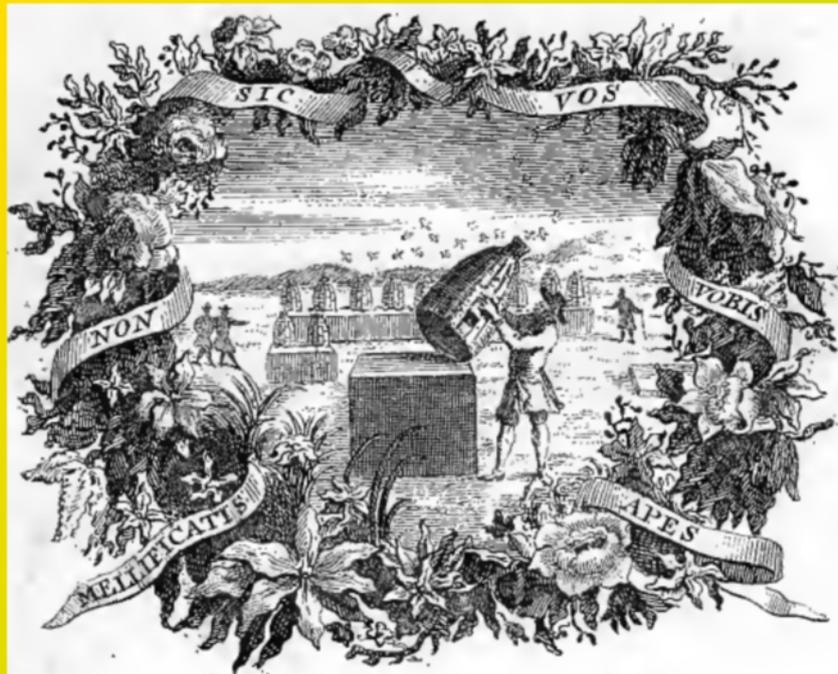


Rapin's History of England



Book 14

The Reigns of Henry VII; with the State of the
Church, from the beginning of the
Reign of Henry IV. 1399, to the end of the Reign of
Henry VII. 1509.

**The History
of
England
Written in French
By
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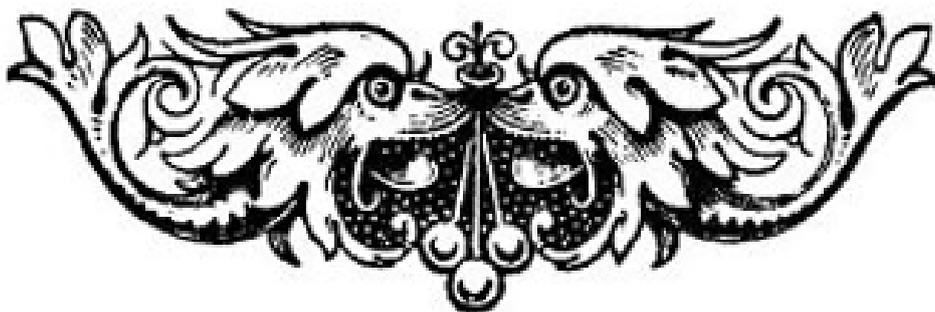
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Book Fourteen

Henry VII



Perkin Warbeck was a pretender to the English throne. By claiming to be Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York.





Henry The VII
Born 1447 — Died 1509



BOOK XIV
THE REIGN OF HENRY VII; WITH THE STATE
OF THE CHURCH, FROM THE BEGINNING OF
THE REIGN OF HENRY IV. 1399 TO THE END
OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VII. 1509.

Chapter I
HENRY VII
A. D. 1485



THE battle of Bosworth being ended, as was said, by the flight of the royal army, and death of King Richard, Henry caused *Te Deum* to be sung upon the place, all the troops falling on their knees to return God thanks for his victory. Presently after, the whole army, as it were by inspiration, made the air resound with the cry of, long live King Henry! This was a sort of military election, which might have served him for foundation to pretend to the crown, though he had no other title.

He had, however, three titles, or foundations, whereon he could ground his right. The first was, his descent from the house of Lancaster, by Margaret his mother, daughter of the Duke of Somerset. The house of Lancaster had been possessed of the crown above sixty years, and this possession had been confirmed by many acts of Parliament. But on the other hand, several Parliaments had afterwards condemned this possession as a continual usurpation, and adjudged the crown to the house of York, as descending from Lionel, third son of Edward III.

This question, considered originally, and independently of the circumstances which moved the Parliaments to come to such opposite determinations, could not have been decided in favour of the house of Lancaster, if the laws and customs of the realm had been followed. But if, setting aside the usual practice, it should be considered with respect to the acts of Parliament, it could not be doubtful, since the Pro and Con were equally supported by the same authority. It might also be objected to Henry, that indeed sundry Parliaments had decided the point in favour of the house of Lancaster, but it did not follow that the house of Somerset could receive any advantage from that decision.

The Somersets were indeed descended from the house of Lancaster, but by a bastard branch, which could pretend to the crown only by virtue of their legitimation. Now it was a question yet undecided, whether the Act of Legitimation, and Richard the Second's subsequent letters patent, gave to that branch, derived from a bastard born in adultery, the right to succeed to the crown, though mentioned neither in the Act of Parliament, nor in King Richard's letters. Besides, even upon supposition of this right, another query still arose, namely, whether the posterity of this

legitimated bastard, were to have the preference of the descendents of the daughters born in wedlock, of whom there were several in Castile, Portugal, and Germany.

To leave these points to the examination of the Parliament, seemed therefore too dangerous for Henry. On the other hand, he was not ignorant, that in the decision of the differences between the houses of Lancaster and York, the Parliaments had not so much regarded the arguments of either party, as the circumstances of time and things. He could never have a more favourable juncture than the present, since he had just delivered England from a tyrant universally hated. Henry IV. his predecessor, had not done more for the English, when for reward, the crown was adjudged to him, in prejudice of the house of Marche.

Henry's second title was, his intended marriage with Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward IV. which he had sworn. But here, no less difficulty occurred. If he relied upon this title, he was to resolve either to reign only in right of his wife, or to confound together the titles of both houses. In the former case, he would have relinquished his own, to leave to the house of York a title which had all along been contested, and have owned that house's right, for the sole foundation of his mounting the throne. Besides, he considered, that in case Elizabeth happened to die without issue, all her rights would of course devolve to her next sister, and he thereby be excluded from the throne upon the death of his Queen[1]: that supposing he could get the Parliament to adjudge him the crown during life, he should only have a personal right, which would not descend to his children by a second wife.

Henry's third title was, that of the sword, or conquest, which his late victory seemed to give him. But he considered this victory was entirely owing to the assistance of the people of England, and therefore gave him at most but a right of conquest over the vanquished party. Besides, as he could. support himself only by the same assistance, he had reason to fear, that in resting upon this pretended title, he should lose his best friends, since such a proceeding might be construed as a settled design to rule with arbitrary power. He knew William the Conqueror had wisely avoided that rock, by rejecting the title of the sword, till he saw himself firmly established on the throne.

After weighing the reasons on both sides, as far as the time would permit, he resolved at last to rest upon the title of the house of Lancaster. So, taking for granted, that the army in saluting him King, had. only given him his due, he determined to assert the Lancastrian claim, without any mixture of that of York, and without submitting it even to the examination of the Parliament[2].

To that end, he resolved to be crowned before he summoned the Parliament, and to defer his marriage till he had obtained an act to adjudge him the crown as his own by inheritance. He determined therefore to assume the title of King, and to issue out orders as such, supposing that the crown had fallen to him of full right, though Margaret his mother was still alive, and ought to precede him.

The house of York was a perpetual terror to him. He knew that they who had called him into England were not enemies to that house, but only to the person of Richard III. So the rights of the two houses remaining still doubtful, as having been decided only by the the sword, he was sensible that his could be maintained but by the same way, or by wise precautions, to prevent all future decisions of that kind.

Upon these considerations it was, that the next day after the battle he sent a detachment of horse under the command of Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire, to take from thence the Earl of Warwick, and conduct him to the Tower of London. This young Prince was son and heir to George Duke of Clarence, who was drowned in a butt of Malmsey. After the death of the Duke his father, Edward IV his uncle caused him to be carefully educated, and created him Earl of Warwick; a title enjoyed by his mother's father. He was unwilling to make him Duke of Clarence, lest that title should preserve the memory of an unhappy brother,

whom he had sacrificed to his jealousy. When Richard was on the throne, he ordered this young Prince his nephew to be confined in the castle above named, knowing how likely he was one day to disturb him in the possession of the crown. After the usurper's death, the Earl of Warwick seemed to have room to expect some favour from his successor; but it proved the contrary. So far was Henry from releasing, that he made him close prisoner in the tower, a rigour proceeding only from his jealousy and inward conviction that his title was not so undoubted as he affected to believe.

The Princess Elizabeth, whom Henry was to marry, was kept in the same castle by the late King's order, who did not think fit to leave her at liberty to choose a husband, intending to marry her himself. Henry resolving to repair to London with all possible intelligence, thought it not proper to leave the Princess at so great a distance, lest she should be told that she had no need to mix her rights with those of others. Wherefore she was desired to come and remain with the Queen her mother at London. His design was to make it believed, he intended to espouse her very soon, though he was determined to defer his marriage till after the session of the Parliament.

A few days after, Henry set forward, by easy journeys to London, taking care to avoid all appearance of using the right of conquest. He was received in all places with loud acclamations, the people considering him as their deliverer, and as going by his marriage, to put an end to all the calamities occasioned by the civil wars. He made his entry into London with great state[3].

However, the people had not the satisfaction to see him as he passed through the city, because he was carried in a close chariot till he came to St. Paul's.

Henry caused Richard's standards taken at Bosworth[4], to be brought into St. Paul's church, that the people of London, it was supposed, might not forget that he had just gained a battle, and was entering the city as a conqueror.

Next day Henry assembled a council[5] of all the persons of distinction in the court and city, before whom he solemnly renewed his oath to marry the Princess Elizabeth. This declaration was absolutely necessary at the present juncture, because of a rumour that he was contracted to Ann, eldest daughter of the Duke of Bretagne, and had not acted with sincerity when he promised to marry the eldest daughter of Edward IV.

About the middle of September, the city of London was afflicted with a disease till then unknown, which threw the patients into a prodigious sweat, and carried them off in four and twenty hours. Those that died not within that space were almost sure of recovering.

Happily, it lasted but till the end of October; however it swept away multitudes of people before proper remedies were found[6]. The method of cure was to keep the patient neither too hot nor too cold, with temperate cordials, which, without too much increasing the heat, helped nature to expel the humours that caused these extraordinary sweatings.

About this time the new King made the Earl of Oxford Constable of the Tower, who had always been attached to the house of Lancaster, and after his escape out of the castle of Hammes, joined him at Paris, and had since done him signal services, particularly at the battle of Bosworth.

Some time after, the King issued a proclamation notifying that he had concluded a truce for one year with the King of France, from the last day of September. It was no small advantage to show the people, that Charles VIII. acknowledged him for King, even before he was declared so by the Parliament.

The coronation day approaching, it was necessary to settle the places and claims of those who were to officiate at this ceremony. For that purpose, it was requisite to create a Lord high-steward. But as this office for some time had been enjoyed only by Princes of the blood, and there were

none then in the kingdom; the King, not to raise jealousies among the great men, caused it to be executed by commissioners.

Meanwhile, he would no longer delay to show his gratitude to three Lords who had faithfully and effectually served him in his greatest distresses. These were Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, his father's brother, Thomas Lord Stanley his father-in-law, and Sir Edward Courtney. The first had been a father to him in his youth, and delivered him from the snares of Edward IV, when he was concealed in Wales. After that, he was his constant companion in Bretagne, and had helped him to overcome all the difficulties which occurred in his undertakings.

In return for his services Henry gave him the title of Duke of Bedford, vacant ever since the death of the famous Duke of Bedford, brother of Henry V. The Lord Stanley, who had been very serviceable to the King at the battle of Bosworth, was created Earl of Derby. Sir Edward Courtney, who had ventured to engage in his party, and favour, in the western counties, the Duke of Buckingham's plot, was honoured with the title of Earl of Devonshire[7]. Henry thought not proper to dispense his favours to others, being willing, according to the custom of his predecessors; to reserve his creations till the sitting of the Parliament.

The coronation had been fixed to the 30th of October, and the Parliament was not to meet till the 7th of November. Hence it is evident, that Henry did not mean to bring his title into question, or leave to the Parliament's care any more than to confirm his coronation, without suffering the foundations to be examined.

The examples of Edward IV and Richard III. had taught him, that the best way to gain the Parliament's approbation, was to take possession. The ceremony of the coronation was performed by cardinal Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury, who supposing Henry's right to be indisputable, thought it not proper to enquire into the validity of his title[8]. The same day Henry instituted a guard of fifty archers[9] to attend him and his successors for ever, covering with a pretence of grandeur and majesty, a precaution which he believed apparently necessary in the present juncture. The Parliament met eight days after the coronation.

Henry's ends in calling a Parliament were chiefly four. The first was to be declared King de Jure, as he was already King de Facto, and to secure the crown to his posterity, by an act in form. The second, to reverse the attainders of all his party[10]. The third, to attain those who had expressed a great animosity against him, and most zeal for the late King. The fourth and last, was to show, that though he had by his sole authority placed himself on the throne, to prevent his title from being questioned, he intended to govern the kingdom like his predecessors, by Parliaments, and not to assume a despotic power.

The King finding the Parliament disposed to do whatever he could desire, intimated or dictated himself the words of an act, namely, that the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the King, and the heirs of his body, perpetually so to endure, and in none other. These ambiguous words left it undecided, whether he had a prior right, which was doubtful, or was only King in fact, which could not be denied.

As for the limitation of the entail, he was content it should go no further than to himself and to the heirs of his body, leaving the rest to be decided by the law, in case his line came to fail. Thus by not mentioning the house of York, the act left it undetermined whether that house was entirely excluded, or might inherit after the heirs of the new King.

This act was afterwards confirmed by the Pope's bull. But Henry took care to have all his titles inserted in the bull, namely his descent from the house of Lancaster, his marriage with Edward IV's eldest daughter, his victory at Bosworth, and the act of Parliament: to which might be added also the papal bull of confirmation. The act of settlement and succession being passed, it was moved for another to reverse the attainders of the King's friends, whilst only Earl of Richmond

But several of these attainted persons were actually members of the House of Commons, elected by the favour they had found with the people since the revolution.

There were likewise some in the House of Lords. It was therefore represented to be incongruous, that these persons should give their votes in an affair which particularly concerned them, and be judges in their own cause. The King was troubled that the acts passed in the late reign should be deemed valid, and his friends want to be purged of the crime of espousing his quarrel. He concealed however his concern, and only insinuated, that he wished the judges to be consulted upon the affair. The judges being met, gave it as their opinion, that the members attainted by course of law, should absent themselves till their attainders were reversed.

Whilst they were debating upon this question, another was started with respect to the King himself, who was of the number of the attainted, having been declared traitor and rebel by an act of Parliament. In this puzzling case, the judges unanimously resolved, that the crown takes away all defects and stops in blood: and that from the time the King assumed the crown, the fountain was cleared, and all attainders and corruption of blood discharged.

