won*, *gained*, with no indication that he had been previously dispossessed of it.

10. *cut in pieces*. The Latin says *devicti*, conquered.

15. *two thousand*. Stowe says oddly *three hundred*.

P. 156, line 1. *beheaded*. On Wednesday, June 28th. (Old Chron.)

3. *at Tyburn*. On Tuesday, June 27th. (Old Chron.)

10. *and to take out*, i.e. and (were permitted) to take out. The governing verb being supplied from the idea of the previous verb *were pardoned*.

P. 157, line 26. *tall soldiers*, i.e. brave. For this use of the word cf. Shakesp. Rich. III. i. 4. 36, “Spoke like a tall fellow that respects his reputation.” The Latin has *militum fortissimorum*.

33. *doing good*, i.e. producing any effect.

P. 158, line 8. *Aton*, i.e. Ayton on the Eye in Berwickshire.

18. *Peter Hialas*, i.e. Peter D'Ayala. For notices of him and his mission (see Gairdner's *Letters*, &c.; Rich. III. and Hen. VII. i. 118, 124; ii. 91. 365, 878).

P. 159, line 9. *heart*. Here means *pride*, *dignity*.

11. *of*. For *of* in this sense cf. *supra*, p. 64, l. 13, and the note there.

15. *let* = hesitate. The Lat. has *non dubitabat*.

33. *The commissioners met*; at Jedburgh (Buchanan, XIII. 17).

P. 161, line 29. *Taking his leave.* Perkin sailed from Scotland on July 6th, 1497. (See Tytler, iv. p. 385). After Perkin's departure the commissioners met again, and in the first instance agreed upon a truce for seven years. This was concluded Sept. 30, 1497. Soon after, the term of truce was extended to the lives of the two kings and a year after the death of the survivor. This was proclaimed in London on Dec. 5th next following.

P. 162, line 6. *cap of maintenance*—sometimes called *cap of state*, one of the regalia granted by the Popes to the sovereigns of England. It was carried before the monarch at the coronation or on other occasions. In modern times such honours have been granted to private families.

7. *Pope Innocent had done the like*, in 1488. See Leland (vol. iv. p. 244).

10. *palace of Paul's.* This is called in the Latin *palatium Episcopi Londoniensis*. It was at the north-west corner of St Paul's Churchyard (see Maitland's *Hist. of London*, ii. 1172).

13. *Allhalloves day*, All Saints Day (Nov. 1st).

17. *greece.* The Latin is *super gradus*, from which latter word *greece* is derived, passing through the French *gré*. Puttenham uses the word in the plural (*Arte of Eng. Poesie*, Arber's Reprints p. 52.) "Theatrum as much to say as a beholding place, which was also in such sort contrived by benches and *greeses* to stand or sit upon, as no man should empeach another's sight."

P. 163, line 33. *the blacksmith's town*, i.e. where Michael Joseph had lived.

P. 164, line 7. *Richard the fourth.* Bacon is here quoting from Speed, who is in error. Perkin's Scotch proclamation ran in the name of "Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, Lord of Ireland, Prince of Wales." The Latin translation has omitted the erroneous statement. See Mr Spedding's note.

15. *besieged the city of Exeter.* On Sunday, Sept. 17th.

21. *the King*, i.e. Perkin, who called himself King Richard.

P. 166, line 6. *the eleventh hour*, alluding to the parable of the labourers in the vineyard, Matt. xx. 9.

9. *Sir Rice ap Thomas.* Made constable, lieutenant and steward of Brecknock in the King's first year, likewise chamberlain of South Wales. See *Materials for Hist. of Hen. VII.*, pp. 105, 109.

12. *The earl of Devonshire.* William Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, was the queen's brother-in-law, having married Catharine, a daughter of Edward IV. See Text, p. 194.

13. *the Carews.* For a notice of this family, distinguished in Devonshire since 1300 as the Carews of Hacombe, and one branch of which became earls of Totnes, see Lyson's *Britannia*, vol. vi. p. cxiv.

the Fulfords, of Fulford, in the parish of Dunsford. This family can be traced back to the time of Richard I. See Lyson, as above, p. cxlv.

18. *The duke of Buckingham*, i.e. Edward Stafford. See p. 18. 14, and note.

23. *the proverb.* I have not been able to discover the source of this proverb, which seems to imply that when all is easy, as in a downhill journey, every small assistance is offered and will be of use.

26. *raised his siege.* On Monday, 18th of September.

P. 167, line 7. *Bewedly*, i.e. Bewley, or Beaulieu. His flight took place on the 21st September.

P. 168, line 11. *entrance into Exeter.* The King arrived here on October 7th.

P. 169, line 14. *the Lord Darcy.* This was Thomas, Lord Darcy, who succeeded his father in the 3rd year of Henry VII. He was one of those lords who marched with Thomas, Earl of Surrey to the relief of Norham Castle when it was besieged by the Scots. Beside the commission mentioned in the text he was made Constable of Bamborough Castle, and next year Captain of the town of Berwick, and Warden of the East and Middle Marches of Scotland. In the 18th year of Henry VII, Lord Darcy was one of the commissioners for receiving the oath of James IV of Scotland upon a treaty of peace. He flourished in the whole of this reign and in the next until the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, when being, with the Archbishop of York, in the castle of Pontefract, he surrendered it to the rebels. For this he was found guilty of treason and beheaded on Tower Hill, June 20, 1539.

21. *treasure.* The original return of the fines then levied is preserved in the British Museum. See Ellis' *Lettiers*, 1st Ser. Vol. I. p. 38. (Spedding.)

P. 170, line 8. *churm.* Murmur, noise, perhaps A. S. *cym* = a din, especially the noise of birds. The form *charm* occurs in this sense, but not *churm*. See Halliwell's Dict. (s. v.). Mr Spedding prints *churme*. The 1622 edition has *churme*. The Latin translator evidently did not know what to do with it and so substitutes *cum choro*.

12. *the King*, i.e. to Perkin, who had called himself King Richard IV.

P. 171, line 7. *a great fire.* On the night of St Thomas Day (21st Dec.) about nine o'clock.

14. *Sebastian Gaboto* (generally written in English, Cabot) son of John Cabot, was born at Bristol about 1477. He was employed by Henry VII in 1495, and in 1497 discovered what is now known as Newfoundland. Both father and son were famous as navigators. Sebastian died in 1557 after a life of great adventure and success.

15. *seen in*, i.e. acquainted with, skilled in. Cf. More's *Utopia* (Pitt Press Series), p. 7, "In the knowledge of the Latin tongue, he was not so well sene as to be hable to judge of the finenes or coursenes of my translation."

17. *Christophorus Columbus.* Columbus saw the light on St Salvador on 3rd October, 1492.

P. 172, line 3. *Seneca's prophecy*, alluding perhaps to what Seneca says of the Atlantic, *Quest. Nat.* IV. 2.

Plato's antiquities. The substance of what Plato says, in his *Timæus*, and in the *Critias*, is that the Atlantis was a large island in the Western Ocean situate opposite to the Straits of Gades (Gibraltar). There were

other islands near it. Neptune settled in it with his ten sons, whose descendants reigned there for 9000 years. At length the island sank under water. For an account of all that has been written on the subject see Rees' Cyclopædia, s. v. *Atlantis*.

9. *bearing the King in hand*, i.e. inducing the King to believe. Lat. *Regi fidem faciens*.

23. *King of Portugal*. This was John II who reigned from 1481 to 1495. The great problem before the navigators of that day was a passage to India by sea. The Portuguese were seeking to solve it by the circumnavigation of Africa. Diaz had already (in 1487) doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and Don John was so much taken up with the one project that he could not listen to the other proposal for crossing the Atlantic and reaching India by sailing westward.

P. 173, line 14. *quarrelled*, this word, derived from Lat. *querela*, means in the first instance *to bring a complaint against*, or as here, *to upbraid*, or *murmur against*. Cf. Montagu against Selden (on Tithes) 422, "He quareleth the reading," *ib.* 516, "Except you can quarrell the translation."

P. 174, line 11. *Melross*, i.e. Melrose in Roxburghshire. The abbey here, which is famous still as a magnificent ruin, was founded by King David I in 1136.

32. *more than well disposed*. There had been a commission, for treating on the subject of this match, granted by Henry in the summer of 1496.

P. 175, line 3. *a little before Christmas*. Mr Spedding says, "I think this is a mistake." The former treaty (see pp. 160, 161 and notes) was published a little before Christmas, 1497. The treaty now in question, which contains the article concerning the letters commendatory (Rymer XII. 724), was not concluded till the 12th July, 1499. It was ratified by James on the 20th at Strivelin, and immediately after, that is on the 11th September, a commission was granted to Bishop Fox to treat of the marriage.