This affair being ended, the Parliament passed an act of attainder against the late King, by the name of the Duke of Gloucester, and against his principal adherents. Of this number were the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Surrey, the Lords Lovel, Ferrers, Zouch, Sir Richard Ratcliff, Sir William Catesby, all ministers or favourites of Richard III of whom some were killed at Bosworth field, others executed since the battle. The confiscations of their estates brought him in immense sums, which rendered the demand of a subsidy unnecessary in this first Parliament.

The King next published a royal proclamation, offering pardon to all that had been concerned in any plot against him before he came to the crown, or borne arms for the late King, provided they submitted themselves by such a day. His first design was to procure this general pardon to be passed in Parliament, but recollecting it was an act of grace, he chose rather that it should wholly flow from himself. Many who were apprehensive of being prosecuted, readily came and took the oath of allegiance, in order to enjoy the benefit of the pardon. But others chose to remain in sanctuary, till the character of the new King was more known. The Lord Lovel, one of Richard III's favourites, took this last course.

Before the Parliament broke up, Henry was pleased to reward some of the companions of his exile, by creating them Peers of the realm. The Lord Chandos of Bretagne was made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles D'Aubeney received the title of Baron of D'Aubeney, and Sir Robert Willoughby that of Lord Brooke. At the same time the King restored Edward Stafford to the dignity of Duke of Buckingham, forfeited by his father's attainder, and to all the possessions belonging to his family, confiscated in the late reign.

The Parliament being dissolved about the end of November, Henry sent into France, Oliver King, Archdeacon of Oxford, with money to repay King Charles what he had lent him, and his charges in fitting out the fleet which brought him to England. Whereupon the Marquis of Dorset and Sir John Bourchier, left as pledges at Paris, had leave to return home. At the same time, Henry gave his envoy power to prolong the truce with France, if he found King Charles's council inclined.

Probably his want of ready money to pay the King of France, put him upon sending to the **city of London to borrow six thousand marks**. His demand met at first with great difficulties. However, he obtained at last two thousand pounds, which he thankfully received, and punctually repaid. He often borrowed money in this manner in the course of his reign, and always paid at the day.

About the end of the year, he called to his privy-council John Morton, Bishop of Ely, lately returned from Flanders, and Richard Fox. He lay under great obligation to Morton, particularly for his intelligence of what was plotting against him in Bretagne, and had a great value for Fox,

knowing him to be a person capable of doing him great service, and of a temper very like his own. In time Morton was made Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Chancellor, Prime Minister, and at last Cardinal.

As for Fox, the King made him first Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, then Bishop of Exeter: after that he translated him to Bath and Wells, from thence to Durham, and lastly to Winchester. These two prelates, with Urswick the King's chaplain, were almost always employed in the most important commissions, embassies, and negotiations.

Henry loved to employ ecclesiastics, because he had always church preferments ready for their reward. But he took care to promote them by degrees from smaller to more considerable sees. Herein he found his own profit; for by translating Bishops from one see to another, he made the more vacancies, and consequently the first-fruits which accrued to the King, were greatly multiplied. Never did Prince more ardently seek occasions to heap up riches. Avarice was his predominant passion, influenced even his meaner actions, and caused him to take many false steps.

The events of this reign have such a connection with those of some other states, that it is absolutely necessary to show in few words the situation of the affairs of divers Princes.

Peter Landais, favourite of the Duke of Bretagne, so entirely governed that Prince, who was now old and infirm, and much impaired in his understanding, that several Lords of Bretagne had made a league against that minister, and intended to seize him; but having missed their aim were exposed to the vengeance of the favourite, who had caused them all to be condemned to die. In the beginning of this year, 1485, Landais, in the name of the Duke his master, levied an army to execute the sentence, and the Lords on their part took arms in their defence.

Whilst Bretagne was thus divided, and the two parties ready to come to a battle, the condemned Lords caused it to be represented to those who served Landais, that in the present affair the interest not of their common master the Duke, but of only his unworthy favourite, was concerned that it was unjust to shed the blood of their countrymen in the quarrel of a man, who had notoriously abused his master's confidence: that therefore, to appease at once the troubles of Bretagne, there was a much more natural and ready way than that of arms; namely, to rid themselves of the minister, after which, not a man would refuse to render due obedience to the Duke.

So, without giving him time to take other measures, they went in a body to the palace, and seized Landais in the Duke's own apartment, who was forced to deliver him on condition they would spare his life. But that was not their intention. On the contrary, they brought him to a speedy trial, and convicting him of a thousand crimes, made him atone for them on the gallows, before the Duke was informed of the sentence.

How much soever the Duke was troubled at the death of his favourite, he could not help granting the Lords of the two armies letters of pardon. Thus Bretagne would have been restored to her former tranquillity, had not the Duke imprudently concerned himself with the troubles of the court of France, which proved the ruin of himself and dukedom.

Lewis XI. King of France dying in the year 1483, left the government of the person of Charles VIII. his son and successor, to his daughter Ann, wife of Peter de Bourbon, Lord of Beaujeu. Charles was fourteen years old, and consequently of age according to the ordinance of Charles V. But as he had been ill educated[11], and was of an infirm constitution, the King his father thought him incapable of governing.

The moment Lewis XI. was in his grave, Lewis, Duke of Orleans, first Prince of the blood, refused to acknowledge Ann of Beaujeu for the King's governess; affirming, a woman had no

right to meddle with the affairs of the kingdom. The states being assembled at Tours in January 1481, ended the dispute by their authority. They confirmed the late King's will, and ordered, that the Duke of Orleans should be president of the council in the King's absence.

Whilst the states of France were assembled, the Lords of Bretagne made their first attempt upon Landais before mentioned, which proved unsuccessful. The sentence which was given against them, creating a dread of the favourite's revenge, they applied to Ann, Lady of Beaujeu, to obtain the King her brother's protection. On the other hand, Landais seeing his enemies had recourse to the Lady Ann, thought he could not do better than rely upon the assistance of the Duke of Orleans.

To that end, he entreated him to come to the court of Bretagne, putting him in hopes, the Duke would give him in marriage Ann his eldest daughter and presumptive heir. The Duke of Orleans had espoused against his will Joanna daughter of Lewis XI; but had made against this forced marriage a secret protestation, which he meant to use in order to annul it at a more favourable juncture. So, pleased with the hopes Landais had inspired him with, he came to Bretagne, where he was much caressed. But he could make no long stay, being obliged to assist at the King's coronation, which was performed in June this year.

Shortly after, the Duke of Orleans forming a league against the court, and retiring to Boisgency, demanded that the states of France might be assembled. He intended to annul the regulation already made, with respect to the government of the King's person. But Ann of Beaujeu caused the King to march against him with such expedition, that he was forced to accept of such terms as were granted him, because his friends were not yet ready to assist him. By this agreement, the Earl of Dunois and Longueville, who was considered as his chief adviser, was banished to Ast in Piedmont, a town belonging to the Duke of Orleans, with a command not to stir from thence without the king's express license.

The Duke of Orleans being thus compelled to dismiss his troops, caused the greatest part to list in the Duke of Bretagne's army against the condemned Lords. On the other hand, Ann of Beaujeu sent likewise to the Barons part of the King's troops. Landais's death; which happened soon after, was not capable to make the Duke of Orleans desist from his projects. He stood in need of the Duke of Bretagne to support him against the court, and even hoped one day to marry his daughter.

On the other side, the Duke of Bretagne having been greatly persecuted by Lewis XI and knowing, Ann of Beaujeu was of the same character, and followed the same maxims, believed he could not do better than rest upon the assistance of the Duke of Orleans. So, after some private negotiations, these two Princes formed a league together, into which came John de Chalon, Prince of Orange, nephew to the Duke of Bretagne, the Duke of Bourbon, the Earl of Dunois, the Duke of Lorraine, and several other Princes and Lords. Some time after, the Earl of Dunois returned into France without leave, and withdrew to his seat at Partenay in Poictou.

The King was yet ignorant of the Duke of Orleans's designs. But the Earl of Dunois's return convincing him, some plot was contriving in favour of that Prince who was gone to Blois, he sent him a positive order to repair to court. The Duke obeyed upon a second summons; but next day being informed some ill was intended him, feigned to go a hunting, and retired into Bretagne, where he was quickly followed by the Prince of Orange and the Earl of Dunois. This was in the beginning of the year 1486.

Since the death of Maria of Burgundy, Maximilian of Austria her husband had been involved in troubles, on account of the guardianship of Philip her son, become sovereign of the Low-Countries by the death of the Duchess his mother. Brabant, Holland, and Zealand, had willingly received him for guardian; but Flanders and Hainault refused to obey him as such. The obstinacy of the Flemings obliged Maximilian to make peace with Lewis XI. upon these terms: that the Dauphin Charles, son of Lewis, should marry Margaret daughter of Maximilian, as soon as they

were of a certain age: that Margaret should have for dower Artois, Franche Comte, Macon, Auxerre, and be educated at the court of France. Pursuant to this treaty, Lewis kept these provinces, which he had already seized, and took Margaret home, till the marriage could be consummated.

In 1483, Maximilian successfully made war upon the Liegeois. This same year Hainault owned him for guardian of his son Philip.

In 1484 the Flemings still persisting in their refusal to acknowledge Maximilian for guardian, appointed governors for Philip, of whom Adolphus de Cleves, Lord of Ravenstein, was the chief. Their obstinacy occasioned between them and Maximilian a war, in which Charles VIII. concerned himself by assisting Flemings.

This war ended in January 1485, in a treaty, importing, that the Flemings should acknowledge Maximilian for guardian of his son, upon the express condition that he should not remove him from Flanders till of age. The treaty being signed, Maximilian made his entry into Gaunt, where a few days after, was a sedition, but which was happily appeased. During the rest of the year, the Low Countries enjoyed a tranquillity which afforded Maximilian time to take a journey into Germany, to be elected King of the Romans.

Henry IV. surnamed the Impotent, King of Castille, died in 1474, leaving only a daughter called Joanna, who was universally believed to be supposititious. For which reason, Isabella sister to Henry, and Ferdinand Prince of Aragon her husband, took possession of the throne of Castille. They had a fierce war to maintain against Alphonso, King of Portugal, who being affianced to Joanna, supposed daughter of Henry IV. pretended to the crown of that kingdom. This war ended in 1479, to the advantage of Ferdinand and Isabella, who compelled Alphonso to desist from his pretensions.

By the Treaty, upon this occasion, it was agreed, that Alphonso, the King of Portugal's Grandson, should marry Isabella Daughter of Ferdinand, when the parties were of age to consummate the marriage.

John King of Aragon died this year, leaving to his Son Ferdinand the Kingdom of Aragon, with a war to maintain against France, the occasion whereof was this, King John had mortgaged to Lewis XI, Roussillon and Cerdagne, for three hundred thousand crowns. Afterwards, the inhabitants of Perpignan revolted from the French, whose dominion did not please them.

Upon this news, John came to Perpignan, to try to persuade them to remain in subjection to the French till he could redeem Roussillon, by payment of the mortgage, But whilst he was labouring to appease them, Lewis XI caused the place to be besieged, and John himself was shut up. The siege lasted four months, and at last, Ferdinand son of John, coming to his relief, obliged the French to retire.

Shortly after, John being gone from Perpignan, Lewis ordered the place to be reinvested, and after a long siege became master of it. From that time the King of Aragon pretended, the King of France ought to restore Roussillon, without receiving the money lent, either by reason of his expense in protecting his subjects, or because the French had levied large sums upon the mortgaged countries. But the King of France did not think himself obliged to this restitution, without he was paid the three hundred thousand crowns he had lent.

In 1485 Charles VIII sent an ambassador to Ferdinand who refused to receive, without a positive power to resign Roussillon and Cerdagne.

About the latter end of this year was born Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, who was afterwards Queen of England, and will have a great share in this history. Ferdinand and

Isabella had several other children, namely, Isabella affianced to the Prince of Portugal, John born 1477, and Joanna born in 1479.

I shall close this digression with the affairs of Scotland. James III continued to gather his kingdom with oppression and violence, regardless of the affection of his subjects. I have before observed, the Duke of Albany his brother surrendered Dunbar to the English, and after the death of Edward IV retired into France, where he ended his days at a tournament.

From that time the English kept possession of that place, though Richard III promised to restore it. This promise being unperformed when Henry VII ascended the throne of England, James resolved to recover Dunbar by force of arms. For that purpose, about the end of this year, or perhaps the beginning of the next, he besieged the town. The season and the important affairs which Henry had in the beginning of his reign, permitted him not to be prepared for its relief.

Such was the posture of the affairs of the states with whom Henry VIII had any concerns during the course of his reign. It is time now to return to our history.

How great an aversion soever the King might have in his mind to the house of York, he had too solemnly promised to marry the Princess Elizabeth, not to perform his word. Besides, this marriage was necessary to amuse the English, who still flattered themselves, that the Kings intention was to confound his rights with those of the house of York, notwithstanding his precautions to hinder her being mentioned in the Act of Settlement.

The nuptials were solemnised, 18th January, with much greater demonstrations of joy on the People's part, then on the Kings. There was much less satisfaction expressed on the days either of the King's entry or coronation: which was a clear evidence of the people's affection for the house of York, and particularly for the family of Edward IV. But this was not to be thought so very strange. The house of Lancaster, of which there remains no branch, but what was descended from the daughters, had been forgotten during the reign of the kings of the house of York.

Though Henry rested upon his descent from the house of Lancaster, he was known to be grandson of a Welsh gentleman, and his mother to be sprung only from a bastard of that house, whom the credit of his father, and the circumstances of the times had cause to be legitimated.

As for the princes and princesses descended from the lawful daughters of John of Gaunt, as they happened to be in Portugal, Castille, and Aragon, and were unknown in England, it was not surprising there was no great inclination for them. Henry did not like to see the People's joy for his marriage. He perceived, Elizabeth had a greater share in it than himself, and consequently he was still really King only in right of his Queen. This consideration inspired him with such coldness for her, that he never ceased giving her marks of it so long as she lived. He deferred her coronation two whole years, and doubtless, would have done so for ever, if he had not thought it prejudicial to him to persist in refusing her that honour.

Nay, perhaps even have dealt with her, as Edward the confessor had formerly done by his Queen, daughter of the Earl of Goodwin, and not the desire of children caused him to overcome his aversion. He had conceived so mortal a hatred to the whole house of York, that he lost no opportunity to humble the Yorkists, behaving always to them not as a just King, but like the head of a party. In the course of his history will be seen divers proofs of his disinclination to that house.

The day before the King's marriage was solemnised at London, his envoy at Paris concluded with the court of France's three years truce, which was to expire January the 17th 1488 – 9. Charles VIII, who began to form projects against Bretagne, willingly consented to this truce, to tie up the hands of the King of England, and hinder him from assisting that Dukedom. On the other side, Henry was ignorant of his designs, believed it could not but turn to his advantage to

live in a good understanding with that monarch, because he thereby rendered himself more formidable to his domestic enemies, who could no longer expect any diversion from that quarter.

Shortly after, the King made Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby high Constable, and William Stanley his brother Lord Chamberlain. These, of all the kingdom, were the two persons the King was most indebted to, since they enabled him to gain the victory of Bosworth, which procured him the crown. The Lord D'Aubeny was made governor of Calais for seven years.

Henry and Elizabeth being sprung from the same stock, namely Edward III, had wanted a dispensation to marry because they were cousins in the fourth degree. It was the Bishop of Imala, Legate à Latere in England and Scotland, that granted the dispensation, by virtue of his commission, which empowered him to grant that favour to any twelve persons he should please. The King thought at first this dispensation was sufficient, and without farther reflection, consummated his marriage.

Afterwards he considered, occasion might be taken from hence to question the validity of his marriage, and to maintain, that the power granted for twelve persons in general, could not be extended to sovereigns. To prevent therefore any such objection, he desired Innocent VIII, who then sat in the papal chair, to grant him a dispensation immediately from himself, and peculiarly adapted to his case.

Whereupon the Pope ordered a bull to be drawn accordingly. But as this bull was dated March 13, about two months after the marriage, and mentioned not the consummation, or the Legate's dispensation. Henry desired to have another with these two articles inserted, which was granted him the July following. This shows how careful he was, to prevent whatever would afford his enemies a pretence to disturb him. But the precaution he took at the same time makes this appear still plainer.

With the first dispensation he received the bull, confirming the act of succession made by the Parliament. The Pope declared: –

"**HE** had heard, that though the crown of England was fallen to Henry, not only by conquest and unquestionable hereditary right, but moreover by the unanimous consent of the nobles and people, and by an act of Parliament[12], and though undoubtedly and rightfully belong to him and the heirs of his body, yet, to put an end to the troubles which had long distracted the kingdom, he was desirous to marry Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter and heir of King Edward IV of glorious memory: –

THAT therefore having considered, with his brothers the cardinals, his intention in the spirit of charity, he had granted the dispensation necessary for the marriage, and pronounced the children, that should be born of it, lawful, and capable of succeeding to their father and mother:

THAT he had granted this favour, not at the request of Henry or Elizabeth, or any other in their name, but of its own motion, certain knowledge, and pure generosity, as it was more largely expressed in the letters of dispensation, to which he gave the same force as if they were inserted word for word in these presents:

THAT therefore he decreed, declared, and pronounced lawful, the succession of the children issuing from this marriage, and confirmed the act of Parliament concerning King Henry's title, and the succession of his children, supplying by his apostolic authority, all defects of right or fact that by therein occur.

THAT of his own motion, and by his authority, he admonished and required all the people of England, and all the subjects of King Henry, of what rank soever, to obey

that prince, and expressly forbid them to raise disturbances about the succession, or upon any other account whatsoever, or to infringe in any manner the dispensation, declaration, and act of Parliament.

THAT he pronounce *ipso facto* excommunicate all persons that should raise any such disturbances, or infringe the aforesaid letter and acts, to be absolved only by the Holy See, or such as should be empowered by her, unless at the point of death.

THAT if Elizabeth should happen to die before Henry without issue, he decreed agreeably to the aforesaid act of Parliament and confirmation, that the children of Henry by any other lawful wife should succeed him by hereditary right, pronouncing excommunicate, as above, all persons that should oppose the succession of his children. Granting on the contrary his benediction and plenary indulgence for all their sins, to those who should, in that case, assist Henry or his posterity.

MOREOVER, he enjoined all archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, Archdeacon's, curates, rectors, priors, and superiors of monasteries, upon the penalties expressed in the holy canons, to excommunicate publicly, and to pronounce excommunicate, whenever they were required, all persons that should breed any disturbances upon that account, or oppose in any manner whatsoever the execution of the said Acts notwithstanding all constitutions and ordinances apostolical to the contrary, et cetera"

Nothing shews more how much Henry was himself convinced of the weakness of his title, than his procuring the Pope's confirmation. This precaution was not only needless, but even unlawful, since it was directly against the Statutes of Præmunire, of which the English were so jealous. Accordingly, he had taken care to have it said in the Bull, that the Pope granted the dispensation of his own motion, and without any previous request; a clause evidently false.

It is certain, the Bull of dispensation ran in express terms, that the Pope granted it upon what was represented to him by Henry and Elizabeth. Besides what the Pope affirmed, that the crown of England was fallen to Henry by hereditary right, that heap and confusion of other titles, namely, the consent of the nobles and people, the Act of Parliament, the King's marriage with Elizabeth; all this, I say, corresponded so exactly with Henry's uncertainty concerning his title, that doubtless, it proceeded not from the Pope's own knowledge, but rather from the King himself, who had as it were dictated how the Bull should be worded.

In fine, the Pope would never have thought of confirming the Act of Settlement, if he had not been requested. But it was not convenient the King should appear to have desired such a Bull, since nothing could be more disagreeable to the English. For taking such a step, even before the Statute of Præmunire was enacted, King John entirely lost the affection and confidence of his Barons, with the crown which he meant to secure by that expedient.

Henry III was like to undergo the same fate, for taking some precautions of this nature. Accordingly, it will hereafter be seen, that this Bull was not capable of hindering the King's being frequently molested. The English were not, as formerly, such bigots, as to imagine, the Pope's authority could give Henry a title which he really had not.

Though the King had happily attained his ends, with the Act of Settlement and Succession, he knew however, what the Parliament had done was not agreeable to the sentiments of the people.

He had been called into England to deliver the Nation from the tyranny of Richard III, and not to dispossess entirely the House of York. This is so true, that in case the Yorkists had not joined with him, in order to preserve the Crown in that House, by means of his marriage with Elizabeth, the Lancastrians would never have been able to raise him to the Throne.

The Queen, Widow of Edward IV, the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Stanley, were not friends of the House of Lancaster though private enemies to the person of Richard. To these however Henry was chiefly indebted for his greatness. If the people had been consulted, and at liberty to chuse a Sovereign, Richard III indeed would have been dispossessed, but Elizabeth placed on the Throne, and the Earl of Richmond left in his exile in Bretagne. Henry therefore was considered only as the instrument of their deliverance from the dominion of a tyrant.

But as it was reasonable to reward him, the giving him a share of the royal dignity, by means of his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, was thought a great recompense. And if it was readily agreed, that his right from the House of Lancaster should be united with Elizabeth's, it was rather to avoid fresh troubles by that expedient, than out of a belief of the lawfulness of his title. He had himself gladly accepted the proposal, and upon that foundation it was that he formed his enterprise; otherwise he would have doubtless met with less assistance and much greater opposition.

But he had no sooner gained the Battle of Bosworth, but he formed the design of reigning in his own right only, and excluding entirely the House of York, wherein he deceived the expectation of the English, and abused their confidence. This is what he had always in his thoughts, though he concealed his uneasiness with all possible care.

As the House of York had most adherents in the northern counties, Henry resolved to take a progress into those parts. He hoped that his presence, with some acts of grace and favour he might have occasion to dispense, would be capable of producing a good effect. With this view, he departed towards the middle of the spring, and kept his Easter at Lincoln. During his stay in that city, he heard, the Lord Lovel, one of Richard the Third's favourites, Humphrey and Thomas Stafford, brothers, who had refused to accept of the general pardon, were gone out of sanctuary[13], but to what place was unknown.

As he was ignorant what their design could be, he continued his Journey to York. Shortly after, he received more certain intelligence concerning the fugitives. He was told, the Lord Lovel was advancing towards York at the head of three or four thousand men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire before the city of Worcester.

This news gave him no small uneasiness. He saw him self in that part of the Kingdom where he knew he was not beloved, and where it was not easy to raise forces. Besides, he had reason to fear the Lord Lovel had correspondents in York, and among the nobility of the county; consequently there was no time to lose. He must speedily resolve either to quit York, or take some course to oppose the rebels. In this strait, he chose to seem unconcerned, perceiving that flight could not but produce a very ill effect.

So, without shewing any fear, he armed such of his followers as were most proper to bear arms, and commissioned some trusty friends to raise men in and about York with all possible diligence. He was so fortunate, and so faithfully served as to assemble in a short time three thousand men, of whom he gave the command to his uncle the Duke of Bedford. But these troops were so ill armed and in such disorder, that they were not much to be relied on.

Besides, they were raised in a county where the inhabitants were not well affected to the King. For this reason, Henry expressly charged the Duke of Bedford to avoid fighting if possible, till reinforced, but however to shew no fear, and proclaim, in his name, pardon to all that would lay down their arms. This precaution succeeded to his wish. The Duke of Bedford approaching the malcontents, ordered the proclamation to be published in terms denoting great superiority and confidence. It had, however, little effect on the rebels.

But the Lord Lovel their commander, fearing they would accept of the pardon, forsook them first. He retired all alone, and hid himself in Lancashire at his friend Sir Thomas Broughton's,

and shortly after passed into Flanders to the Duchess dowager of Burgundy. His army being without a leader, submitted to the King's mercy. The Staffords, who were besieging Worcester, hearing what passed in the north, raised the siege, and abandoning their troops, took sanctuary in the Church of Colnham, a little village (near Abington). But that church enjoying no peculiar privilege, it was judged in the King's bench to be no sufficient sanctuary for traitors.

So the two brothers being taken thence by force, Humphrey the eldest was sent to London to be executed at Tyburn; but Thomas, as being seduced by his brother, was pardoned. This Rebellion, the first in this reign, was like a blaze which lasted not long. It was quenched with the blood of one single person. We shall see, hereafter, others which cost the King more to extinguish the flames.

On the 3rd of July, the Scotch Ambassadors, who had been some time at London, concluded a truce with Henry, which was to end that day three years.

Cardinal Bouchier Archbishop of Canterbury died about this time. The King, designing to procure the Archbishopric for Dr. Morton Bishop of Ely, gave him the custody during the vacancy, thereby declaring his intention, that no other Bishop might make an interest for the nomination. Accordingly Morton was elected some time after, but received not the Pope's bulls till December.

July the 2nd John de Bouteillier, Lord de Maupertuis, ambassador of Francis II, Duke of Bretagne, concluded at London with the King, a truce, or rather a prolongation of the truce, which still subsisted between England and Bretagne, till the death of one of the two Princes. But the trade between the two nations, which was settled by several articles of this treaty, was to last till the death of the survivor.

September the 20th the Queen was delivered[14] of a prince, though she had been but eight months with child. The King would have the new born Prince called Arthur, in memory of the famous British monarch, of whose race he desired to be thought. The family of the Tudors being British or Welsh, it was not unlikely that Henry designed by naming his son Arthur, to insinuate his being descended from that illustrious monarch.

It is certain however, this report was not spread, nor genealogies forged to confirm it, till after the time we are speaking of. Those who governed the state during Henry the Sixth's minority, were very far from this opinion, since, after the death of Catherine of France, the prince's mother, they ordered Owen Tudor grandfather of Henry VII to be sent to the tower for presuming to marry the Queen. Nay, some affirm, he was beheaded.

The King's proceedings to deprive the House of York of their rights, had very much dissatisfied the people, who expected quite another thing. They who had called in Henry had been in hopes, that the titles of the two Houses being confounded by his marriage with Elizabeth, there would be no more distinction between Yorkists and Lancastrians, but all might equally expect the places in the King's disposal.

These hopes were further confirmed by the birth of Prince Arthur, in whose person were united the litigious rights of the two Houses. But it was seen with extreme concern, that the King still considered the House of York as rivals and enemies, and that his jealousy reached to the Queen herself, whose interest should have been as dear to him as his own. For, not content to shew by his continual coldness, and by several mortifications he made her endure, the little kindness he had for her, he had given her a very sensible mark of it, in deferring her coronation, as if she had been unworthy to sit on the throne with him.

Nay, after she had brought him a son, her coronation was no more talked of than when they were

first married. This conduct plainly shewed, the House of York was still odious to him, and that he feared to take any step which might give the people occasion to believe she had some right to the crown. It was impossible but this affectation should cause great concern in the Yorkists, who were much more numerous than the Lancastrians.

This discontent being almost universal, some malicious persons spread a report, that the King intended to put to death the Earl of Warwick, prisoner in the tower, and sole male of the House of York. Their design was no doubt, to compare Henry with Richard III, who had taken away the lives of his two nephews to secure Edward the crown, and intimate to the people, that in changing Kings, they had only received one tyrant for another.

Moreover, it was openly rumoured, that one of Edward the Fourth's sons was still alive, having, as it were miraculously, escaped his uncle's cruelty. All this plainly tended to sound the people's inclinations. The King himself, whether he was the Author of this rumour, as his historian affirms, or only fomented it by his carriage[15], was not sorry the people ran after a phantom, because it hindered them from too firmly adhering to the persons of the House of York, which really existed.

Meanwhile, as the eagerness wherewith the people swallowed this false report, was a clear evidence how ready they would be, if a favourable opportunity offered, to list against the King, so it gave occasion to the project I am going to speak of.

A certain Oxford Priest, one Richard Simon, perceiving the people's joy at the false report of one of Edward the Fourth's sons being alive, took it into his head to put upon the world for Richard, Duke of York, brother of Edward V, a young man, named Lambert Simnel, a baker's son, whom he trained up in his house, and believed proper to play such a part. He was about the Duke of York's age[16], of good natural parts, and in all his behaviour had something grand, and above his birth.

Simon had scarce begun instructing his Pupil, when another rumour was spread, that the Earl of Warwick had made his escape out of the Tower. This news, though false, caused among the people so general a joy, that the priest thought fit to alter his project, and make Simnel pass for the Earl of Warwick. Simnel's age agreed better with the Earl's, and the circumstance of his escape was suitable to the plot.

His Pupil was to be well instructed for this purpose, since he was not to personate a young man taken out of his cradle in his infancy, and concealed in some private place, but a Prince well known, and brought up in the court of Edward IV. The Earl was about twelve years old when imprisoned by Richard III. Simnel therefore was to learn to talk pertinently of Edward's court, and to know particularly the Lords and Ladies that frequented it, as well as the King and Queen.

This gives occasion to presume, that the priest was himself instructed by persons well informed, and the plot suggested to him. For, though he had the assurance to form such a design, it is not likely he could instruct his pupil in many particulars, which she was necessarily to know. At least, it is certain, the King imagine, the Queen's mother-in-law, and other friends of the house of York, were the real authors of this contrivance, and only made use of the priest as an instrument to execute their designs.

The Queen dowager was extremely intriguing. It was she that had set on foot the project in favour of the King when in Bretagne, and thereby shewn her credit with the Yorkists. Besides, she could not but be very much displeased with the King's coldness to her daughter, and his refusing to have her crowned. This alone was sufficient to cause the King to suspect her. But it may be, there was more than bare suspicions. Be this as it will, Simon, or those that employed him, not thinking proper to produce Simnel first in England, where he might be examined too closely, and by persons too knowing, judged it convenient that he should act his first scene in Ireland,

where Simon the priest accompanied him. In all appearance, some measures had been taken for his reception in that country. Since Henry's accession to the throne, he had very much neglected the affairs of that Island, reckoning that being master in England, the Irish were not to be feared. Indeed, he made the Duke of Bedford governor of Ireland, in the room of the Earl of Lincoln, nephew of Richard III, but had continued the same deputy, the same chancellor, and all the rest of the officers placed there by Richard.

So, the Duke of Bedford being still in England, Thomas Fitz-Gerald Earl of Kildare commanded in Ireland as deputy, and his brother was Chancellor[17]. It is more than probable, that the Earl of Kildare was in the plot, and had even begun to take measures to cause Lambert Simnel, the pretended Earl of Warwick, to be acknowledged in Ireland. Ever since June last, Henry had received notice that something was contriving against his service in that country, though he knew not the particulars.