10. *to lock in the borderers*, i.e. to prevent those from coming into collision who had been in old times the cause of all the discords.

13. *Edmund*. He was christened 24 Feb. 1498-9 and died June 12th, 1500.

15. *Charles the French King*. Charles VIII died 7th April 1498. The news reached London in the same month.

20. *all corners were laid*, i.e. every point was carefully watched.

22. *house of Bethlehem*. Hall gives a rather fuller description of this place which he says is "beside Richmond in Southrey" (i.e. Surrey). His flight took place on Saturday, June 9th, 1498, according to the old Chronicle, and he was placed in the stocks on the Friday next following.

P. 176, line 5. *read his confession*. That the student may have an opportunity of comparing the style of Hall with that of Bacon, and noticing the advance made within so short a period in English prose composition, the confession of Perkin is subjoined as given in Hall's Chronicle. "It is to be knowen, that I was borne in the toune of

Turney in Flaunders, and my fathers name is John Osbeck, which sayd John Osbeck was comptroller of the sayde toune of Turney, and my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my grauntsires upon my fathers side was named Diryek Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my grauntmother was maryed unto the withinnamed Peter Hamme, that was receaver of the forenamed toune of Turney, and deane of the botemen that rowe upon the water or ryver, called Leschelde. And my grauntsire upon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, whiche had in hys keepyng the keyes of the gate of saint Jhons within the same toune of Turney. Also I had an uncle called master Jhon Stalyn, dwelling in the parish of saint Pyas within the same toune, which had married my suster, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certain ceason. And afterward I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flemmishe, in the house of a cousyn of myne, an officier of the said toune, called Jhon Stienbeck, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere. And after that I returned agayn to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders. And within a yere folowing I was sent with a merchaunt of the sayd toune of Turney named Barlo, and his masters name Alexander, to the marte of Andwarpe where I fell sycke, whiche sickenes contynued upon fyve monethes. And the sayde Barlo set me to boorde in a skinners house, that dwelled beside the house of the English nacion. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two monethes. And after this the sayde Barlo set me with a merchaunt of Middelborough too service, for to learne the language, whose name was Jhon Strewre, with whom I dwelled from Christmas tyll Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companye of Syr Edward Bramptones wyfe in a shype whiche was called the quenes shippe. And when I was come thether, then I was put in service to a knyghte that dwelled in Lusborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de Cogna, with whome I dwelled a whole yere, whiche sayde knyght had but one eye. And because I desyred to see other countreys, I toke lycence of him, and then I put myself in service with a Bryton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the toune of Corke, they of the toune, because I was arayed with some clothes of sylke of my saide maistres, came unto me and threeped upon me that I should be the duke of Clarence sonne, that was before tyme at Develyn. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy evangelist and the Crosse by the Mayre of the toune, which was called Jhon le Wellen, and there in the presence of him and other I toke myne othe as the truth was, that I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came unto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one Jhon Water, and saide to me in swearing great othes that they knew wel that I was kynge Rychardes bastard sonne: to whome I aunswered with like othes that I was not. And then they advysed me not to be afearde, but that I should take it upon me boldely, and if I woulde so do they woulde aide and assist me with all their powre agaynst the kyng of England, and not only they, but

they were assured well that the erles of Desmond and Kyldare should do the same. For they forced not what party they toke, so that they might be revenged upon the kyng of England, and so against my will made me to learne English, and taught me what I should do and saye. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, second sonne of kyng Edward the fourth, because king Richardes bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England. And upon this the said Jhon Water, Stephen Poytron, Jhon Tyler, Hughbert Burghe with many other as the foresayd Erles, entred into this false quarrell. And within shorte tyme after, the French king sent an Ambassadors into Ireland, whose name was Loyte Lucas, and master Stephen Fryan, to advertise me to come into Fraunce. And thence I went into Fraunce and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England."

22. *Sir John Digby.* Among the Privy Purse expenses is an item (Sept. 23rd 1494) "for Thomas Digby and four yomen riding to feche Long Roger." These were the persons employed by Sir John, the one named being probably a relative whom he could trust, to arrest the servants whom Perkin had bribed.

P. 177, line 24. *executed.* Ralph Wilford was hanged on Shrove Tuesday, Feb. 13th, 1498-9.

31. *of his order,* i.e. he was not executed, because he was a clergyman and so could claim privilege.

P. 178, line 5. *arraigned at Westminster.* This was November 16th, 1499.

11. *to destroy those that did not espy him first.* This power was ascribed to the cockatrice. See Sir Thos. Brown, *Vulgar Errors*, Book III. ch. 7.

16. *three counsellors,* i.e. Herne, Skelton and Astley (see text, p. 163).

20. *the mayor of Cork,* called in Hall "Jhon Awater."

32. *beheaded on Tower-hill.* The Earl of Warwick was arraigned on the 19th of November, and beheaded on the 29th, 1499.

P. 179, line 7. *transplanted into other names.* For some of the various families which can trace their origin to the Plantagenet line, see Imhoff, *Hist. Genealogica*, Tab. v.

26. *King Henry the eighth his resolution.* This use of *his* as an equivalent for the old *es* of the possessive case was of common acceptance in Bacon's time. Its mistaken character is at once seen, when it is remembered that the same termination belongs to feminine nouns, after which *his* could of course not be used. We have an instance in the Book of Common Prayer, at the close of the Prayer for all conditions of men, "for Jesus Christ his sake."

P. 180, line 18. *Lord Saint John,* i.e. Thomas Poynings, Lord St John of Basing.

31. *former treaties.* Some new regulations about wool and the sale of cloth had been agreed upon between Henry and Philip, in the spring of 1499, and proclaimed in London on 29th May in that year.

33. *duke of York,* Prince Henry, afterwards Henry VIII.

P. 181, line 5. *in treaty*. The marriage between Charles the son of Philip and the Princess Mary of England became afterwards the subject of a treaty. See Rymer (XIII. p. 171).

11. *how drily*, i. e. with what curtness and want of courtesy. For the facts see text, p. 119.

14. *father and father in law*, Maximilian and Ferdinand.

18. *in ure*. This form of the word *use* was common at this period. Cf. More's *Utopia*, Arber's Reprints, p. 121, "To keep in ure the feate and knowledge of sailing." A similar variation of these consonants may be seen in A.S. inf. *forleðsan* (to lose) and p.p. *forloren* (lost, forlorn).

24. *Lewis*, i. e. Lewis XII.

26. *winning of the duchy of Milan*. As soon as Lewis XII came to the throne he laid claim not only to the throne of Naples, but also to the duchy of Milan as the representative of his grandmother Valentina Visconti, only daughter of the last duke of that name. Having secured the concurrence of the Pope and the cooperation or neutrality of the other powers, his army led by Stuart D'Aubigny and Trivulcio descended into Lombardy in August, 1499, without opposition. Ludovico Sforza fled to the Tyrol and claimed the protection of Maximilian. The French generals entered Milan in triumph on the 14th of Sept. without having fired a single shot.

P. 183, line 2. *year of jubile*. The year of Jubile extended from Christmas, 1499, to Christmas, 1500, therefore it coincided more nearly with the King's fifteenth year. Jasper Pons came in 1499—50. For the articles of the bull of the Holy Jubile see Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. (II. 93—100), where is an edifying list of the prices to be paid by all sorts of persons for their dispensations.

7. *Jasper Pons*, called in the above named document "the right reverend father in God, Jasper Pon, prothonotary and doctour of Divinity of our said Holy Father, the pope's ambassador."

9. *Pope Leo*. Alluding to those sent in the time of Leo X, to raise money by the sale of indulgences; whose behaviour was so gross and irreverent as to lead to the demand for a Reformation. Tetzel (Luther's adversary) was one of the most energetic of these commissioners of Pope Leo.

13. *the King shared in the money*. That this was not so, see *Excerpta Historica*, p. 128, where is an entry of £4000 paid to "Caspar Pon" for the Pope's use, which shews that so far from sharing in the Jubile-money the King sent, of his own, a large sum for the Papal use.

27. *in person against the Turk*. The old Chronicle quoted by Mr Spedding says, "This year came certain tidings to the King that the Turk had gotten the town Modon and made great destruction of the Christians."

P. 184, line 14. *rather solemn than serious*, i. e. of a formal character, but without any serious intention of taking action in the matter.

31. *Kings of France and Spain*. Henry's suggestion is that instead of these two Kings joining in the attack on Græcia, in which common action they might disagree, it would be wise to give one of them the command of the navy.

P. 185, line 13. *knights of Rhodes*, the Knights of St John. This order founded in 1048 came and settled in Rhodes in 1310, where they remained till 1522.