Upon this information, he sent for the deputy to court, but the Earl found means to cause the Council of Ireland to write to him, that the deputy's presence was absolutely necessary in the island. Simnel being arrived at Dublin, addressed himself to the Earl of Kildare as Earl of Warwick, and informed him how he escaped out of the tower. If the Earl of Kildare had not been in the plot, or at least, wished the thing to be as Simnel related it, he would doubtless have seized the pretender.

It was his duty, as he commanded in Ireland in the King's name. But instead of taking that course, he left him at liberty, and so ordered it, with his brother the chancellor's help, that the arrival of the pretended Earl of Warwick was divulged, without their appearing to be concerned. They would first see how the people would be affected with the news. The impression it made, was as great and as sudden, as the authors of the plot could desire.

When it was known in Dublin that the Earl of Warwick was arrived, the people expressed so great joy, that the deputy and chancellor believed there was no danger in acknowledging the pretender. So, after a conference with their friends and confidants, they solemnly waited upon him at his lodging, and conducted him with great pomp to the castle, where he was treated like a Prince[18]. Simnel received the respect that was paid him with a countenance and carriage that by no means savoured of the meanness of his birth. In a few days he was proclaimed in Dublin King of England, and Lord of Ireland, by the name of Edward VI. The Irish regarded not the attainder of the Duke of Clarence his pretended father, having newly learnt by the example of Henry himself, that the advancement to the throne takes away all defects.

The news of so unexpected an event made the King very uneasy, because it struck upon that string, which he ever most feared; namely, his title, of the goodness whereof he was not himself thoroughly satisfied. Indeed, the victory of Bosworth had given him an opportunity to decide the question himself in his favour. But he was very sensible, that if the titles of the two houses came once more to be put in the balance, he should want a second victory to confirm his, and the House of York would have reasons more than sufficient, if their affairs grew prosperous.

1486 AD] In the next place, Ireland, where the pretended Earl of Warwick was retired, was a country wholly devoted to the House of York, and consequently it was not easy to attack the rebels there. For that purpose, it would be necessary to lead thither a numerous army, which could not be done without immense charge. If the flames which began to appear in Ireland would reach England, and that there was a secret correspondence between the Irish and the English. In this strait, he called a council of his most intimate friends[19], privately to consult with them upon what was to be done in the present emergency.

It is to be presumed, he told them, the Queen dowager his mother-in-law had raised this storm, whether he had any proof, or it was only a suspicion thought by him to be well grounded. Be this as it will, presently after holding this council, he ordered his mother-in-law to be confined

in the nunnery of Bermondsey (in Southwark). Moreover he seized all the estate, which was very considerable. But as he did not care to discover to the public the reason of this rigorous usage because he could not perhaps give sufficient proof of her crime, he caused it to be reported, that she was thus punished for delivering the Princesses her Daughters into the hands of Richard III.

This pretence rendered his action still more enormous with the people. They could not help thinking it very strange, that the Queen dowager should be so severely punished for a fault, which might rather be deemed a weakness than a premeditated malice. In the next place, it could not be conceived, why the King had so long neglected to inquire into this pretended crime.

In the third place, since he had married her daughter, he seemed to have owned that she was innocent, or at least had forgiven her. Lastly, all knowing her to have been one of the principal instruments of his advancement to the throne, they could not but abhor his ingratitude. This severe usage was thought to be a plain indication of a settled design, to use all pretences to complete the ruin of the House of York and its adherents. But it was not only compassion for the Queen's sufferings, which gave rise to these reflections; her example struck terror into all the Kingdom, there being very few families but what were guilty, either of having assisted Richard III, or of not having opposed him.

When it was considered therefore, that the King's mother-in-law was reduced to this sad condition, for not having been willing or able to resist the tyranny of the late King, every one was afraid of being called to account for the like crimes, which were supposed to be buried in oblivion. Notwithstanding all this, the Queen dowager was confined to the day of her death, which happened not till some years after[20].

It was thought at first that the Queen dowager's misfortune proceeded from the cause published by the King. But it was quickly perceived to be an effect of the decrees of the secret council called by the King upon Simnel's affair. Shortly after, pursuant to another decree of the same council, the King ordered the true Earl of Warwick to be shown in public, who was led through the principal streets of London, and then conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where multitudes were assembled to see him. There, all had time allowed them to view him attentively. Nay, he was made to talk with those that knew him best, and particularly with such as were known to be well affected to the House of York; after which, he was again conveyed to the Tower.

But the Irish maintained, that the Earl of Warwick, shown at London, was an impostor, and their's at Dublin the true Earl. They even took occasion from hence to exclaim against the King, for prostituting the ceremony of a procession to such a cheat.

The King fearing the mischief would gain ground, thought to stop it, by proclaiming a general pardon to all that should quit the rebels, and by promising a reward to those that should discover the secret of the plot. At the same time he sent orders to guard the ports, that the malcontents of England might not pass over and join their friends in Ireland. But all this was not capable to break the measures of his enemies.

It was not only in Ireland that troubles were preparing for him. The readiness wherewith some English lords and gentlemen embraced this opportunity to endeavour his ruin, plainly showed, the conspiracy had been laid some time before in England. Indeed, it is not likely, a single priest should have formed such a project, without imparting it to persons more able than himself to accomplish it. Be this as it will, John Earl of Lincoln, declared by Richard III his uncle, presumptive Heir of the Crown, was the first that openly appeared to maintain the interest of the pretended Earl of Warwick.

He was son of John de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, and Elizabeth sister of Edward IV, and Richard III. This Earl however seemed to act contrary to his own interest in taking part with the Earl of

Warwick, who was nearer the Throne than himself. But as, probably, he was not ignorant, the person in Ireland was a cheat, he did not question that he should easily destroy him, when he had made him his instrument to dethrone Henry.

So, upon the first news of Simnel's being received and proclaimed King at Dublin, he embarked for Flanders, to concert with the Duchess dowager of Burgundy, the means to accomplish this undertaking.

Since the death of Charles Duke of Burgundy, Margaret of York his widow, sister of Edward IV, and Richard III, lived in Flanders where her dower was assigned her. As she had no children by the Duke her husband, she carefully attended the education of the Archduke Philip, son of Maximilian of Austria, and Maria of Burgundy her daughter-in-law. She had with extreme concern, seen the revolution which restored the House of Lancaster to the throne, in prejudice of the House of York.

She would however have been patient, if Henry VII in uniting the two Houses by his marriage with Elizabeth, had held the balance even, and dispensed his favours impartially to the friends of both parties. But she altered her mind, when she saw Henry delayed marrying her niece till the crown was adjudged to himself, without any mixture of the title of the House of York. She could not see without trouble, that, even after his marriage, he refused to let Elizabeth be crowned, an honour no Queen of England had been debarred of since the conquest; and the birth of a son had not induced him to do her that justice.

So, perceiving his hatred of the whole House of York was implacable, she did not think herself obliged to have much regard for him. On the contrary, she believed, she might without scruple, labour his ruin. Indeed, it is uncertain whether this Princess was concerned in the Priest's and Simnel's plot, before Ireland declared for him.

It is however very likely, she had helped to manage, together with the Queen dowager, the Earl of Lincoln, and some other friends of the House of York. For, the Earl of Lincoln: a voyage into Flanders, upon the first news of Simnel's arrival in Ireland, gives occasion to presume, he held private intelligence with the Duchess of Burgundy, and from her expected the success of the enterprise. The Lord Lovel, who was in Flanders before him, was likewise in the plot as well as Sir Thomas Broughton, who staid in England to send them notice of what was transacting there.

Whether the Duchess of Burgundy contrived this plot herself, or was only informed of it by the Earl of Lincoln, she readily embraced this opportunity, which she believed sufficiently favourable to inspire her with hopes of defeating Henry's establishment. Having advised with the Earl of Lincoln, Lord Lovel, and some other fugitives, she promised to furnish them with two thousand veteran German soldiers, under the command of Martin Swart an officer of note, with whom they should pass into Ireland, to strengthen the new King's party.

She did not at all doubt but these succours coming from a foreign country would encourage the Yorkists to take arms in England. In this situation were the King's affairs about the end of the year 1486. But before we proceed to the occurrences of the next year, we must briefly see what had passed in the neighbouring countries, especially in France and Bretagne during the course of this year.

I left the Duke of Orleans in Bretagne with the Prince of Orange and the Earl of Dunois. These Princes were no sooner in that country, but many of their friends came and joined them, and even brought them some troops. The Duke of Bretagne was old and infirm both in body and mind. Since the death of Landais he did not know who to trust with the administration of his affairs, considering his Barons but as so many enemies, though he had granted them a pardon. The Duke of Orleans finding him thus embarrassed, gained such an ascendant over him, that he governed Bretagne as if he had been the Sovereign.

The advantages he enjoyed in that country, where almost everything was in his disposal, drew thither many Frenchmen, who came to offer him their service. Meanwhile, the Duke of Bretagne assembled the States, and caused his eldest daughter Ann to be declared heiress of the Duchy; and in case she died without issue, it was decreed, her younger sister Isabel should succeed her.

The Lords of Bretagne newly reconciled to their sovereign, perceiving, the Duke of Orleans ruled absolutely in the Duke's name, and that the French flocked to him in crowds, began to entertain suspicions of their Prince. They were afraid, he had sent for all these strangers to help him to be revenged of them for their outrage upon his favourite. In this belief, they assembled at Chateaubriant to consult what was to be done to prevent the danger with which they thought themselves threatened. They were headed by the Lord of Rieux Marshal of Bretagne.

Charles VIII, who was apprehensive; the Duke of Orleans intended to make use of the Duke of Bretagne's forces to raise fresh troubles in France, thought it his interest to cherish the British lords discontent. He hoped thereby to hinder the Duke of Bretagne from assisting the Duke of Orleans. To that end, he sent to the barons assembled at Chateaubriant, Andrew d'Epinau commonly called the Cardinal of Bordeaux with an offer of his protection. The offer was gladly received by many of them, some of whom perhaps were already gained by the Court of France.

Others, foreseeing the inconveniences that might follow, were for rejecting it. They alleged the several attempts of Charles's predecessors to become masters of Bretagne, and how dangerous it was to admit the French into the country. In fine, to prevent this mischief, it was agreed, that a treaty should be made with the King of France, to determine the number of men he was to find them, and to set bounds to his pretensions.

Pursuant to this resolution, they signed with the cardinal a treaty, importing, that the King should send them an aid not exceeding four hundred lances, and four thousand foot; that he should not take or besiege any place, neither make any demands upon the Duchy before Duke Francis's death. Charles ratified the treaty, but as he afterwards showed, not with design to observe it.

The Cardinal of Bordeaux being returned to the King, told him, that during his stay at Chateaubriant, he had learnt, that the Prince of Orange was secretly treating of a marriage between Maximilian of Austria, and Ann, eldest daughter and heiress of the Duke of Bretagne. This discovery obliged King Charles to form the project of seizing Bretagne, if perhaps it was not quite formed already.

The posture of the affairs of Europe was extremely favourable. Ferdinand and Isabella King and Queen of Aragon and Castile, little regarded the preservation of Bretagne. Besides, they were then employed in their wars with the moors of Granada. But though Charles might have feared, that Ferdinand would enter into some league for the Duke of Bretagne's defence, he had an infallible way to prevent him: And that was, to restore him Roussillon, which was of much less consequence than Bretagne to the crown of France.

Henry VII, who had a manifest interest to oppose this enterprise, was embarrassed with affairs that, probably, would hinder him from meddling with those of others. It was precisely at the time, when the pretended Earl of Warwick began to appear in Ireland. As for the Low-Countries, Charles had not much to fear from thence. Philip, the sovereign, was still a minor. Maximilian his father and guardian, who governed these provinces in his name, was but little regarded.

Though he had made peace with the Flemings, there was however a mutual distrust, which would not suffer him to send his forces out of the country. Besides, the war with France was renewed this year, on account of Terouenne, surprised in full peace by the governor of Douay. In short, though Maximilian was the Emperor's son, and chosen King of the Romans in February this year, he was ever in extreme want of money, his new dignity having made no addition to his power[21].

In the beginning of the year 1487, Henry concluded with Maximilian a treaty wholly relating to trade, and which was only provisional, till certain articles could be settled, upon which the English and Flemings with difficulty agreed. The trade between England and the Low-Countries was so necessary for the subjects of both princes, that it could not be interrupted without both being sufferers. But for that very reason each strove to reap some advantage from the situation of affairs, which rendered the treaties very difficult.

The Bishop of Exeter being translated to Winchester, the King promoted to the vacant See, Richard Fox, who was already keeper of the Privy Seal. Of all the courtiers, he was the person in whom the King placed the most confidence, next to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Mean while, Henry was not easy, since the Earl of Lincoln's retiring into Flanders. He knew the Duchess of Burgundy to be haughty and enterprising[22] and powerful enough to assist such as would attempt to disturb him.

The Earl of Lincoln's retreat into Flanders, presently after Simnel's arrival in Ireland, left him no room to question, there was a design formed between the earl and the Duchess of Burgundy, to support the pretended Earl of Warwick. So, fearing the storm would divide and fall upon him both from Flanders and Ireland, he resolved to have two armies, under the command of the Duke of Bedford and the Earl of Oxford, to be ready at the same time to oppose the descent of the Flemings and Irish, if they should think of attacking England.

Meanwhile, as he was not afraid of an invasion before summer, he resolved to improve the leisure the winter season afforded him, in taking a progress into the eastern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. There was most danger from those parts, by reason of the neighbourhood of the Low-Countries. When he was come to St. Edmundsbury, he heard, the Marquis of Dorset was hastening to clear himself of some imputations laid to his charge, and to offer his service. But the King believing, that after what he had lately done to the Queen Dowager, the Marquis her brother could have no great affection for him, refused to receive him, and sent the Earl of Oxford to meet him, with orders to carry him to the tower.

He let him know however, that after the troubles were appealed he should willingly hear him, and if he caused him to be arrested, it was purely to provide for his own safety, by preventing his hearkening to those that might give him ill advice[23]. Then, he came to Norwich[24], from whence he went in pilgrimage to our Lady of Walsingham[25], after which he returned to London[26].

It was not till the beginning of May, that the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, and Martin Swart, sailed for Ireland, with the two thousand Germans raised by the Duchess of Burgundy, at her own expense. Presently after their arrival at Dublin, they proceeded to the coronation of the pretended King, which was performed Dublin with great solemnity, in the presence of the Earl of Kildare, the chancellor, and the rest of the great officers.

He was crowned with a crown taken from the head of the virgin's statue in St. Mary's Church. There were but two or three bishops that refused to acknowledge the new King[27]. *The History of Ireland* says, that the pretended sovereign summoned a kind of Parliament, where the clergy granted the Pope a subsidy, for fear the court of Rome should take occasion from these proceedings to trouble them.

The Coronation being over, a great council was held to consult what was next to be done. Their success in Ireland, where not a sword was drawn for Henry, made them expect great matters, in England. The leaders fancied, they were in a much better condition to overthrow Henry, than Henry himself was when he passed into England, to overthrow Richard III. They scarce doubted of success, being sure, as they imagined, the English for the most part would rise in their favour. However, some were for making Ireland the seat of the war.