20. *to convert one of them*. See *Excerpta Historica*, p. 117, where on April 20, 1498, the King gives "to the herytik at Canterbury 6s. 8d." Perhaps this was the man. The old Chronicle says that the convert "died a Christian man whereof His Grace have great honour." In spite of his conversion he was burnt all the same. See Fuller, *Church Hist.* IV. 15. 32.

27. *Earl of Suffolk*. See the table in notes, p. 230.

P. 186, line 4. *being discontent*. He fled in the month of August. "It seems," says Mr Spedding, "that the Earl had another cause of discontent. His elder brother John (earl of Lincoln) had been attainted during the duke their father's lifetime. When the duke died, Edmund (earl of Suffolk) claimed the honour and estate of his father. But Henry persisted in considering him as the heir of his brother, and gave him only the title of Earl with a small portion of his patrimony:—an instance of the troubles which Henry bred for himself from his aversion to the House of York."

14. *Lady Catharine*. There seems to be some mistake about the age of Catharine of Aragon. Miss Strickland, on the authority of a Spanish MS., says she was born on 15th Dec. 1485. So that she was not quite sixteen at the time of her marriage to Prince Arthur.

The details which preceded this marriage are given in a note of Mr Spedding's (p. 212). It was first agreed upon on the 27th of March, 1489, before Arthur was three years old. On 2nd Nov. 1491, Catharine's dowry was settled, and it was arranged that she should be brought to England as soon as Arthur had completed his fourteenth year. On Oct. 1, 1496, it was settled that if necessary for any urgent cause, the Pope should be applied to for a dispensation that the marriage by proxy should take place as soon as Arthur had completed his twelfth year. Arthur was twelve years old in Sept. 1498. The proxy marriage took place 19th May, 1499. On the 20th of Dec. 1499, the proxy marriage was approved by Ferdinand and Isabella, and on the 28th May, 1500, the whole proceeding was ratified by Henry." These long previous treaties and contracts make against the idea that there was a very close connection between Warwick's execution and the final settlement of this marriage.

P. 188, line 3. *deceased at Ludlow*. This was 2nd April, 1502, so that Arthur's age was then about fifteen years and a half.

11. *February*. The date of Henry's creation as Prince of Wales is 18th Feb. 1503.

26. *the five and twentieth of January*, i.e. in 1503. From this marriage was descended James V, father of Mary Queen of Scots, who was mother of James I of England.

P. 189, line 5. *Colliveston*, in Northamptonshire, about four miles from Stamford. It was a favourite residence of the King's mother, where she finished the house begun by Ralph Lord Cromwell.

6. *Earl of Northumberland.* Sir Henry Percy, the commander at Blackheath.

11. *three years.* More than three years. Fox was formally commissioned to treat of the marriage on the 11th September, 1499.

P. 190, line 2. *Queen Elizabeth.* She died Feb. 2nd, 1503.

6. *the better to set off flattery.* The Latin gives *quod adulationem redderet magis sapidam*, that he might give his flattery more flavour.

19. *Empson.* Richard Empson, the well-known instrument of Henry's exactions.

Dudley, Edmund Dudley, the father of John Dudley, who became earl of Warwick in the next reign, and duke of Northumberland under Edward VI, and was father of eight sons, among whom the most known are Lord Guildford Dudley, married to Lady Jane Grey, and Lord Robert, the famous Earl of Leicester, of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

24. *triumphed always upon the deed done,* i. e. secured the accomplishment of what he aimed at by any means in his power, and then had his triumph.

32. *to commit them,* i. e. to prison, instead of proceeding with their trial upon the bills found against them.

33. *produce them,* i. e. in court, to answer the charges laid against them.

P. 191, line 6. *the half-face.* They had a shew of legal proceeding when they caused their victims to be indicted and had bills found, but soon they left off even this.

9. *in a court of commission,* proceeding as if they were appointed special commissioners.

14. *tenures in capite.* The tenures in capite were subject to the seven following incidents, aids, relief, primer seisin, wardship, marriage, fines for alienation, and escheat.

false offices, feigned and invented duties to which the tenants were made liable.

15. *wardships,* the right whereby the child of a tenant *in capite*, while under age, becomes if left fatherless the ward of the feudal lord.

liveries, sometimes called *livery of seisin*, which was the formal investiture of the tenant with his possessions, and was held absolutely necessary to complete the donation, and which of course had to be paid for.

16. *premier seisins,* the right which accrues to the feudal lord to claim a certain sum when the heirs to an estate held from him are of full age.

22. *informations of intrusion,* complaints of having encroached on the royal domain, which these men made with little or no ground.

32. *to find,* to give such verdicts as they would direct.

P. 192, line 5. *working.* The Latin gives *flagellum*, a scourge.

9. *than of rigour,* i. e. than of being rigorously enforced.

10. *leading jurors,* who would understand what was expected of them, and lead the rest of their number with them.

16. *Henningham,* called also *Heveningham* and *Hedingham*, is in

Essex, and was at this time the seat of the Earl of Oxford. See *Paston Letters* (Gairdner), Vol. III. p. 352.

24. *It may please.* See note on Dedication, line 1.

that were not for mine case. To have so large a number of servants to maintain would be a very costly matter even for the Earl of Oxford.

25. *my retainers.* The Latin explains, Servants who render occasional extraordinary service, but live at their own cost.

32. *fifteen thousand marks.* The King visited Lord Oxford on the 6th of August, 1498 (see *Privy Purse Expenses of Hen. VII.*, p. 119), on which occasion the incident here narrated may have occurred. A heavier fine for a similar offence was exacted from Lord Abergavenny some years afterwards. In a memorandum of obligations and sums of money received by Edmund Dudley for fines and duties to be paid to the King (MS. Harl. 1877, f. 47), the following item appears as belonging to the 23rd year of this reign:—

Item; delivered three exemplifications under the seal of the Lords of King's Bench of the confession and condemnation of the Lord Burgavenny for such retainers as he was indicted of in Kent; which amounteth unto, for his part only, after the rate of the months £69,900.

It appears from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (23 Hen. VII, Pt. II. p. 18) that George Nevile Knt. Lord Burgavenny received a pardon of all felonies, offences against the forest laws, &c., on the 18th Feb. 1507—8, two months before Henry's death. Fabian mentions his being committed to the Tower "for a displeasure which concerned no treason" in May, 1506 (Spedding).

P. 193, line 16. *at Prince Arthur's marriage.* A mistake. Fabian and the old Chronicle both state that the Earl of Lincoln went abroad secretly in August, 1501, and in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* (17 Hen. VII, Pt. II. p. 4) Sir Robert Lovell is appointed, on Oct. 8, 1501, as receiver and surveyor of all lands, &c., in Norfolk and Suffolk, late the property of the rebel Edmund earl of Suffolk.

19. *his brother.* Richard de la Pole. (See Dugdale, II. 191). He was afterwards slain in battle at Pavia in Italy in 1525.

27. *Sir Robert Curson*, sometimes called Lord Curson. Maximilian created him a baron of the Roman empire. On his communications with Maximilian concerning Edmund de la Pole many documents are given in Gairdner's *Letters*, &c.

P. 194, line 6. *William de la Pole.* This is a mistake. The brothers of the Earl of Suffolk alive at this time were only Humphrey, a cleric: Edward archdeacon of Richmond, and the Richard mentioned above. But Hall gives the same name, *William de la Pole*.

7. *Sir James Tirrel.* The murderer of the princes in the Tower. *Sir John Windham.* He with Tirrel was executed on May 6th, 1502.

9. *George Lord Abergavenny.* See note on p. 192, l. 32.

Sir Thomas Green. He is mentioned in Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. (I. 226) in an account of the astrologers who were to be consulted as to the

chances of Edmund de la Pole's success; also (i. 410) as taking part in the preparations for the reception of Catharine of Aragon.

24. *bull of excommunication and curse.* That Henry was wont in this way to confirm the credit of his spies see text, p. 116. Fabyan says these men were cursed twice, on Sunday, 23rd October, 1502, and again on the first Sunday in Lent (March 5) 1503. Curson received his pardon May 5, 1504.

P. 195, line 6. *Jan his wife*, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella.

9. *his parliament.* This was summoned for 25 January, 1503—4.

16. *a statute.* This was 19 Hen. VII, c. 1, and provides that whosoever doth not attend upon the King being in person in wars shall lose such lands as he hath of the King's gift.

22. *from their house*, i.e. from the time of leaving their house, as stated in the act.

28. *Another statute.* This was 19 Hen. VII, c. 21, defining what small things wrought of silk may not be imported. Those having them in stock were allowed till Whitsunday 1505 to get them sold.

P. 196, line 6. *patents of gaols.* This act is 19 Hen. VII, c. 19, providing that the sheriffs shall have the keeping of the common gaols and the prisoners therein, and making them responsible for the safe custody; so all letters patent granting the keeping of any gaols were revoked.