They alleged, as the chief reason, that Henry would never venture to come over in person, or in case he quitted England, his absence would occasion in the Kingdom insurrections which would greatly promote the affairs of the new King. Had this advice been taken, Henry would have been very much embarrassed. In that case, he must have had two strong armies on foot, one to subdue Ireland, the other to keep all quiet in England. It is easy to see, that at such a juncture it would not have been prudent to leave England without troops, both by reason of the correspondents, the rebels might have there, and the neighbourhood of the Duchess of Burgundy, who would have taken advantage of such a neglect.

Accordingly, Henry, as I observed, had already resolved to have two armies. But others on the contrary represented, that Ireland was not able to pay the German troops, much less maintain a long war. That besides, the standing up on the defensive in Ireland was not the way to dethrone Henry, but the attacking him in England, where it was likely, they should meet with many friends. This advice was strengthened by another reason, which was not alleged, but however was the real motive thereof, naively, that the Germans and Irish were in hope of making their fortunes in England, whereas in Ireland, they had scarce wherewithal to subsist. So, it was resolved to pass immediately into England, in the same vessels that had transported the Germans.

Meanwhile, Henry hearing of the Earl of Lincoln's arrival in Ireland with the foreign troops, was no longer embarrassed, since he had only to defend himself from one quarter. So, giving orders, that all his troops should assemble near Coventry, he repaired in person to that city, which lies in the Centre of the Kingdom, till he had certain advice of the designs of his enemies.

Some time after, he heard that Simnel was landed in Lancastershire[28], in company with the Earls of Lincoln and Kildare, the Lord Lovel and the German general, Sir Thomas Broughton joining the rebels with a small body of English, they all marched together towards York, with out committing any act of hostility in their route, in order to draw the people to their side. But they found themselves deceived in their expectation. Not a man, except what Broughton had brought, took arms in their favour, the English not liking at all to receive a King at the hands of the Irish and Germans.

The Earl of Lincoln, who commanded the army, had resolved to avoid fighting in expectation of being joined by great numbers of malcontents. But seeing the people's coldness, he thought he should come to a battle as soon as possible, lest his army, which was but eight thousand strong, should diminish instead of increasing. So, changing his route on a sudden, he marched towards Newark, in hopes to become master of that place before the King should arrive.

Meanwhile, Henry was advanced as far as Nottingham, where he held a council of war. He had yet drawn together but six thousand men, and for that reason several advised him to decline fighting till the rest of the troops which were expected, had joined him. But he was of another opinion. As he could not believe that the Earl of Lincoln had formed such an enterprise, without assurances of being assisted, he judged it requisite to give him battle without delay.

Two days after he saw his army reinforced with five or six thousand men[29], whereupon all the reasons against the resolution, he had taken, entirely vanished. As soon as he had reviewed these new troops, he detached several parties of light-horse to discover the Earl of Lincoln's designs, and being informed, he was advancing towards Newark, resolved to prevent him. To that end he marched with such expedition, that he encamped between the enemies army and Newark. The Earl of Lincoln advanced that day to a little village called Stoke, where he encamped on the side of a hill.

Next Morning being June the 6th[30], Henry offered him Battle, leaving only in the plain a space to serve for the field. But he was debarred of one great advantage, in that the ground being narrow, would not allow him to extend the front of his army, which was more numerous than that of the enemy. For which reason he was forced to draw up his army into three lines, having taken care

to place in the first: all his best troops to the number of six thousand men. Probably the Earl of Lincoln had designedly chosen that ground, in hopes, that if he could defeat the King's first line, they would fall foul on the rest of the army and put them in disorder, as it happened to Richard III in the battle of Bosworth.

In effect, it was the King's first line only that fought. They withstood for three hours the efforts of the Germans, who being used to war, and well disciplined, sought with great order, and inspired the Irish with courage. At length the Earls of Lincoln and Kildare[31], and Martin Swart being slain on the place, and most of the Germans killed or wounded, the Irish took to flight, not being able alone to resist the English. It is said, there were at least four thousand killed on the side of the rebels, and half of the King's first line. Which shows with what obstinacy it was fought on both sides[32].

Among the prisoners were found the new King of Ireland, become Lambert Simnel as before, and the priest his companion and instructor. Henry, either out of generosity or policy, was pleased to give Simnel his life, and to honour, with the office of turn-spit in his kitchen, the person that had boldly aspired to the throne, and even worn a crown.

Some time after he was preferred to be one of the King's falconers (in which office he died). As for the priest, he was immediately committed close prisoner, and heard of no more. Some imagined he was privately put to death, others that the King was pleased to spare his life, in order to learn the most secret circumstances of the conspiracy, and it may be, to confront him with the guilty, if there was occasion. However it does not appear in history, that Henry made any discovery by that means. At least, there was nothing divulged. If the Queen dowager was in the plot, she could not be more rigorously punished than she was already, unless she was brought to the scaffold.

As for the Duchess of Burgundy, she had no occasion to fear any proceedings against her. It is said the King was extremely sorry for the death of the Earl of Lincoln, which robbed him of the satisfaction of knowing all the particulars of the plot. As for the Lord Lovel, some say he was drowned in attempting to swim the Trent, others affirm, he was slain in the battle. Some again report, that he spent the residue of his life in a cave. Be this as it will, he appeared no more from that time.

Presently after the battle, the King marched to Lincoln, where he made some stay, and then went to York. In his way, were tried many persons accused of holding intelligence with the late rebels. It is true, most of them were punished only by fines, the King's sole aim being to fill his coffers. And therefore he chose rather that these trials should be ended by commissioners of his own appointing, or by a Court Martial, than by the usual course of justice, which was not so favourable to his design. For, in accusations of this nature, the laws of England admit of no medium between death and absolute discharge, and the King would have neither. But commissioners and court martials are not so strictly confined to the letter of the law[33], but judge in a more arbitrary manner.

Therefore the frequent encroachment, of what is called in England the Martial Law, upon the privileges of the people, has been the cause of reducing it within just bounds, so that it cannot take place but by an Act of Parliament made for that purpose[34]. As for administering justice by commissioners, it is true the King has still that prerogative, but then he seldom uses it, and in certain cases only by commissions of Oyer and Terminer [35] as they are called. It is certain, Henry upon this occasion discovered his covetous and selfish temper.

He pretended to savour the guilty in sparing their lives: But this clemency was more than balanced by his severity, in stripping them of their possessions. The crime they were charged with was not of having assisted the rebels, but of having raised and dispersed a report some days before the battle, that the Royal army was cut in pieces.

The King supposing that such a report was spread only to discourage his friends, and hinder them from bringing him troops, made strict Inquiry after those that were suspected of this new sort of crime. As his sole aim was to make an advantage of the fines and confiscations, the persons commissioned for judges were more ready and less scrupulous to favour his design, than if the lives of the parties accused had been at stake. It may be easily guessed the King made choice of the fittest persons for his purpose. His historian says, that Henry's progress to Lincoln and York, was more like an itinerary circuit of justice, than a King's progress to visit his counties.

When the King had drawn what he wanted from the guilty or suspected persons, he sent for a papal commission, to empower the Archbishop of Canterbury to absolve rebels, those that had incurred the penalty of excommunication decreed by the Bull before mentioned. The Pope in this commission took for granted, that they who had attempted to disturb Henry in the possession of the crown, were struck with bitter remorse, and therefore he was willing, from a motive of charity, to ease their conscience. But it was evident, that this was only for a further support of the King's title.

At the same time Innocent VIII sent a Bull to restrain a little the privileges of sanctuary. It ran, That if thieves, murderers, robbers, registered as sanctuary men, should sally out and commit fresh offences, and enter again, in such case they might be taken out of their sanctuaries by the King's officers. That as for debtors who had taken sanctuary to defraud their creditors, their persons only should be protected, but their goods out of sanctuary should be liable to seizure.

As for traitors, the King was allowed to appoint them keepers in their sanctuaries to prevent their escape. Certainly it was a great abuse to make churches serve to protect villains. It had been long complained of in England, and probably the King had applied for a reformation, but could obtain only what we have just seen. Alexander VI confirmed this Bull in 1493.

In the King's progress to Lincoln and York, he had frequent occasion to perceive that his partiality to the House of York, and injurious treatment of his Queen in refusing to have her crowned, were the main springs of the people's discontent. So, contrary to his inclination, and with a sole view to prevent future troubles, he resolved at last to do her that Justice. He came to London the beginning of November, where he made a triumphant entry.

Next day he went in procession to St. Paul's and had *Te Deum* sung for his victory over the rebels. He was very glad to render it as conspicuous as possible, in order to strike terror into his enemies. Then he commissioned the Duke of Bedford to execute the office of High Steward at the Queen's coronation, which was performed on the 25th of November, with the usual solemnities. The Queen was then one and twenty years old, and had now been married two years. So the King's affected delay of her Coronation, could not but be deemed a consequence of a settled design to humble the House of York, and the Queen in particular, whom the King considered as his rival.

Accordingly, as it was easily perceived, that his resolution to have her crowned immediately after Simnel's affair, was the effect of his fear, he was not thanked for it, because he was believed to do it with regret. He released the Marquis of Dorset without examination, probably to give the people some satisfaction. He intended to have it thought an act of grace, and withal to leave the marquis in the fear of being still called to an account. But it is to be presumed, that since he was so little inclined to show mercy to the Yorkists, he would not have discharged the Marquis so easily, had there been proofs to convict him.

Towards the end of the year, Henry sent a solemn embassy to the Pope, wherein the ambassador that was spokesman distinguished himself by his excessive encomiums of the King his master. His praises would have passed for extravagant, if his commendations of the Pope had not made them seem very moderate.

During the King's stay at York[36], after the battle of Stoke, public disturbances in Scotland gave him an opportunity to enter into a negotiation with James III, from which he hoped to reap some advantage. I have spoken of James's character in the reign of Edward IV, and shown how odious he had rendered himself to his great men, even to their being forced to hang his favourites.

The war made upon him by Edward IV, and his danger of being dethroned, seemed to have somewhat moderated his passions, or at least; obliged him to show them less. But the death of Prince Alexander his brother, and of Edward IV, and the troubles in England during the reign of Richard III, giving room to believe he had nothing more to fear, he returned to his former courses.

Without reflecting any more on the risk he had run, he entirely gave himself up to a new set of favourites, men of mean birth, and no less odious to the nation than the former. But this was a trifle in comparison of the design he afterwards formed. As he harboured in his breast a violent desire of revenge upon the great men who had offended him, he resolved to dispatch at once all those whom he considered as his principal enemies. To that end he caressed them exceedingly, and became very familiar with them, the better to surprise them.

When by this dissimulation he had drawn almost all of them to court, he communicated his design to the Earl of Douglass, and told him, he did not intend to neglect so fair an opportunity of destroying all his enemies at once. Douglass feigned to approve his resolution, but privately warned the lords of their danger, and retired with them from court. The King being disappointed, resolved to execute his design by open force, and levied troops for that purpose, but the lords likewise formed for their defence. As all mutual confidence was destroyed, and nothing to be expected from an agreement with such a prince, they found means to gain his son, by making him apprehensive, they were going to deliver Scotland to the King of England, if he would not put himself at their head.

As soon as the prince had joined the lords, their party grew so powerful, that the King beginning to repent his enterprise, proposed an agreement. But he was told, there was no other way to a reconciliation than the King's resignation of the crown to his son. All hopes of peace vanishing upon this proposal, James shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he dispatched ambassadors to the Pope, and the Kings of France and England, to desire their assistance.

It was in September, whilst Henry was at York, that the ambassadors of Scotland came to him, under colour of treating of some differences concerning the fishery of the river Eske. Henry, who had an admirable talent at turning all things to his advantage, thought this a good opportunity to be rid at once of the Queen his mother-in-law, and her two daughters, by marrying them in Scotland. For that purpose he sent to King James, Richard Fox Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgecomb, who agreed with him[37] upon the following articles, with their Master's pleasure:—

I. That pursuant to a former agreement, the Marquis of Ormond, a Scotchman, should marry Catherine, the third daughter of Edward IV.

II. That King James should espouse Elizabeth widow of Edward IV, and mother to the Queen of England.

III. That James Duke of Rothsay, eldest Son of the King of Scotland, should marry another of Edward IV's daughters.

IV. That the King of England should resign for ever to the King of Scotland, the town of Berwick.

V. That, in order to settle the articles and condition of the three marriages, commissioners on both sides should meet at Edinburgh the 24th of January next, and another assembly be held upon the same subject in May.

VI. That the two Kings shall have an interview in July.

VII. Lastly, That the truce concluded between the two Kingdoms, being to expire July the 3rd 1438, should be prolonged to the 1st of September 1489.

As for the succours which James expected from Henry, they were not mentioned in these preliminaries. Probably, King James's ambassadors were satisfied with a verbal promise.

Henry ratified these articles, the 20th of December, but the King of Scotland's ratification is not with Henry's in the *Collection of the Public Acts*. Perhaps James was prevented by the troubles in his Kingdom, which daily increased, and caused likewise this project to vanish into air, as will be seen under the next year.

The War continued all this time in the Low-Countries, again between Charles VIII and Maximilian, to the advantage of the first, whose troops surprised St. Omer, and Rouen. Some time after, Maximilian having caused the Lord Ruffingheim to be carried away and conducted to Wilvorde, the prisoner found means to escape and retire to Gaunt. Upon his arrival, he stirred up the Gantois to revolt, and take arms against Maximilian. This war was of very great consequence with regard to the affairs of Bretagne, of which it is necessary at present to give a particular, though brief account, because they are to be the subject of the History of the five following years.

The King of France, and the Lords of Bretagne had treated together with very different views. The Lords imagined, it was an excellent means to secure them from the designs of their Duke, and Charles perceived, it was an infallible way to conquer Bretagne.

In the beginning of the Spring 1487, Charles sent four armies into Bretagne, from four different quarters. The first alone was six thousand strong, which exceeded already the number he had promised to find by the treaty. Upon news of this invasion, the Duke of Bretagne seeing himself forsaken by almost all his barons, retired into the centre of his country, being accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, the Earl of Dunois, and some other French Lords of the party. He staid some time at Maletroit, where he very hastily assembled an army of sixteen thousand men, ill armed, and undisciplined, by reason of the long peace Bretagne had enjoyed.

The Duke's Court was in so great consternation, that none knew what course to take to resist so formidable an invasion. Indeed, means were found to engage the Lord d'Albret, then in Navarre, to take the Duke's part, on promise of a marriage with the Princess Ann, heiress of Bretagne.

The Duke himself, and all the rest of the Lords, the Duke of Orleans excepted, gave it under their hands to procure him this marriage, but without intention to perform their word. The Duke of Bretagne did not think him considerable enough for his daughter. The Earl of Dunois designed to marry the young Princess to the Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange was privately labouring to procure this rich match for the King of the Romans. Thus this engagement was only intended to persuade the Lord d'Albret to withdraw two troops of men at arms, which he had in the French army, and send them into the Duke of Bretagne's service. poor refuge upon so pressing an occasion!

Meanwhile, the French being joined in one body, advanced into the country, and laid siege to Ploermel. The Duke of Bretagne immediately marched to the relief of that place, but had the mortification to see him self forsaken by his army, of which there remained not with him above four thousand Men. Surprised at this unexpected accident, he retired to Vannes. But the French,

now masters of Ploermel, pursued him so briskly, that he was obliged to embark in great disorder, and shut him self up in Nantz. The French improving this consternation, took Vannes and Dinant, and then besieged Nantz.