13. *being fraternities in evil*, i.e. these corporations being fraternities in evil. This statute is 19 Hen. VII, c. 7, and states that the by-laws against which it was directed had been unlawful and unreasonable ordinances, as well in prices of wares as in other things.

18. *to bring in the silver, &c.* This act is 19 Hen. VII, c. 5. It allowed persons to convert their clipped coin into plate or bullion. It also describes the value at which the coins already in use are to be accepted.

31. *not the only statute.* This was 19 Hen. VII, c. 12, but in this reign another statute against vagabonds appears in the eleventh year, c. 2.

P. 197, line 2. *as if the one, &c.*, i.e. as if the punishment of the one were of no avail without the putting down of the other: as though it were idle to get rid of one unless you got rid of the other.

6. *an eye to might and multitude*, being on his watch to keep in check the power of the nobles in their retainers, and the gatherings of the people in riot.

7. *a subsidy.* The King could at this time claim two reasonable aids, one for the knighting of his son, the other for the marriage of his daughter. The Commons offered him £40,000 in lieu of them.

8. *the clergy.* The clergy at this time formed a separate estate and taxed themselves by their own vote independently of the temporal estates of the realm.

31. *the serjeant's feast.* See supra, p. 131, l. 7 and note. This second feast was kept 13th Nov., 1503.

33. *Isabella Queen of Castile.* She died 26th Nov., 1504.

P. 198, line 3. *not for news at large*, i.e. not merely a matter which concerned all persons alike, no piece of ordinary news.

14. *the other*, i.e. the case of Ferdinand.

P. 199, line 7. *poor amity of Aragon*. Poor, because Ferdinand would have lost Castile.

13. *Queen of Naples*. This was Joan widow of Ferdinand II of Naples, and niece of Ferdinand of Aragon.

16. *goal*=a matter of contention.

20. *Francis Marsin*. Sir Francis Marsin was also employed in the communications between Lewis XII and Henry. See Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. (1. 289). He was likewise one of those present at the meeting between Henry and the Archduke Philip in 1500.

James Braybrooke. Braybrooke is mentioned among the grooms and pages of the chamber present at the same meeting.

21. *John Stile*. Stile is alluded to in the instructions given to Wolsey about the treaty of marriage between Henry and Margaret of Savoy. He must have at some time been in trouble, for he received a pardon 16 June, 1502. See Gairdner, II. 378.

The commissioners went first to Valencia, where the two Queens were, and then to Segovia, where they arrived on the 14th of July, 1505, and had their interview with Ferdinand shortly afterwards.

Marsin and Braybooke were paid 5*s.* a day and Stile 4*s.* a day for four months, which was the time occupied by the mission.

29. *the old...Queen of Naples*. This was Joan, widow of Ferdinand I of Naples. She was a daughter of John II king of Aragon, and mother of the widowed queen mentioned p. 119, l. 13.

31. *Doctor de Puebla*. Rodrigo de la Puebla. For much of the correspondence of this envoy with Ferdinand, see Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. In 1507 King Henry granted to him the office of Master of Sherborne Hospital (Rymer, XIII. 167).

P. 200, line 5. *curious and exquisite*. The commissioners report in regard to one point of their directions, "to mark and note well the features of her body," that the young queen was so covered with her mantle that they could only see her visage.

P. 201, line 10. *by continuance*, by a long residence in the country.

13. *Pluto was better to him than Pallas*, i.e. Pluto representing wealth and Pallas wisdom, the phrase implies that his plans did not succeed, though in gain of actual wealth he was very fortunate.

22. *which was the King's own case*, i.e. Prince Henry's popularity was greater than that of his father, and for this same reason, that the King had grieved the people by his exactions. See text, p. 211.

25. *Amason*. Michael Peter d'Almacan, secretary of Ferdinand and Isabella (see Rymer, XIII. 86).

27. *Charles Prince of Castile*: afterwards the famous emperor Charles V. He was born at Ghent 24th February, 1500.

31. *Angolesme*. This was Francis of Angoulême, duke of Valois, afterwards King Francis I of France.

P. 202, line 1. *Madame de Foix*, i.e. Germaine de Foix, niece to Lewis XII.

12. *entire*, &c., to act more confidently and heartily towards Ferdinand, but to give great outward observance and diligence to his conduct towards Philip.

16. *both allies*, both Philip the father of Charles, and Ferdinand, who was grandfather to that prince.

23. As a specimen of the English of Grafton's Chronicle, a portion of the description of the unintended visit of the Archduke Philip to England is subjoined: "In this very season, and the yere of our Lord 1505, Elizabeth Queene of Castell, wife to Ferdinand king of Arragon dyed without any issue male, by reason whereof the inheritauce of Castell (because that kingdome be not partible) disceded to Lady Jane her eldest daughter by king Ferdinando, the which was married to Philip Archduke of Austrich and Burgoyne, and Erle of Flaunders. Which kingdome he obtayned by hys wife, and had the possession of the same and was named, reputed, and taken, as king of Castell and Lyn. Wherefore the yere folowyng, about the sixt day of January, havng a great navy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wife towarde Spaine, but he had sayled no great way, before that a sore tempest, by reason of contrariety of windes sodainly arose, so that the whole navy was tossed and chafed with the waves and sodaine scourges. In so much the winde havng the maistry, dispersed and separated the ships asunder into divers places on the coast of England. The kinges ship with two other vesselles were blowen by tempest on the west part of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorsetshire. Then king Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the seas before, beyng weryed and unquieted both in minde and bodie, enterng the ship boate to refreshe and repose himselfe a little, came a land contrary to the mynd of his counsaile and capitaynes, which foresaw and knew well that the same landyng should be the occasion of lenger taryng there. When it was knowen that straunge shippes were arrived there came thether a great number as well of noblemen, as of rurall persons that dwelle about that coast, to repulse and beate away him if he were their enemye. But when they perceyved he was their friend and lover, and driven thether by force of weather, Sir Thomas Trenchard knight, the chiefe of that companie, went to Philip king of Castell with all humanitie and lowlinesse, invityng and desyryng him (if he would so vouchsafe) to visite his Manor and Mancion, which was even nyght at hande, trustyng thereby to have great thanks of the king his maister, if he could protract and cause him to tarye there, until such tyme as king Henry were certified of his arrivall, to whom with all diligente celeritie, he sent divers postes to notifie to his grace of king Philips landyng. This rumour beyng farther blowne abroad of this straunge Princes commyng, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a long the sea-coast. And among other there came first Sir John Carew with a goodly band of picked men. Which Sir John and Sir Thomas Trenchard entreated the king of Castell, not to depart until such tyme as he had spoken with king Henry his lovyng and faythful friend and allye, assuryng him that he would repayre thether within two or three daies at the most. King Philip

excused himself by the necessitie of his weightie enterprise and importunate cause, affirming that long taryng in matters of gravitie and doubtfull, ought to be excluded: wherefore he alleged that protracting of tyme might turne him to great prejudice,—denying at the first to expect and tary the commyng of the king of England: but yet being perswaded by reason in himselfe, that he might be let and interrupted, if he woulde proffer once to go abrode to his shippes againe, at their gentle desyre and lovyng contemplation, assented to their humble petition and request.

32. *Sir Thomas Trenchard*, of Wolverton. For an account of this family, see Hutchin's *Dorset*, II. 151. It is there stated that John Russell of Berwick was sent for, as having been resident in Spain, to help his relative Sir Thos. Trenchard in interesting the archduke, and thus his family came into favour with Henry VII and that the foundation of the honours of the illustrious family of the Duke of Bedford dates from this time.

P. 203, line 4. *Sir John Carew*. A member of the family of Carew of Haccombe in Devonshire. See Lyson's *Britannia* (Vol. VI. p. 46).

11. *the Earl of Arundel*. Thomas Fitz-Alan. He had served in Flanders in the wars in aid of Maximilian. His wife was a daughter of Earl Rivers, and one of his daughters had been the wife of John Earl of Lincoln.

27. *when they met last*. See text, p. 180, l. 16.

33. *were raised*, i. e. by his accession to the kingdom of Castile.

P. 204, line 5. *changing his countenance, &c.* The Latin has *Vultuque nonnihil ad serium composito*, "with his looks somewhat changed to a solemn cast."

30. *shall not take his life*. Henry so far kept his word, but the Earl was put to death in 1513 by Henry VIII.

P. 205, line 7. *enforced*, i. e. forced by Henry to send for the Earl of Suffolk from Flanders.

19. *received at the Tower*. This was, according to the old Chronicle, about the end of March, 1505-6.

24. *Golden Fleece*. The order of the Golden Fleece was instituted by Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, in 1429. The King of Spain as duke of Burgundy became Grand Master of the Order.

P. 206, line 3. *in the treaty of undecimo*, i. e. in the *intercursus magnus* granted in the eleventh year of the King.

11. *the school-house*. Dean Colet's school was established in 1512 between the end of Henry VIIIth's reign and Bacon's time.

21. *deceased*. Philip died 25 Sept. 1526.

32. *fell distracted*. She is reported to have shewn signs of insanity before this time.

P. 207, line 2. *the felicity of Charles the eighth*, in his conquest of Naples.

7. *Pope Julius*, i. e. Julius II who occupied the pontifical throne from 1503 to 1513.

8. *his famous prediction*, mentioned afterwards in the text, p. 22c.

l. 31. He is said to have foretold that Henry of Richmond would be

King of England at a time when such a statement seemed most improbable.

12. *Julius was too dear.* Against this notion, see Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops* (1st series, Vol. v. p. 460), where it is shewn that Henry VII did actually pay the sum required (1500 ducats) for the canonization of Anselm, and such sum he would not have spared to accomplish his end if money could have done it.

22. *Lady Margaret duchess dowager of Savoy.* This was the princess who in the commencement of Henry's reign had been betrothed to Charles VIII of France and called Queen of France. She was sent from the court of France where she was being educated, at the time when Charles married Anne of Brittany. She was sent to Spain in 1496, and married the duke of Savoy and was now his widow.

28. *Thomas Wolsey*, afterwards the famous archbishop of York.

P. 208, line 4. *a little of the wheel*, i. e. to experience a change of fortune.

12. *the government of Castilia.* Dr Lingard says that, after the death of Philip, Maximilian urged Henry to make this claim.

P. 209, line 12. *the Savoy.* Henry VII rebuilt this palace which had first been the residence of Peter duke of Savoy under Eleanor queen of Henry III. Henry VII made it a charitable foundation, and by his will left an endowment for a master and four chaplains. Over the gate were these lines,

"King Henry the seventh to his merit and honour
This hospital founded poor people to succour."

23. *Sir William Capel.* See before p. 128.

33. *Kneesworth.* Thomas Kneesworth was one of the sheriffs of London in 1495 and mayor in 1505.

P. 210, line 6. *Sir Lawrence Ailmer.* He was sheriff in 1501.

10. *Empson was committed in his place.* On the accession of Henry VIII.

22. *was perfected.* Dec. 17, 1508.

P. 211, line 11. *a general pardon*, a boon bestowed by Kings at the time of their coronation.

22. 1508. This should be 1509, but is thus printed in Speed and in the edition of 1622. Henry completed his twenty-third year on 21st Aug. 1508 and died 22nd April, 1509.

P. 214, line 3. *to discharge, &c.* i. e. to take the blame away from their princes, even though they lay it unfairly upon others.

13. *sought to purge*, e. g. by the execution of Empson and Dudley.

P. 215, line 11. *Hastings.* William, Lord Hastings of Ashby de la Zouch, executed by Richard III.

12. *Charles Brandon*, afterwards duke of Suffolk and husband of Mary, Henry VIIIth's younger daughter.

P. 216, line 28. *to give them credence*, to cause people to believe them to be his real enemies as Henry did by having them cursed. See text, p. 116, l. 15.

P. 217, line 13. *till himself were declared*, till he had made his own intention known.

27. *Hussey*. Sir William Hussey was chief justice of the King's Bench. (See Gairdner's *Letters*, &c. i. 67.)

Frowick, one of the King's serjeants at law.

P. 219, line 2. *Cardinal Adrian*, i. e. Adrian de Castello. See note on p. 68, l. 11.

P. 220, line 13. *tres magi*, i. e. the three wise men.

14. *long of*, i. e. owing to. This expression is not common, but see Shaksp. *Cymb.* v. 5. 271,

“O, she was naught : and long of her it was
That we meet here so strangely.”

P. 221, line 6. *daintiest monuments*. Henry VIth's chapel will still bear the praise which Bacon here gives to it.



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GLOSSARY.

- able*, effective, sufficient to produce a result, 7, 13
- abolition*, used to signify the forgiving and forgetting injuries, 75, 13
- abuse (to)*, to deceive, to mislead, 138, 30
- account (to put anything to)*, to take account or notice of, 145, 33
- acquest*, an acquisition or gain; used of increase of territories, 90, 8 : 172, 22
- addulce*, to render palatable, 84, 14
- advance (to)*, to put into a position of advantage, 135, 4
- advancement*, the maintenance of the dignity of a royal personage, money allowed for such maintenance, 187, 15, 19 : 189, 14
- advertised*, instructed, informed, 46, 25
- adultery*, adultery, 89, 3
- affect (to)*, to shew liking for, 97, 28
- after*= afterwards, 207, 28
- alchemy*, the transmutation of metals. Here used figuratively of the training given to Warbeck, 186, 8
- Allhallowes-day*, All Saints' day, 1st November, 121, 7
- amortise*, to make over, transfer, 71, 28
- anatomy*, a skeleton, a dissected model, 116, 18
- ancient*, used of a person, old, 200, 10
- annual*, annual payment, 102, 22
- answerable*, corresponding, according with, 158, 14
- answered*, of a money payment, securely guaranteed, regularly paid, 200, 16
- appalement*, a rendering pallid through fright, 37, 17
- appached*, accused, implicated in an accusation, 171, 5
- apposite*, suitable, satisfactory, to the point, 111, 22
- arms*, armorial bearing, a coat of arms, 99, 2
- articulate*, pointed, particular, clear, distinct, 216, 19
- artificially*, artfully, pretendedly, 11, 31 : 92, 18
- assigned*, appointed, directed, 101, 3
- assured*, pledged, faithfully bound, 94, 31
- attemper (to)*, to modify, soften, tone down, 18, 6 : 151, 28
- attentates*, attempts, 86, 2
- avails*, value produced by anything, the worth of anything, 94, 17
- avoid (to)*, to depart from (a country), 146, 31
- babies*, dolls, 145, 30
- ball*, the orb in the hand of a monarch as an emblem of sovereignty, 136, 29
- bannereys*, knights created under the royal banner, 13, 17

- base*, base-born, illegitimate, 109, 6
- bastarded*, declared illegitimate, 29, 15
- bead-roll*, a prayer-list, register of persons to be prayed for, or (here) cursed, 116, 16
- beat (to)*, to sift thoroughly, inquire into, 209, 27
- best-be-trust*, exceedingly trusted, in whom most confidence is placed, 115, 32
- better*, used to express the excess over any number; as 'and better,' 93, 7
- bid battle (to)*, to offer battle, to challenge to combat, 150, 30
- blanch (to)*, lit. to make white, hence to render less serious, to lighten, to take the terror from, 123, 31
- blooded*, mixed in fatal warfare, stained with each other's blood, 77, 6
- bloods*, persons of courage and spirit, 50, 24
- board (to)*, to assail, attack, used primarily of attacking ships, 115, 29
- boiling*, in a ferment; used of a country in a state of excitement, 156, 8
- brandle (to)*, to spoil, to make to totter, to overthrow, 155, 4
- bravery*, a show or parade, 33, 13
- broach*, a spit for roasting meat, 38, 8
- brocage*, base, mean practices, 7, 7
- brook (to)*, to like; to put up with, 125, 11
- bruits*, noises, rumours, common fame, 22, 27: 25, 23: 112, 17
- butchers*, applied to the murderers of the princes in the tower, 114, 4
- cabinet*, private, secret, confidential 107, 7
- casualties* (Lat. *casualia*), wind-falls, accidental gains, 17, 28: 128, 9: 197, 22
- catching*, in the phrase "a catching harvest," means *hurried*, *hasty*, 158, 1
- cauls*, a net or covering for the head, 195, 33
- caveat*, a Latin word meaning *let him beware*, used as an English substantive = a caution, 85, 7
- celestial*, divine, belonging to a saint, 207, 6
- cement (to)*, *reflex.*, to patch itself together, 159, 27
- ensorian*, belonging to the office of a censor. pertaining to moral discipline, 62, 17
- ceremony*, the religious character of any observance, 30, 16
- champaign*, flat, level (of countries), Lat. *campus*, 36, 32
- check-roll*, an authoritative list, 63, 7
- chievances*, more commonly written *achievements*, meaning trade transactions, 64, 30
- churchman*, an ecclesiastic, one versed in church controversies, 47, 18: 211, 32: 220, 18
- churlish*, obstinate, 166, 30
- churm*, probably A.S. *cyrm* (see *notes*), but not understood by Bacon's translator, who renders it by *chorus*, 170, 8
- cincture*, compass, enclosure, 121, 21
- clerks*, clergymen, persons claiming the privilege of clergy, 120, 27
- close*, secret, concealed, 24, 32
- cockatrice*, an imaginary animal supposed to have been hatched by a cock from the eggs of a viper. Ancient belief attributed to it the power of killing by a glance of the eye, 178, 11
- coffer up (to)*, to hoard or store in coffers, 51, 33
- cognisances*, badges, marks of livery, as retainers, 192, 18