Some time before, the Duke had sent the Earl of Dunois to England to desire assistance. But though the Earl had embarked some several times, contrary winds had still hindered him from pursuing his voyage. Meanwhile, the Marshal de Rieux head of the malcontents, perceiving King Charles so ill observed the treaty, complained of it in strong terms. But instead of receiving any satisfaction, he was told, that great offence was taken at his boldness.

Whilst Charles was employed in the siege of Nantz, he heard that the King of England had obtained a signal victory over his enemies, and the affair of the pretended Earl of Warwick was entirely ended. Till then he had believed him so embarrassed at home, that he had not vouchsafed to say anything to him concerning the war with Bretagne. But when he knew him freed from his troubles, he sent ambassadors to try to divert him from any design he might have to interpose in that affair.

The Ambassadors found the King at Leicester, where they had their audience. They told him, that the King their master considering him as his best friend, had sent them to impart to him the success of his arms in Flanders, and withal to congratulate him upon his victory over his rebellious subjects:—

THAT they were moreover charged to tell him, that the King their master was forced to enter into a just war with the Duke of Bretagne, who had received the Duke of Orleans, declared enemy of France, not to protect him, but solely with a view to aid him to raise commotions in the Kingdom, by lending him the assistance of his arms:

THAT the King of France could not omit taking proper measures to prevent his pernicious designs, and therefore his war with the Duke of Bretagne was properly defensive only, though he had caused an army to enter his dominions:

THAT he that gave the first blow, was not to be deemed the aggressor, but he that gave the provocation:

THAT the Duke of Bretagne could not deny that he had harboured in his dominions, nay, in his very court, French rebels, and formed plots with them very prejudicial to France, without being able to complain of any injury:

THAT therefore the King their master hoped from his wisdom and justice, that before he concerned himself in the war, he would weigh the ill consequences of a protection being given to rebellious subjects contrary to the law of nations, and the most solemn treaties, particularly by a homager:

THAT if he was some thing obliged to the Duke of Bretagne, on the other hand, he had not, doubtless, forgot the aid he had received from the King of France, when the Duke of Bretagne had not only abandoned him, but was even going to deliver him to his enemy:

THAT this aid was given contrary to the interest of France, since it would be better for her, that a tyrant, odious to all his subjects, should reign in England, than such a Prince as himself:

THAT therefore, the King their master hoped, he would not undertake the defence of the Duke of Bretagne in so ill grounded a quarrel, but on the contrary, assist his real friend, or at least, stand neuter.

The Ambassadors avoiding, as a rock, to speak of their master's design to conquer Bretagne, the King thought not proper to mention it in his answer, though it was not difficult to perceive it through all their disguises. He contented himself with telling them, that of all persons, he was most obliged to the King of France, and the Duke of Bretagne. For which reason he was extremely desirous to give them both real marks of his gratitude. That there fore he would, on the present occasion, discharge the duty of a true friend, by endeavouring amicably to end their differences, and very speedily send them ambassadors to offer his mediation.

1487 AD] Henry was not so blind, but he saw the King of France's intent. But unhappily for Bretagne, he was possessed with a notion, that Charles would never be able to execute his designs. His belief was founded upon the forces of Bretagne, which had hitherto successfully resisted France; upon the natural levity of the French, who are easily discouraged by difficulties; upon the troubles that Duke of Orleans could raise in the Kingdom, by means of his friends; and upon the diversion, the King of the Romans could make in Flanders.

Pursuant to this principle, which appeared afterwards to be very wrong, he resolved to become only mediator, without sending any effective supplies to the Duke of Bretagne. He did not doubt that King Charles would consent to an accommodation, for fear of drawing upon him the arms of England. Indeed, it was evidently the interest of the English to prevent the ruin of Bretagne, and therefore Charles must have thought, they would use their utmost endeavours to oppose his design.

Accordingly, Henry building upon this foundation, that Bretagne could not be subdued, if England seriously espoused her quarrel, and that Charles would not believe him so impolitic as to suffer that Duchy to become a province of France, imagined he would readily accept of his mediation, and desist from his enterprise. He hoped to reap from thence two considerable advantages. First, the reputation of making peace between the two princes, to whom he was equally obliged.

The second was much more important to him. As he was naturally very covetous, and as the desire of heaping up riches was the chief end of all his projects, he perceived this affair would furnish an occasion to demand money of the Parliament, under colour of assisting Bretagne, and that he might keep this money without employing it[38].

Pursuant to this scheme, he sent Ambassadors[39] to King Charles to offer his mediation, and incase it was accepted, the ambassadors had orders to make the same offer to the Duke of Bretagne. Charles was then employed in the siege of Nantz, and as he hoped to be soon master of the place, saw nothing more after that, capable of hindering him from entirely conquering Bretagne.

So, all his endeavours tended only to manage, that the King of England should not assist the Duke of Bretagne before the taking of Nantz. When the ambassadors offered him the mediation of the King their master, he answered with great dissimulation, he willingly consented, that the King of England should act not only as mediator between him and the Duke of Bretagne, but also as judge, and absolute arbiter of the peace.

He was in hopes, either the Duke of Bretagne would reject this proposal, or if he accepted it, he would possibly gain time till the taking of Nantz; after which, he considered himself as master of Bretagne.

The Ambassadors imagining they had surmounted the greatest difficulty, repaired to the Duke of Bretagne, who was shut up in Nantz, and made him the same offer from their master. The Duke of Orleans told them in the name of that Prince, that at a time when his country was invaded, and ready to be swallowed up by the French, he expected rather an effective supply from the King of England, than a mediation, which must be fruitless, since nothing was more easy than

to prolong the negotiation till Bretagne was lost: that he entreated the king to remember the favours he had received in Bretagne, and consider of what consequence it was to England to hinder that Dukedom from becoming a province of France.

The ambassadors returning with the answer to King Charles, he took occasion to tell them, that for his part, he was very desirous of peace, as plainly appeared by his proposal, but was sorry to find that the Duke of Bretagne, beset by the Duke of Orleans, would never consent, without being false by the continuation of the war. This he artfully instilled into the ambassadors, who at their return into England, told the King, it was proper to leave the Duke of Bretagne in his present ill circumstances, that he might be induced of himself to desire the rejected mediation.

Meanwhile, the siege of Nantz was vigorously carried on[40]. Charles, probably, would at last have taken the place, but not the Earl of Dunois been detained in lower Bretagne by contrary winds. Whilst he was in those parts, the inhabitants of the country hearing their Duke was besieged in Nantz, assembled to the number of sixty thousand men, with a resolution to relieve him. The Earl of Dunois saving them in this disposition, put himself at their head, and approached Nantz, the French not daring to attack the undisciplined multitude.

On the contrary, they contracted their quarters for their better defence, and so left the Earl of Dunois free to throw succours into the town. Which done, he suddenly retired, not desiring to fight the French army with such troops. This so seasonable a relief, obliged the French to retire in despair of taking the place. The raising of the siege confirmed Henry in his belief, that the conquest of Bretagne was too difficult for France. So, persisting still in his resolution to stand neuter, he had not even the thought of sending succours to the Duke of Bretagne.

He pretended however, to have his interest at heart but it was only to procure a subsidy from the the Parliament which he had summoned for the 9th of November. Meanwhile, he sent again the same ambassadors to King Charles and the Duke of Bretagne, under colour of being perfectly informed of the state of this affair, in order to lay it before the Parliament, though he knew beforehand what answer they were to bring back.

About this time Edward Lord Woodville, the Queen's uncle, desired the King's license to go and serve the Duke of Bretagne with a troop of volunteers. Henry denied his request, not thinking proper to aid one of the parties when he was offering them his mediation. Nevertheless Woodville sailed from the Isle of Wight (of which he was Governor), with four hundred men into Bretagne.

This aid, though inconsiderable, made a great noise at the Court of France. Charles publicly complained of it; but as Henry denied that the Lord Woodville had carried these troops to the Duke with his consent, was contented with that satisfaction. He was very careful, at such a juncture, not to quarrel with Henry for so small a matter.

Before the English ambassadors arrived in Bretagne, there had been in that country a revolution prejudicial to the King of France's affairs. The Lords of Bretagne who had treated with him, plainly perceiving his intention was to conquer the Duchy, made their peace with the Duke, and obtained a full pardon. The Marshal de Rieux, their head, was the last to comply. He would first be thoroughly convinced of the French King's designs, which yet he only suspected.

For that purpose, after privately treating with the Duke of Orleans, he sent a messenger to the King to tell him, that the Duke of Orleans offered to quit Bretagne with all his followers; and therefore, since the French troops had entered Bretagne only to expel that Prince, he most humbly besought him to recall them, pursuant to his Treaty with the Barons. Ann of Beaujeu, who was haughty and proud, imagining there was no need of any farther ceremony, told the messenger, the King had gone too far to recede, and would see the issue of the affair. This answer obliged the marshal to follow the example of the rest of the Barons, and be reconciled to the Duke, who gave him the command of his army.

Though Charles had raised the siege of Nantz, he continued his conquest elsewhere. Soon after his troops took the town of Dol by storm; whereupon the Duke, thinking himself safe in Nantz, thought fit to return to Rennes. He saw himself extremely pressed, and yet did not hear that preparations were anywhere making for his relief. In this extremity, he was persuaded by the Prince of Orange, to promise his eldest daughter to the King of the Romans, though he had already promised her to the Lord d'Albret. The Prince of Orange made him believe that Maximilian, finding himself concerned to defend Bretagne, would not fail to come to his assistance with a powerful army. But at this very time, the revolt of the Gantois disabled that Prince to do anything for Bretagne.

Whilst these things passed, Henry's ambassadors in Bretagne had frequent opportunities to be convinced that Charles was only amusing the King their master, and intended to conquer that Duchy. Henry knew this still better than they; but was willing, their report should serve for foundation to demand a subsidy for the defence of Bretagne, though he still believed the affair might be adjusted, without drawing the sword. His sole aim was to make the parliament apprehensive of the loss of Bretagne, that they might more readily supply him with money, which he intended to put entirely into his coffers.

The parliament met the 9th of November, just after the return of the ambassadors. Care had been taken to divulge the report they had brought to the King, to prepare the Commons to make a powerful effort in the defence of Bretagne. The Archbishop of Canterbury[41] as Lord Chancellor, opened the session with the speech to both houses to this effect: –

That the King thanked his parliament for the acts past in his favour at their last meeting:-

That he was so well satisfied of their affections, that he had made the rule to himself to communicate to so good subjects all affairs, as well foreign as domestic, that might happen and that one now occurred, concerning which he desired to have their advice.

That the King of France (no doubt they had heard) was making fierce war upon the Duke of Bretagne:

That he alleged for reason the protection given by the Duke of Bretagne to the Duke of Orleans; but others guessed a very different motive:

That both parties had applied to the King, one to pray him to stand neuter, the other to desire a powerful aid:

That the King having offered his mediation, found the French King ready to treat, but without discontinuing the war;

That the Duke on the contrary, though he was very desirous of peace, and most wanted it, was averse to a negotiation, not upon confidence of his own strength, but upon distrust of the French court's sincerity:

That after sundry Embassies tending to an amicable determination of this affair, the King had desisted from his mediation, because he could neither remove the Duke of Bretagne's distrust, nor persuade the King of France to cease hostilities during the Treaty:

That this being the state of the case, he desired their advice, whether he should send succours to the Duke of Bretagne, and enter into a defensive league with him against France.

After thus stating the question, he alleged several arguments pro and con, his aim being, under colour of leaving the Parliament free to determine what they would haughtily and proud, imagining there was no need of any judge proper, to make them sensible of the necessity of aiding Bretagne. This necessity was in effect so evident, that there was need but of a very moderate knowledge of the interests of the State, to see of what consequence it was to England to prevent the conquest of Bretagne.

However, it is worth noting, that the King knowing how much it concerned the English to defend Bretagne, alleged these reasons by the mouth of his chancellor, only to obtain a subsidy, without intending however, to employ it in support of the oppressed Prince. This will plainly appear in his whole future conduct. The Parliament, according to the King's expectation, failed not to advise to undertake the defence of the Duke of Bretagne, and granted him for that purpose as large a subsidy as had ever been given to any former King[42] on account of a foreign war[43].

As soon as the Parliament broke up, Henry resumed the way of negotiation with Charles, still fancying that the terror of his arms would lead that Prince to an agreement. The only means however to save Bretagne, was to send thither a strong aid, and declare war with France, according to the Parliament's intention. But Henry had laid another plan, founded wholly upon his extreme desire that the affair might be decided, without his being forced to expend the money lately received. He was content therefore with sending his ambassadors to King Charles, to notify to him the Parliament's resolution. But withal, as if he was afraid of going too far, he declared that the war on the part of England should be only defensive, and solely with respect to Bretagne.

The Court of France easily perceived by these proceedings, that the King of England had no great desire vigorously to push this affair, since, when he should have been preparing for war, he contented himself with sending embassies. So, Charles told the ambassadors, that he was always ready to accept of the King of England for arbiter of the differences between him and the Duke of Bretagne; but did not intend to suffer himself to be amused with a treaty, which would only serve to give the Duke time and opportunity to restore his affairs. That he would be always willing to treat, provided it was not meant to require a truce destructive of his interests.

The winter procured the Duke of Bretagne a cessation of arms, which all the instances of the King of England had not been able to obtain as it obliged the king of France to put his troops into quarters, and return to Paris. Moreover in March 1498, the Marshal de Rieux retook Vannes Dinant, and garrisoned Ancennis and Chateaubriant. On the other hand, the Lord d'Albret two troops of men at Arms deserted the French service, and joined the dukes army. But this little turn of fortune was of no long continence. In April the King took to the field again, and having retaken Ancennis and Chateaubriant, razed them to the ground. After that, he marched to Fougetes, and besieged at once that place and St. Aubin du Cormier.

Meantime, the Lord d'Albret having accepted the proposal made him in the beginning of the War, came into Bretagne to serve the Duke with a thousand Horse. Upon his arrival, he pressed the Duke to perform his promise concerning the marriage. The Duke, who had privately promised his Daughter to Maximilian, being greatly embarrassed put the young princess upon declaring, she would never espouse the Lord d'Albret, though she was not then above eleven years old. This opposition gave the Duke a pretence to elude d'Albret pursuits, till the Princess's obstinacy could be conquered.

Meanwhile, the unfortunate Duke finding himself little able to resist the French, and receiving assistance neither from Maximilian nor the King of England, sent the Earl of Dunois to Charles to sue for peace. Charles did not think fit to return a positive answer. He was willing first to see the success of his two sieges. On the other hand, he was in treaty with Henry for a truce which he expected shortly to conclude; and that was to determine him, either to refuse peace to the Duke, or enter into treaty with him. So, keeping the Earl of Dunois still at court, under divers pretences, he put him off from day to day, till he had received certain advice from England.

Shortly after, he heard that Henry had signed at Windsor and a truce to commence the 14th of July this year, and to end the 17th of January 1490. Thus having nothing to fear from England, he wholly applied himself to continue his conquests.

Most certainly Henry, in leaving the Duke Bretagne to the mercy of his enemy, acted directly contrary to the Parliament's intention, which had granted him a subsidy for the assistance of that Prince. This truce, made without any necessity, when the Duke of Bretagne was most pressed, plainly shows, he suffered himself to be blinded by the court of France, or rather by the desire of keeping the money granted by the Parliament for the aid of Bretagne.