- colourable*, of a fair outside, satisfactory appearance, but intended to conceal, 191, 23, 27
- comfort* (Lat. *confortare*), to give material strength and support, 44, 20 : 127, 18 : 169, 16
- commiserable*, intensely miserable, 179, 2
- commission*, an appointment of judges, 39, 6
- concomodity*, advantage, utility, convenience, 36, 27 : 94, 10 : 120, 1
- commonplace*, a hackneyed topic, an ordinary remark, 211, 28
- communicate*, to share with others, to let others have a share, 103, 1
- companionable*, companionable, friendly, social, 217, 4
- compense (to)*, to compensate, to balance, 189, 33
- complices*, accomplices, 109, 14 : 126, 2 : 209, 14
- conceit (to)*, to fancy, to imagine, 150, 14 : 171, 19
- conclave*, an assembly, most frequently of the pope and his councillors, 183, 31
- conclude (to)*, to include, 133, 32
- concurrents*, contemporaries, those living at the same time, 220, 6
- conditional (n.)*, the use of conditional language, or the language of supposition, 123, 25, 26
- conditions*, arrangements, employments; rank, quality (in a contract of marriage), 138, 13 : 199, 11
- confident to* = trusted by, on whom dependence can be placed, 137, 14
- consort*, communion, unity, agreement, fellowship, 97, 26 : 220, 11
- contained*, held back, restrained, 190, 13
- control (to)*, to check, refute, disprove, 107, 23
- convent*, to summon or call before a court, 191, 7, 33
- convert (adj.)*, converted, 106, 12
- cordwainer* (Fr. *cordonnier*), a worker in leather of Cordova, a shoemaker, 177, 15
- corners*, squadrons, troops (Lat. *cornu*), 152, 30
- correspondence*, an arrangement for intercommunication, a means of communicating, 31, 24 : 113, 21
- corroborate (to)*, to give material strength, 202, 17
- cosmography*, the description of the world, geographical knowledge, 171, 16
- courtesy*, sufferance, *at his courtesy* = at his will and pleasure, 112, 26
- court-fames*, rumours of the palace, 116, 29
- credence (to give)*, to cause to be believed in, 216, 29
- dangerous*, to be feared, exposing to danger, 122, 33
- dark*, underhand, secret, 220, 19
- debonair*, agreeable, kindly, courteous, 143, 33
- declared*, revealed, of a man whose sentiments are disclosed, 217, 13
- defacement*, obliteration, forgetfulness of kindness, 55, 12
- defrayed*, of persons whose expenses are paid, 157, 3
- demesnes*, lands held by the owner for his own use, 70, 30
- denier*, Lat. *denarius*, a Roman coin of about 10d. in value, but used to signify any small coin, 67, 10 : 183, 22
- deny*, to refuse, 160, 7 : 180, 10
- depend upon (to)*, to be subject unto, or at the bidding of, 79, 7
- determine*, to come to an end, 102, 26
- difficile*, difficult, unmanageable, 183, 20
- dilemma*, a position in argument, where your opponent is involved

- in a difficulty whichever way he may reply, 93, 9
- diriges*, funeral hymns, 5, 14
- disagreement*, refusal, objection, 78, 5
- discharge (to)*, to relieve from blame, to acquit, 214, 3
- discompose (to)*, to interfere with, to remove from a position, 217, 33
- discountenancer*, a depressor, one who strives to keep others down, 112, 20
- discover (to)*, to unfold, disclose, explain, 104, 24
- discovery*, enquiry, espionage, 35, 11
- disguises*, masks, court entertainments of a dramatical kind, 219, 12
- disinherison*, the disinheriting, 8, 19: 15, 17
- disinterest (to)*, to relieve from obligation, 55, 20
- dismes* (Fr. *disme*), tithes, tenth parts, a term employed in taxation, 142, 27: 143, 5
- dismiss himself (to)*, to resign voluntarily, 200, 31
- dispeopling*, the emptying a country of people, 82, 22
- distaste*, a dislike, dissatisfaction, 125, 7
- distasted with*, out of love with, disliking, 163, 21
- distemper (to)*, to spoil the character of, to lead wrong, 81, 26
- dormant*, slumbering, ready to be waked up, 171, 6
- doubt (to)* = to fear, 130, 11
- doubts*, fears, 55, 10
- drape (to)*, to manufacture cloth, 74, 1
- drapery*, the manufacturing of cloth, 73, 27
- drily*, meanly, scurvily, 181, 11
- dry*, profitless, unproductive, 104, 7
- ducats*, coins originally issued by the Italian *dukes*. They were generally of gold, 102, 19
- edify (to)*, in the phrase *to edify with* = to produce an effect upon, 145, 1
- embar (to)*, to put a stop to, forbid, 119, 27
- engage (to)*, to pledge, pawn or mortgage, 103, 14
- engine*, a plot or stratagem, 38, 19
- entertain*, to cherish, gratify, please, 181, 32
- entertainment (a countenance of)*, manners of society, a company face, 204, 5
- entire (n.)*, entirety, 143, 26
- entire*, trustworthy, faithful, 220, 8
- escuage*, a tax or feudal duty paid in lieu of military service, 148, 32
- espials*, spies, 105, 12: 106, 32: 116, 14, 17
- evading*, escaping, getting clear of, 219, 23
- evangile*, good news, a pledge of peace, end of all litigation, 134, 22
- exasperate*, embittered, exasperated, 77, 3
- exhibition*, maintenance, support, as the term is now used in schools and colleges, 200, 21
- expect (to)*, to wait for, 64, 1: 108, 24: 138, 18
- expedite* (adj.), prepared for the march (of troops), 166, 9
- expedited*, issued, sent forth, 200, 29
- extraordinary* (adv.), extraordinarily, 158, 11
- extreme* (adv.), exceedingly, very, 202, 28
- eye (to)*, to have regard unto, 54, 27
- fact*, act, deed, 50, 29: 105, 4
- fancy (to)*, to have a liking for, to think well of, 154, 14

- fast*, secure, well-guarded, 157, 30
fasthanded, grasping, niggardly, 188, 14
fatal, fated, inevitable, 148, 5: 177, 14: 208, 2
favour, good looks, 105, 20: 200, 7
felicity, good fortune, success, 35, 25
females = mothers, those which give birth, 126, 30
fifteenths, a tax of a fifteenth part of all the moveables of any person, 147, 25
firol, exposed to the fire, 166, 29
flies, a word used of King Henry's spies, apparently on account of their restless busy character, 216, 31
float (in), afloat, overflowing, 128, 7
forccs, outbreaks of violence, mob-riots, 62, 21
fordone, laid aside, resigned, given up, 143, 7
forepassed, passed over, allowed to lapse (of the time for making a claim), 70, 6
fore-slowing, acting in a dilatory manner, dawdling, 152, 22
forth (to lie), to be lying carelessly about, 218, 16
fortune (to), to chance, to happen by accident, 172, 26
funerals, used, in the plural, of one funeral, 190, 1
- gaol (to)*, to imprison, to put in gaol, 196, 27
gate-vein, the principal vein or artery which conveys most blood, used here metaphorically of the course of trade, 146, 4
gaze (at a), wonder-struck, 126, 5
glosses, explanations, interpretations, 214, 14
goal, an object aimed at, or desired, 199, 16
- gossip*, godfather, 106, 1
grace (to fall into), to become a favourite, 68, 17
greuce (Lat. *gradus*, Romance, *grès*), stairs or steps, 162, 17
great, a silver fourpence, 197, 15
- habilitate*, legally qualified, 15, 31
half-couraged, faint-hearted, 155, 13
half-face, partial resemblance, 191, 6
half-pace, the uppermost step between the chancel and the choir of a church, 98, 3
hand, signature to a bond, 102, 24
hand (to bear in), to make believe, 95, 4
hardly, sparingly, thriftily, 148, 11
harebrain, foolish, mad, perhaps in allusion to the proverb "as mad as a March-hare," 204, 9
harness, armour, coats of mail, 149, 3
head (to run upon a), to gather confusedly together, 130, 9
headship, patronage, favouring, 62, 27
hold, prison, confinement, 120, 21
homager, vassal, feudal subject, 44, 18: 81, 24
husband, a man of economy, 59, 5
husbandry, economy, thrift, 91, 5
- idol*, a sham personage or pretender to any character, as opposed to the real person, 24, 25: 113, 24: 169, 5
ill, weak, diseased, 208, 29
impatronise (to), to make oneself patron or master, 84, 27
impoisoner, a poisoner, 6, 8
import (to), to be of interest to (followed by an accusative without a preposition), 55, 33
importune, accepting no refusal, incessant, 138, 33