The duke's occasion for a powerful assistance could not be more pressing. Charles was in the heart of his country, at the head of a strong army, taking his towns one after another, and he is not able to make any resistance. At the same time Henry was concluding with France a truce which tied up his hands, and afforded King Charles time and facility to conquer Bretagne, wherefore his historian, prepossessed no doubt in his favour, and not imagining, he had thus causelessly forsaken the poor Duke in his distress, mentions not this truce made with France at so unseasonable a time.

Moreover, he makes the succours sent by Henry into Bretagne, to arrive there at the beginning of August this year, whereas it is very certain they came not till March, 7 months after. These affected delays, which surprised all the world, proceeded wholly from the King's wrong notion of this war, and his desire to end it, without being obliged to use the money given by Parliament.

Meantime, the Duke of Bretagne, the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Orange, and the Marshall de Rieux, were in the utmost confusion. The King of the Romans, the King of England, the Duke of Lorraine, had seemed to espouse their quarrel, but it did not appear that any of them were preparing to assist them. In this extremity, a council was held to consider what course was to be taken.

Most were for marching to the relief of Fougères, and joining battle rather than suffer that place to be lost. The Marshal de Rieux opposed in vain this dangerous advice, by representing that the loss of a battle would infallibly be attended with the ruin of Bretagne. That it would be much wiser to delay the time till the neighbouring Princes mould see their own interest, since it could not but be extremely prejudicial to them to suffer Bretagne to be swallowed up by France.

To this it was replied, that probably Bretagne would be lost before any succours arrived, and therefore the only way to save it was a victory. The Duke of Bretagne's understanding was so impaired, that he was little able to judge soundly of an affair of such consequence. So suffering himself to be governed by the counsels of the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange his Nephew, he resolved to march to the relief of Fougères. But upon his approach, he found the town had already capitulated. Then he determined to relieve St. Aubin du Cormier, but the Governor, for want of provisions and ammunition, had surrendered a few days before.

Whilst the Duke of Bretagne was marching to St. Aubin, all the Forces of France joined in one body, under the command of Lewis de Trimouille, for fear the Duke had intended to retake that place. In a few days, two armies were so near one another, that it was not possible to part without giving battle. Whilst they were preparing on both sides, a rumour being spread among the Bretons, that the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange were going to betray them, they were upon the point of disbanding. But the two Princes removed their fears, by going amongst them to charge on foot.

The battle was fought on the 28th of July with fatal success to the Duke of Bretagne, who was defeated with the loss of his best troops. The Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Orange being taken Prisoners, the King commanded the first to be confined in the Tower of Bourges, but set the other at liberty. The four hundred English brought over by the Lord Woodville, were almost

all slain with their Leader[44]. As the English were then distinguished by a Red-Cross, twelve hundred[45] Bretons were joined to them with the same badge, to make the French believe, that fresh succours were arrived from England.

It may be, this gave occasion to some to affirm, that King Henry had already sent a fresh body of troops to the Duke of Bretagne. The Lord Verulam, who has writ the history of this reign, does not say this, but assures us, that eight thousand English arrived within a few days, and offered the French battle, who did not think proper to accept it. Polydore Virgil and several others say the same thing. But herein they are mistaken. Henry had not yet made any treaty with the Duke of Bretagne, and it was not till after the Duke's death, and in March the next year, that he sent, as will be seen, six thousand men to the Duchess his daughter.

In a few days after the Battle of St. Aubin, Lewis de Trimouille ordered the city of Rennes, Capital of Bretagne to be summoned, but the inhabitants continued firm in their allegiance to their Sovereign.

Whilst these things passed in Bretagne, Henry was levying in England the money granted by Parliament. That was a principal affair which he hastened extremely, on pretence of the Duke of Bretagne's pressing occasion for a speedy assistance. All the counties, except Yorkshire, and the Bishopric of Durham, readily paid the tax imposed by the parliament. But in these parts, where the friends of the House of York were very numerous, it was not collected with the same ease.

Some factious persons stirring up the people, the commissioners for gathering the subsidy met with so much opposition, that they were obliged to make application to the Earl of Northumberland[46], who immediately gave the court notice (and desired the King's direction).

The King answered, he would not have one penny abated of the money granted by Parliament, both by reason of the urgent occasion, and because other counties might be encouraged to desire the like mitigation. Upon this answer, the Earl of Northumberland assembled the principal justices and free-holders of the county, and in very imperious terms declared to them the King's intention. The rough manner in which he spoke to them, without shewing any regard for persons who were but too much incensed, gave them reason to think, he himself advised the King to such answer.

This being rumoured in York, the mob rose, and assaulting the Earl's house, forced it open, and murdered him with several of his servants. But the mutineers did not rest there. Presently after, being inflamed by one John a Chamber an incendiary, they set Sir John Egremond at the head, and publicly declared they were marching to London to give the King battle.

Henry being informed of this insurrection, sent into the north a body of troops under the command of the Earl of Surrey[47], whom he had released out of the tower, and received into favour, preparing to follow him in person with more considerable forces. But whilst he was on his way, he heard that Surrey had beaten and dispersed the Rebels, and John a Chamber was taken prisoner. As for Egremond, he had the good fortune to escape and retire into Flanders to the Duchess of Burgundy, whose palace was a sanctuary to all the King's enemies.

Though this affair was ended, Henry however pursued his journey to York, where he ordered John a Chamber to be hanged on a gibbet raised in the midst of a square gallows, on which twelve of his accomplices were hanged round about him.

After that, he returned to London, leaving the Earl of Surrey president of the north, and Sir Richard Tunstal his principal commissioner, to levy the subsidy, of which he would not remit a denier.

Meantime, the news of the Battle of St. Aubin being brought to the King, he seemed resolved to send a powerful aid to the Duke of Bretagne. But it was still in hopes that the terror of his arms would oblige King Charles to consent to a peace. This Artifice was not however capable of deceiving the court of France, which plainly saw through all his designs.

The loss of a Battle had reduced the Duke of Bretagne to a state worthy of pity. He could no longer support himself with his own forces alone, and saw no preparations for his defence, either in Flanders or England. Henry had put him in hopes of assistance, but was not in haste to send him any. As for Maximilian, instead of being able to assist his future father-in-law, he was himself detained prisoner in a sedition against him at Bruges, where several of his officers were killed.

His captivity lasted from the beginning of January to the 15th of May, and his release then was owing to the Emperor Frederick his father, who had marched into the Low-Countries at the head of an Army to his relief. So instead of thinking to assist Bretagne, he was himself seeking on all sides for foreign Succours against the Flemings. To that end, forgetting his engagements with the Duke of Bretagne, he sent this very year to the King and Queen of Spain, to demand in marriage Isabella their eldest daughter, and at the same time Jane their second daughter for his son Philip.

The first of these demands could not be granted, Isabella being already promised to the Prince of Portugal. But the other was effected in time. At last in September, Philip de Cleves Lord of Ravenstein, heading the Gantois and surprising the city of Brussels, Maximilian retired into Germany, leaving in the Low-Countries, Albert Duke of Saxony to command in his place, in the name of the Archduke his son.

There was therefore no appearance of aid for the Duke of Bretagne, either from England or the Low-Countries, in short, from any other place. In this distress, the unfortunate Duke humbly sued to the King of France for peace, who very readily complied with his request, not from a motive of generosity, but to put it entirely out of his power to defend himself, by causing him to lose the assistance of the King of England, whose interest it was to support him.

Though Henry had agreed to a truce with France, which was not to expire till January 1490, Charles was afraid however he would change his mind, and assist the Duke his ally with all his forces next campaign. In order therefore to divert him from this thought, he very willingly concluded a peace with the Duke of Bretagne, intending to keep it no farther than was consistent with his interests. For in his whole conduct, with regard to Bretagne, he did not seem more scrupulous than his father King Lewis XI was in all his negotiations.

The discussion of Charles's pretensions upon Bretagne, delayed for some time the conclusion of the peace which was negotiating at Verger, a seat belonging to the Marshal de Rieux, where the King then was. Charles pretending, that after the decease of the Duke of Bretagne, the guardianship of his daughters belonged to him as sovereign Lord of the Duchy, this pretension was disputed by the Bretons, who affirmed the Dukes of Bretagne had never done liege-homage to the Kings of France, and consequently they had no right to claim the guardianship in question.

1488 AD] It was no favourable juncture to decide to the advantage of the Bretons, this so long, and as yet undetermined dispute. But this pretension of Charles was a trifle, in comparison of another of much greater consequence. He maintained, that the Duchy itself belonged to him, by virtue of a certain grant to King Lewis XI, from the Lady de la Brosse, heiress of the house of Blois, who had formerly disputed Bretagne with the ancestors of Francis II.

This was renewing an old quarrel, which had been ended by several treaties, and particularly by that of Guerande, whereby the House of Blois relinquished all claim. However, Charles insisted not obstinately upon these two articles, contenting himself with having intimated his pretensions, in order to prosecute them in time and place. So, the treaty was concluded about the end of August

importing, that Charles should remain with the places he had conquered, and withdraw his forces out of the rest of Bretagne. But he did not intend to observe this last article. The Duke ratified the Treaty at Coyron, where he then was, and therefore it is called by the Bretons, the Treaty of Coyron, and by the French, the Treaty of Verger, or Vergy.

A few days after, namely, on the 9th of September, died Francis II, Duke of Bretagne, in a very advanced age, and with his understanding so impaired, that for years past, he had been incapable of governing the State.

Ann his eldest daughter, about twelve years old, succeeded him. The Duke her father had appointed her for guardian, the Marshal de Rieux, who was to be assisted by the Earl of Cominge. But Philip de Montauban chancellor of Bretagne found means to carry away the young duchess to Guerande, where under colour of giving her advice, he made her speak as he pleased. This occasioned between the marshal and the chancellor a quarrel, which proved extremely prejudicial to the Duchess, and to all the Bretons in general.

Henry hearing of the Duke of Bretagne's decease, openly declared, that he considered the interest of the young orphan duchess as his own, and seemed to prepare in earnest to assist her. But as he knew likewise that, a few days before the Duke's death, a provisional treaty had been concluded till all the King of France's pretensions were settled, he did not question that the affair would be effected, by loudly proclaiming his concern for the duchess's affairs.

He still believed, Charles feared him, and rather than break with him, would resign much of his pretensions. So, his aim was to become arbiter of this difference, and avoid a war which would have forced him to empty his Coffers.

For this purpose it was that he sent ambassadors to the King of the Romans, to the Archduke his son, and to the Kings of Spain and Portugal, to make the King of France believe, he was labouring to form a league against him. He sent also an embassy to Charles himself[48], to press him to end entirely the affair of Bretagne by a treaty. At the same time, he sent Edgecomb and Ainsworth to offer his assistance to the duchess, and empowered them to promise in his name, to find her such a number of troops, upon sufficient security for the re-payment of the charges.

We shall see under the next year, to what all these embassies tended. But before we proceed, it will be necessary briefly to mention the revolution in Scotland.

The affair of Bretagne so employed the Kings of France and England, that James III could obtain no assistance from either, against the lords who had the Prince his son at their head. The malcontents would have been very glad to decide the quarrel by a battle. But the King still kept in the castle of Edinburgh, where it was not possible to force him.

Though Charles and Henry had promised him aid, they were not very desirous to espouse his quarrel. Meanwhile, he was still in hopes, and therefore kept close, expecting the performance of their promise.

Whilst his affairs were in this situation, he was advised to quit the castle of Edinburgh for Sterling as the more convenient place, and there expect the foreign succours. James taking this advice, began his march with his few troops, and presently the Lords were close after him. He was however far enough before them to be secure, if the governor of Sterling, bribed by his enemies, had not refused him admittance. So, not knowing where to go, he resolved to return to Edinburgh; but meeting the army of the malcontents, was forced to fight, though much inferior in number of troops.

He was killed in the battle which was in the month June. After his death, James IV, his eldest son, about fifteen years old, was proclaimed in his room, by the lords who had placed him at

their head. But all the Scots were not satisfied with the change. There were many that refused to own the young Prince, whom they taxed with being the murderer of his father, and gave him great disturbance for some time. In July the new king sent ambassadors to Henry to notify his accession to the Crown[49].

1489 AD] On the 10th of February, the ambassadors, sent into Bretagne, concluded a treaty with the Duchess, of which the principal article was, that the King engaged to send into Bretagne an aid of six thousand men. To consider this alone, one would be apt to imagine, Henry acted only from a principle of generosity, or at least for the interest of his Kingdom. But he had no such thought.

His sole aim was first to hinder Bretagne from being overrun by a sudden invasion of the French, in order to give room for a treaty. In the next place, to draw a pecuniary advantage from the succours, sent the duchess the expenses whereof he was willing to advance, in order to be afterwards re-paid with usury.

As this treaty manifestly shows his interested views in this affair, it will not be improper to insert the substance of each article: Which added to what will be said hereafter, will serve in great measure to give a just idea of this Prince's character:—

- I.** The antient Treaties between England and Bretagne shall be observed.
- II.** There shall be a constant friendship and alliance
- III.** They shall mutually assist one another in case either is attacked.
- IV.** If the King shall carry war into France for the recovery of Guienne and Normandy, the Duchess shall find him troops according to her power.
- V.** The King shall also and the Duchess, if she carries the war into France for the recovery of her right, without prejudice, however to the truce concluded between England and France, which is not to expire till the 17th of January 1490.
- VI.** Neither of the two parties shall admit into his dominions the rebellious subjects of the other.
- VII.** The King shall send the Duchess at his own charge an aid of six thousand men, upon condition, that a sufficient number of these troops be allotted to guard the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned, which shall be delivered to the King. But the number shall not exceed five hundred.
- VIII.** These six thousand Men shall serve the Duchess at the King's expense till the first of November.
- IX.** Immediately after that day the Duchess shall find ships with all necessaries, to transport the troops into England.
- X.** The six thousand Men shall be embarked at Portsmouth about the middle of this instant February, or at farthest, by the end of the said month, upon vessels provided by the Duchess.
- XI.** The Duchess engages to repay the King all his expenses, for the transportation of the troops both out and home, and for their maintenance whilst in her service, as also for the defence of the cautionary towns hereafter mentioned.

XII. The reimbursement shall be made in England.

XIII. It may be made at several payments; the cautionary towns remaining in the King's hands till the whole is paid.

XIV. Immediately after the arrival of the six thousand men in Bretagne, the Duchess shall deliver any two of the following places the King shall chuse, Tonclaromneau, Hennebond, Avray, Cannes, Guerande, with all their revenues, to be kept till the King is fully repaid, without any deduction, and then only shall he be obliged to restore them.

XV. If the King carries war into France upon his own account, and the Duchess find him succours, her expenses shall be deducted out of what she shall owe the King. In like manner if the King aid the Duchess in an offensive war with France, she shall re-pay his charges upon that occasion.

XVI. If any of the places now possessed by the King of France be re-taken, the King shall have liberty to chuse one or two of these places, in the room of one or two of those which shall then be in his hands. Upon condition however that he chuse not Brest and Tonclaromneau at the same time.

XVII. Two commissioners shall be appointed on each side, to settle the King's expenses for the assistance of Bretagne.

XVIII. The Duchess shall swear before the English ambassadors, that she will not again demand the cautionary towns till the whole debt be paid. The Marshall of Bretagne with three or four of the principal lords shall take the same oath.