- impound (to)*, to shut up, enclose, confine, 154, 5
- impropriate (to)*, to appropriate, gain for one's own, 17, 9: 216, 10
- impuissance*, want of power, weakness, 92, 15
- incense*, honorary offerings, signs of joy, 188, 29
- inchoation*, first efforts, commencement, 62, 22: 92, 6
- incompetent*, unfounded, without grounds, unsatisfactory, 31, 1: unable to sue in a court of justice, as persons not yet of full age and others, 70, 8
- indifferent*, applying to all alike, impartial, 63, 15
- indifferently*, impartially, fairly, 187, 15
- indubitate*, undoubted, certain, true, 8, 19
- unexpected*, unexpected, 213, 24
- infausting*, an omen of ill-luck, 179, 22
- ingenerate*, inborn, natural, 6, 17
- inheritress*, heiress, 11, 33
- inlawed*, under the protection of the law, opposite to outlawed, 16, 1
- inn (to)*, to gather in, as of a harvest, 65, 6
- innocents*, idiots, fools, 207, 19
- intelligences*, informations, 115, 18
- intend (to)*, to attend to, 70, 18: 157, 7: 209, 3
- interested*, connected with, concerned with, 194, 12
- interreign*, an interregnum, 9, 10
- invasive*, partaking of the nature of an invasion, 44, 14
- investing*, taking possession of, occupying, 173, 2
- inviolate*, successful, unimpaired, unailing, 212, 25
- inward*, intimate, confidential, 126, 1
- inwardness*, confidential communication, 43, 27
- itinerary*, partaking of the character of a progress or legal visitation, 39, 3
- joustings*, tournaments, tilts, combats by appointment, 98, 32
- jubile*, a time of festivity or rejoicing, 183, 2
- kindle (to)*, to provoke, to enrage, 173, 22
- king-at-arms*, the herald, who regulates (among other duties) the nature and granting of all armorial bearings, 99, 3
- kings*, used to signify a king and queen, 13, 33: 98, 11: 101, 24
- knights-bachelors*, a lower order of knighthood than knights-ban-nerets, 121, 10
- knot*, confederacy, united band, 113, 29
- knowledge (to take)*, to admit, to let anything be known, 110, 30
- labour (to)*, to urge strongly, to press hard, 110, 24
- laics*, laymen, 120, 27
- land (to take)* = to land, after a sea-voyage, 101, 2
- land-louper*, a wandering vagabond, man of unsettled life, 105, 25
- lay down (to)*, to put aside, give up, 162, 28
- laying down*, the giving up or laying aside, 149, 5
- leave (to)*, to cease, 81, 22
- legiances* (more usually spelt *allegiances*), lawful services, 142, 7
- let (to)*, to hinder or prevent, 119, 12
- to fail, cease, leave off, 159, 15
- levy (to)*, used of a siege, to raise it and depart, 77, 2
- lie (to)*, to be imprisoned, 209, 9

- lieger* (often written *leiger* or *leidger*), a messenger or ambassador, 199, 32: 216, 14
- like* (*to have*), to be nearly doing, to be in danger of doing a thing, 155, 3
- likely*, imminent, 142, 30
- litigious*, involving legal disputes, 84, 28
- liver* (n.), one who lives, 4, 1
- livery*, the distinctive dress of retainers, 191, 20
- long of*, owing to, 220, 14
- make* (*to*) *somewhat for*, to contribute to, to help on, 105, 31
- malice* (used of a disease), malignity, 12, 23
- mannerhood*, character for manliness, 71, 26
- manured*, manœuvred, worked, 70, 26
- marches*, border lands, as *the English marches*, 76, 6: signifying those parts round Calais which joined close to the French territory.
- master-reach*, superior penetration, 217, 29
- matronal*, matronly, womanly, 199, 14
- mattacina* (Ital.), a pantomime, or farce, 38, 7
- mean*, of middle rank, 201, 15
- means*, reason: by means of = by reason of, 114, 31
- merchand* (*to*), to traffic, to bargain for, 91, 30
- mercurial* (n.), a subtle, cunning fellow, 104, 19
- minatory*, of a threatening character, 73, 6
- minished*, diminished, 196, 19
- mint*, the coinage of money, regulations of the coinage, 213, 3
- missives*, letters of order, despatches, 36, 15
- mort-pays*, wages received for soldiers or sailors who are dead, 93, 22
- much*, in the sense of *very* qualifying an adjective, 29, 5
- murrey*, a dark red colour, 112, 2
- natural*, naturalized, a settled denizen, 201, 11
- nearness*, niggardliness, parsimony, 193, 12
- neck* (*in the*) = following close upon. *Cf.* at the heels, 101, 23
- nocent*, guilty, 194, 13
- noises*, rumours, reports, 150, 13
- notorious*, conspicuous, for all to see, 28, 5
- obnoxious*, indebted to, like Lat. *obnoxius*, 43, 6
- occasions*, circumstances, purposes, exigencies, 202, 30
- occurents*, occurrences, 68, 27: 181, 29
- of* = in, 64, 13: 159, 11
- offertory*, an offering up, 11, 23
- officious*, helpful, of good service, 116, 23
- often* (adj.), frequent, 161, 4: 176, 31
- old*, computed at an ancient valuation; so *old rent* = rents which had not been raised from the old standard, and which might therefore be largely advanced, 123, 7
- opinion*, popular repute, common fame, 104, 6
- opprobriated*, pledged, given in pledge, 91, 31
- orator*, ambassador, 162, 9
- ordnance*, great guns, chief artillery, 21, 6
- out* (*to be*), not to know one's part, to be at fault, 104, 21
- over-liver*, the longer liver of the two, 175, 5
- overmerit*, desert so great that no reward can repay it, 122, 29
- over-rule* (*to*), to set aside, 124, 8

- overseen*, deceived, mistaken, looking beyond the mark, 163, 17
- over-trading*, bringing in too many imports, without taking away a corresponding quantity of exports, 58, 32
- over-weighed*, out-weighed, counterbalanced, 122, 27
- oyer and terminer*, the French title of courts of assize, having power to *hear* and *decide*, 178, 5
- pact*, agreement, compact, 7, 19: 27, 30: 144, 23
- pain*, penalty, fine, punishment, 191, 30
- pale*, a term used for the parts round Calais, where English rule prevailed, 75, 32. The word is also used of those parts of Ireland where the law of England was recognized
- parricides*, used to signify any murderers, 6, 13
- partakers*, partizans, confederates 38, 30: 76, 16: 109, 14: 120, 9: 151, 7
- particular*, a detailed description, 200, 6
- particulars*, some particular persons, 131, 5
- party*, plaintiff in a legal cause, 213, 6
- passable*, tolerable, endurable, 40, 30
- passages*, circumstances which have occurred or come to *pass*, 107, 15
- passing* (adv.), exceedingly, 181, 8
- pedantical*, savouring of the schoolmaster, 187, 29
- peregrination*, wandering to and fro, 107, 27
- perforce*, by force, 168, 21
- person*, character, 23, 14
- perspective*, inquisition, examination, looking into, 25, 31
- pestiferous*, pestiferous, pernicious, 196, 29
- phthisie*, phthisis, consumption, 209, 2
- piece*, a part to play, 207, 27
- pieces*, pictures, 4, 7
- pill* (to), to peel, strip bare, 149, 1
- pulling*, peeling, stripping of the hair (*pilum*), or skin (*pellis*), 142, 17, 27
- place* (to take), to prevail, to assert itself, 190, 14
- (to take no) = to be unsuccessful, 68, 3
- plausible*, used in a good sense, as *excellent*, *praiseworthy*, 7, 30
- plays*, dramas in real life, 178, 13
- plume* (to), to pluck off the feathers, to strip bare, 103, 16
- points*, ribbons or laces wherewith to tie parts of the dress, 195, 33
- poll* (to), lit. to cut the hair, and hence, to shear down in any way, 148, 33
- pontifical*, priestly or papal, 220, 26
- popular*, vulgar, belonging to the common people, 90, 10: paying court to the mob, hunting after popularity, 150, 1
- port*, carriage, behaviour, expenditure, 93, 17
- pose*, sometimes spelt *appose*, to question, to examine, to puzzle, 111, 5
- postilled*, labelled, docketed, annotated, 193, 3
- posts*, messengers, post-haste, 203, 4
- precedent*, previous, going before, 7, 19
- precept*, a legal order or injunction, 191, 7
- prejudge* (to), to have a prejudice against, 8, 17: 21, 30
- premier seisin*, a feudal tax for the first entry on an inheritance, if the heir-at-law were of full age, 191, 16
- prest*, a loan (see notes), 18, 28
- pretorian*, like the power of the

- prætor at Rome, according to the rule of equity, 62, 8, 16
prevent, to anticipate, 166, 17
principal (n.), chief persons, 52, 25
privado, a private and confidential retainer, 108, 22
privateness, confidential communication, 216, 2
procedures, the money produced by any sale, 64, 32
progress, a royal journey or tour through the land, 11, 7: 39, 2, 4: 128, 23: 130, 31
property, peculiarity of character, 77, 20
providence, foresight, 69, 28
puissance, might, power, 158, 14
puissant, mighty, powerful, 151, 13
punctos, nice observances, precise ceremonial, 97, 5
purchase, gain, emolument, 81, 28
put by (to), to deprive of, or exclude from, 201, 7
put on, instigated, prompted, 39, 17
quail (to), to depress, cast down, 126, 1
quarrel (to)=to quarrel with, or complain against, 173, 14
questmongers, paid spies, 192, 10
quiet (to), to set at rest, 70, 19
quire, chorus, companionship, 97, 27
quit (to), to pay for, repay, 135, 2
rake-hell, a reckless, heedless, prodigal person, perhaps a corruption of the Fr. *racaille*, 165, 27
rampiers, ramparts, banks of earth raised for protection, 165, 21
range (to), to regulate, bring to order, 55, 26
rascal (adj.), rabble, 130, 20
reach, intention, object in view, 119, 33
ready, in apt condition for: ready for assault=in proper state to be assaulted, 102, 12
recoil, a place of ambush or lying-in-wait, 154, 20
reception, recovery, re-taking, 46, 1
reciprocal (n.), something given in return, a *quid pro quo*, 205, 23
reclaim (to), to tame, or make manageable, 14, 29
recover (to), to gain, to win (with no sense of previous loss), 155, 2
reintegrate, restored, renewed, 42, 9
refrain (to), (v. act.), to keep in check, or put a rein on, 31, 16: 190, 13
regality, royal prerogative, 87, 5
regiment, rule, government, 5, 2
religious, bound by religious vows, 5, 18
reluctation, struggling against, opposition, 188, 18
remembrance, a memorandum, 193, 4
renvoy (to), to send back again, 79, 3
re-purchase (to), to recover, win back again, 42, 18
resiance, residence, place of abode, (called a mansion, 147, 7), 119, 25: 188, 4
respect=reason, in the phrase, in respect of=by reason of, because of, 127, 14
respective, respectful, shewing regard, 217, 4
respects, objects of regard or consideration, 190, 25
retainer, an adherent, one who forms part of a retinue, 64, 22
ret're (n.), the withdrawal (used of an army), 61, 21
retract (n.), a retreat, opportunity of withdrawal, 36, 4
retribution, recompense, reward, 69, 19
rid (of land), worked, cultivated, attended to, 70, 28
robe, used to indicate those who

- wear the long robes common to academic pursuits, hence applied to lawyers and clerics, 127, 5
- rode* (more usually now spelt *raid*), an inroad, invasion, 145, 5
- round*, open, straightforward, without ceremony, 67, 26
- roundly*, openly, without circumlocution, 50, 8: 51, 27; 59, 27: 174, 13: 208, 8
- roul*, a gathering of the rabble, 64, 23: 153, 19
- rout (to)*, to assemble in a rabble, 66, 7
- ruffle (to)*, to contest, raise a disturbance, 191, 31
- runagate*, a fugitive and vagabond, 145, 29
- sad* (p. part. of the verb *set*), solemn, staid, 179, 26: 218, 8
- sadly*, solemnly, persistently, immoveably, 122, 13
- scaladoes*, attempts at scaling walls, 165, 22
- schoolman*, one skilled in scholastic theology, 185, 20
- seen in (to be)*, to be skilled in, or well acquainted with, 171, 15
- seignior*, lordship, feudal superiority, 78, 29: 79, 6
- set forth* (of money), invested, 189, 17
- several* (adj.), separate, 209, 20
- severalty (in)*, separately, (here) for separate use, 187, 18
- shore (to)*, to prop, support, 134, 13
- shut*, confined, kept close, 126, 26
- shut up (to)*, to bring to an end, conclude, 187, 8
- silenced*, not talked of, 202, 3
- size (to)*, to bring to one size, to regulate the size of, 93, 32
- skains*, short knives or daggers, used by Irishmen and Highlanders, 37, 15
- skill (to)*, to signify, to be of consequence; it skills not = it matters not, 100, 31
- skill (to)*, to know how to do, to understand, 196, 1
- spials* = espials, spies, informers, 216, 22, 27
- squibs*, showy projects, flashy, boastful designs, 195, 3
- staddles*, close growths of young trees left uncut, 72, 12
- standard*, the fixed gauge of weights and measures, 93, 30
- state (to)*, to treat with ceremony of state, 77, 19
- state (to keep)*, to wear a stately or courtly manner, 11, 19: 107, 8: 146, 5: 215, 17
- stay* (n.), temperance, steadiness, self-control, 17, 5
- stellionate*, unlawfully depriving a merchant of his money, wares or bargain; fraudulent merchandising, 62, 22
- stick (to)*, to hesitate, to have scruples at, 103, 15
- still*, constantly, 96, 6
- stoop (to)*, (of a hawk), to descend upon its prey, 206, 12
- stout* = stout-hearted, courageous, 164, 26: 178, 15
- stout* (adv.), courageously, spiritedly, 55, 27
- strangeness*, an affectation of distance, and superiority, 215, 23
- suddenly*, used in the simple sense of soon, quickly, 144, 28
- sufficiency*, capability, mental power, judgment, 185, 16
- sugared* (of language), made palatable, sweet, acceptable, 84, 14
- summarily*, in a brief short form, 74, 12
- surcharge (to)*, to impute to another what does not belong to him, 177, 10
- sure* (interj.), surely, 192, 23
- sure (to work)*, to leave no chance for slips or failures, 123, 11
- surmise (to)*, to deem, judge, suggest, 138, 29

- take (to)*, to make progress, to advance, 208, 32: to succeed, to prosper, 61, 27
- take on*, to continue, used of a journey, 87, 32
- tall*, courageous, spirited, 157, 26
- tallages*, tolls, taxes, 142, 28: 143, 5: 201, 22
- temper*, degree, influence, amount, 189, 32: temperature, 13, 5
- tenancies*, tenancies, occupations of land, 70, 28
- texture*, anything woven, 195, 32
- therefore*, on that account, Lat. *propterea*, 57, 30: 133, 7
- thread (by the)* = one at a time, like beads on a string, 126, 10
- toil*, mesh, net, entanglement, 153, 2
- tokens*, symbols of clanship, or retainership, badges, 58, 7
- tourney*, tournament, jousting, tilting, 98, 32
- towards* = coming towards, in a threatening wise, 95, 17
- toys*, amusements, sports, games, 187, 28
- tract (of time)*, length, duration, protraction, 194, 33
- trains*, underhand schemes, plots, 6, 21
- translating*, transferring, removing, 119, 26
- traverse (to)*, to offer objection to, to plead against, 191, 18
- triplicity*, an union of three, a triple band, 151, 8
- trouv (to)*, to think, believe, 117, 23
- tutelage*, the right of a guardian over his ward, 78, 29
- under-propping*, supporting from beneath, 134, 13
- under-set*, supported, strengthened, 146, 7
- unrip (to)*, to undo, tear to pieces, 160, 13
- unworthy*, unsuitable for, improper, 6, 2
- upon*, on account of, e.g. to act upon discontent, 112, 12, 13: 127, 16
- upon* = against, 215, 25
- ure (n.)*, use, 181, 17
- use (to)* = to be wont, 130, 8
- utter (to)*, to express, give utterance to, 174, 13
- vantage* = advantage. 51, 30: 152, 12
- varlets*, hired menial servants, 176, 24
- vent (n.)*, outlet, means of bestowal or disposing of, 146, 10
- vent (to)*, to go forth, 26, 27: also, to send forth, disperse, 90, 30
- voice*, to noise abroad, 25, 20
- voiding (n.)*, removal, banishment, 93, 29
- voluntaries*, volunteers, 76, 23
- vulgar*, commonplace, relating to the populace, 132, 28
- weed*, garments, clothing, 170, 14
- well-appointed*, well-furnished or equipped, 136, 15
- well-favoured*, good-looking, handsome, 23, 4
- whet (p. part.)*, whetted, incited, 128, 1
- while*, the while (as an adv.) = meanwhile, 107, 6
- withdrawing-chamber*, now called drawing-room, a retiring chamber, 24, 15
- woad*, a plant which is used for dyeing blue, 72, 30
- wonderful (adv.)*, wonderfully, 198, 18
- wrench*, a means of compulsion, motive power, 84, 32



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