XIX. Before the cautionary towns shall be delivered to the King, they shall be furnished with a sufficient quantity of artillery, and a fortnight's provisions.

XX. The fairs and markets shall be kept there as usual.

XXI. As soon as part of the King's Troops shall arrive in any port of Bretagne, the Duchess shall send to the ships sixteen hostages; namely, or at least four of them to be detained till the cautionary towns are delivered.

XXII. The Duchess, the Marshal, and three or four of the principal lords shall swear upon the Gospels, that she will not make a contract of marriage with any person whatever without the King's consent.

XXIII. She shall make no alliance, nor hold intelligence with any Prince, except the King of the Romans and the King of Spain, not even with these without the King's consent[50].

XXIV. She shall conclude neither peace nor truce for above two months, nor even make a truce for that time, without including the King.

XXV. The King promises the same thing on his part.

XXVI. The Treaty of Commerce between England and Bretagne of the 22nd of July 1486, shall be renewed.

XXVII. The King and the Duchess shall give mutual security for the observance of the Treaty of Commerce.

XXVIII. English money shall pass in Bretagne after this manner,—the King shall be obliged to receive the same money in payment.

It is easy to perceive that in making this treaty Henry had three different views. First, to prevent Charles VIII from becoming master of Bretagne, whilst the duchess was so able to resist him. If Charles should have finished the conquest of Bretagne next campaign, as was very easy, Henry would have been blamed by all Europe. Particularly, he would have been inexcusable to the parliament, who had granted him a very considerable subsidy for the defence of that duchy.

His second view was to frighten the King of France, by the sending of English troops into a compliance to end the affair by way of negotiation. This is manifest from his lending the six thousand men for eight months only, and that too, when they were of no service but to prevent the court of France from violating the treaty of Vergy then in force. His third and chief aim was, to secure the reimbursement of what he was going to advance, for the maintenance of the six thousand men for eight months.

He had already projected the keeping for his own use the subsidy granted by Parliament for the defence of Bretagne, in the expectation of deciding the affair by his mediation. Meanwhile, he saw that the young Princess, in her circumstances, could not resist the King of France, if he thought of pursuing his conquests. So, to oblige King Charles to enter into treaty, it was necessary to show him the Duchess would not want protectors, if he pretended to continue to use the way of arms.

He could not help therefore advancing the money, since the Duchess was not able to do it. But withal he took so great care not to lose his money, that it is visible from the treaty, his principal aim was the re-payment of his expenses.

There are two farther remarks to be made upon his conduct. First, it is probable, he would lend his troops out but for eight months, lest the sum should mount too high, and consequently become difficult to be repaid. Secondly, he was willing not only to secure the principal, but to receive it also with interest.

For, after receiving places in mortgage for his security, he left the sum undetermined, in order to have it settled by commissioners. He knew that when he had the towns in his hands, Ann would one day be forced to submit to what he should prescribe, and it would be in his power to mount the charges of levying and maintaining his troops, as high as he pleased.

What I am saying is not a bare conjecture, since we shall find in the sequel that he raised this expense to an exorbitant sum. Thus Ann was so bound by the treaty, that this aid was no less expensive to her than the French army itself, which remained quiet without any attempt, though it still continued in the country.

1489 AD] Charles had fully designed to take advantage of the consternation of the Bretons after the death of their Duke. But in a council held upon that occasion, the chancellor de Rochefort was utterly against it, from motives of honour and equity. His opinion made the deeper impression upon the King, as he still feared, that, though the King of England acted but faintly, he would alter his mind.

Besides Henry's embassies to Spain, to the King of the Romans, and to the Archduke, gave the court of France some uneasiness. They were afraid of a league which would have obstructed the execution of a grand project already formed, and which will be mentioned hereafter.

Whilst the treaty was negotiating at Redon, the Duchess's affairs were in a deplorable state, she not only saw a French army in the heart of her country, and in possession of several towns; but moreover, was destitute of men and money. What was still more grievous at such a juncture,

was the dissension among her principal Lords. The Marshal de Rieux pretended to govern her, as her guardian. But Philip de Montauban her Chancellor had such an ascendant over her, that he caused her to consider the Marshal as an enemy, so that she absolutely refused to be under his guardianship. Montauban's pretence to exasperate her was, that the Marshall would have married her to the Lord d'Albret. But the chancellor represented to her that the Marshal intended to ruin her, by giving her a husband unable to protect her.

He even insinuated that the Marshal was bribed by the King of France, whose interest it was to marry her to a Lord not supported by any Prince in Europe. It may be the Chancellor was himself gained in favour of the King of the Romans. Be this as it will, their dissension was carried so far, that the Marshal de Rieux caused the gates of Nantz to be shut upon the Duchess, and even threatened to besiege her in Rennes.

It is not therefore surprising that Montauban, who managed the Duchess's affairs, should agree to the Treaty of Redon; since, by the arrival of the English forces his party would be exceedingly strengthened.

The English succours at last arrived in March, which with Henry's embassies to several courts, made King Charles imagine, he intended to act vigorously in defence of Bretagne[51]. In this belief, finding he could not execute his designs by open force, without entering into war with the English and drawing perhaps other enemies upon himself, he thought some other course should be taken.

There was on foot a treaty of peace between him and Maximilian, and between Maximilian and the Gantois, by the mediation of the German Princes, assembled at Francfort. As this affair was in a good way, he did not question that a peace would ensue. He had in his power, Margaret daughter of the King of the Romans, in order to espouse her when marriageable, and was not ignorant of the late Duke of Bretagne's engagement with Charles and that Prince, concerning his daughter's marriage.

So, not at all doubting, that his future father-in-law, with whom he was going to conclude a peace, would be ready to favour him, he sent and offered the Duchess of Bretagne to make him umpire of their differences. Ann gladly accepted the proposal, being almost sure of the favour of a Prince who expected to marry her, and Maximilian did not want much entreaty to become arbiter of an affair, in which he himself was so much concerned. Thus Charles, Ann, and Maximilian, acted all three with insincerity.

The ambassadors of France and Bretagne being met at Francfort, concluded, by the mediation of the King of the Romans, a provisional treaty, importing:—

THAT Charles should restore the places conquered upon Bretagne, except Dinant, St. Aubin, Fougères, and St. Malo:

THAT these four towns should be committed in trust to Maximilian, and the Duke of Bourbon, and the French troops march out of the rest of Bretagne:

THAT on her part, the Duchess should send away the English:

AND in April next, a congress be held at Tournay, to adjust all disputes:

THAT, in the mean time, both parties should send their reasons to Avignon, to be examined and discussed by civilians, that their opinions might serve for the instruction of the mediators.

This Treaty was without effect, though both parties seemed pleased with it. Ann was obliged by the Treaty of Redon, to deliver two places to the King of England, and these two places were to be kept by five hundred English. By the present treaty, she promised to send away all the English. But as the five hundred men which kept the two places were not excepted, Charles pretended, he was not bound to execute the Treaty of Francfort, till all the English were departed from Bretagne, to which Ann could not oblige them.

So, though in November, pursuant to the Treaty of Redon, the English forces returned into England, the five hundred men however remained, and it was not in the Duchess's power to send them away, unless she repaid the King of England all his charges, which was impossible. The affair rested therefore in the same state it was before the Treaty of Francfort, and the two parties neither sent their reasons to Avignon, nor their ambassadors to Tournay.

Meantime, Maximilian's marriage with Ann was negotiating with all possible secrecy. Maximilian's agents represented to the young Princess, the honour she would enjoy of being Queen of the Romans, and in time, Empress. But with this honour, she would have wanted a powerful assistance, which her lover was not able to give her. He could not draw any Forces out of Flanders, and send them to Bretagne, without breaking with France, included in his late peace with the Gantois.

Besides, this Peace was so ill secured, that it did not last a whole year. Thus Maximilian, son of an Emperor, himself King of the Romans, and governor of the Low-Countries, had only empty titles, which gave him little power. Nevertheless, the young Duchess was still made to expect a powerful aid from him, whether her advisers wilfully shut their eyes, or because there was then no other Prince in Europe, from whom she could hope for any assistance. The King of England might have protected her, but had entertained so wrong a notion of the affair, that the issue alone was capable to undeceive him.

At last, the marriage was accomplished in November, with a ceremony (then altogether new in those parts). For the Prince of Nassau, ambassador and proxy of Maximilian, put his naked leg into the bed where the Duchess was laid, as a sort of consummation. This was done however with such secrecy, that neither Charles nor Henry appear to have known it, till March 1491.

It is true, Argentré, historian of Bretagne, says, that from the beginning of the year 1490, all the public acts ran in the name of Maximilian and Ann. If so, it would be hard to conceive how their marriage could be kept secret. But very probably, Argentré was mistaken one whole year. For we find in the *Collection of the Public Acts of England*, several commissions of the year 1490, in the name of the Duchess alone, and the first there with Maximilian's name, is dated in March 1491[52].

Though the English Troops were returned, Charles renewed not hostilities in Bretagne. This forbearance made Henry imagine he had attained his end, that is, frightened Charles by the sole appearance of rupture. The truth is, Charles was greatly embarrassed. He could not think of letting go Bretagne, and on the other hand, perceived it would be very difficult to finish the conquest, without drawing on himself a war from England, and perhaps from several other States.

Meanwhile, Ann seeing the war would infallibly be renewed, as soon as her marriage was divulged, used all her endeavours to convince Henry of the necessity of sending fresh succours to Bretagne, without discovering however the true reason. For this purpose she sent to him in February 1490, Chancellor Montauban, and other ambassadors, with orders to desire assistance, and an express power to promise in her name, that she would never marry without his consent [53].

This shows, her marriage with Maximilian was still a secret, which she did not think fit to divulge. In their instructions, the ambassadors were ordered to acquaint the King with her protestation in form, against her father's engagement with the Lord d'Albret, and with whatever d'Albret and de Rieux had done to compel her to ratify the same.

This was an insinuation of her wanting his assistance, as well against her own subjects, as the King of France, and that Bretagne was in danger from both. But all this was not capable to move Henry. Instead of treating with the duchess about fresh supplies, he sent ambassadors to France[54], with power to treat with King Charles concerning all that Prince's differences with the Duchess of Bretagne.

He was still of opinion, that Charles dreading the junction of England with Bretagne, wanted only a peace. In this belief, he resolved to make him pay for it, insisting upon a fresh demand, hitherto un-thought of, namely, the arrears of the pension which Lewis XI was bound to pay to Edward IV, by the Treaty of Pequigny, which by a subsequent treaty, was to continue till the death of the survivor of the two Kings.

These arrears amounted to the sum of one hundred twenty five thousand crowns, which the ambassadors had orders to demand. From that time, this article was always inserted in the King's commissions to treat with France. Henry imagined, that in Charles's treaty with Ann, of which he thought himself almost sure, he would submit to this article, lest it should be an obstacle to the peace.

Whilst his Ambassadors were in France, he could not dispense with appointing commissioners to treat with those of Bretagne. But it was only to amuse them. The negotiation solely tended to a treaty, which still more strongly than the former, secured him the reimbursement of his charges on the Duchess's account, without any mention of the desired assistance. The whole amounted to some verbal promises on the King's part, that he would never forsake the Duchess. He believed this assistance was entirely needless in the present situation of the affair, still imagining, King Charles was wholly inclined to a Peace.

Meanwhile, Charles in his turn, amused the English ambassadors, resolving to conclude nothing, till he could more plainly discover Henry's intention. He had an army in the bowels of Bretagne, and several towns in his possession, and Ann was little able to expel him with her own forces alone. For this reason, he willingly waited for a favourable opportunity to end the affair, otherwise than by the King of England's mediation, of whom he was too jealous. Henry thinking him otherwise disposed, made it his chief business to secure the payment of what he had advanced for the assistance of Bretagne.

And therefore, under colour that the city of Nantz was in danger of falling into the hands of the French, he demanded to have it in his power, promising to restore it whenever required. But presently after he heard, the Lord d'Albret had prevented him, and that despairing to marry the Duchess, he had joined with France, and taken that rich city, where he had made a great booty.

During these negotiations, fresh troubles arose in Flanders, very prejudicial to the affairs of the Duchess of Bretagne. The Duke of Saxony, who commanded in Flanders for Maximilian, having published an edict concerning the coin, the inhabitants of Bruges refused to comply with it, and drew the Gantois into their revolt. The King of France, who desired nothing more than to see war kindled in Flanders, sent aid[55] to the rebels, under the conduct of Marshal Desquerdes Governor of Picardy[56]. On the other side, Maximilian, or the Duke of Saxony in his name, sent ambassadors to Henry, to make a league with him against France.

With the aid arrived from Picardy, the rebels made great progress, and after taking Ipre and Sluce, besieged Dixmudc. Henry, angry with Charles for delaying his answer so long, and moreover being concerned to support the Archduke, resolved to send him aid.

1490 AD] To that purpose he suddenly dispatched (the Lord Morley[57], with) a thousand men to Calais, with orders to the Lord D'aubeney, governor of that place, to relieve Dixmude, if possible. D'aubeney joining a thousand men of his garrison[58], to those come from England, marched directly to Dixmude, which was not well invested. He entered the town by night without opposition, and at break of day sallying out of the opposite gate, fell upon the camp of the French and Flemings, and entirely routed them[59].

This affair bred a great coldness between Charles and Henry. But Charles durst not complain, since he had no more right to assist rebellious subjects, than had Henry to assist the Sovereign.

Meantime, the ambassadors of Bretagne waited at London to no manner of purpose. The King gave them however good words, which served only to engage them the more to do his, instead of the Duchess's, affairs.

On the 26th of July he required of them, an acknowledgment that he had punctually executed the Treaty of Redon; a fresh engagement to reimburse all his charges; and a promise to deliver to him Morlaix and Concarneau, upon the hopes of an aid which he never intended to give.

However, it was necessary, in order to attain his ends, to make the King of France believe, he really designed to assist the Duchess of Bretagne, since it was the only means to stop his proceedings. Charles seemed to have some knowledge of Henry's thoughts, for he appeared more cold than ever, with respect to his agreement with the Duchess. He returned no direct answer, neither did he talk of restoring his conquests upon Bretagne, or of paying the arrears of the pension due till the death of Edward IV.

So, Henry thought it time to proceed more openly, and give that monarch reason to fear not only the arms of England but also of several other states. In the beginning of this year he had renewed the treaties of alliance with Portugal and Denmark. In September he concluded with Maximilian and his son Philip, a league against France for their mutual defence, and for that of the Duchess of Bretagne. At the same time he published a treaty made with Ferdinand and Isabella in March the last year. By this treaty, the two Kings engaged to make war upon the King of France, unless he would restore Rousillon to Ferdinand, and Guienne and Normandy to Henry.

Moreover they agreed upon a marriage between Arthur Prince of Wales, Henry's son, and Catherine, third daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, as soon as the Prince was fourteen, and the Princess twelve years of age.

His treaty with the King of the Romans had relation to this. The three Princes were to enter France at the same time, each at the head of an army as well for their own, as for the interests of the Duchess of Bretagne. But by secret articles signed two days after, there were so many restrictions concerning the time, manner, and conditions of the war, that it plainly appears Henry's sole aim was to frighten the King of France. By one of the secret articles, the time of this invasion was fixed to the 15th of August, 1492.

The 4th of October, Henry concluded with John Galeazzo Duke of Milan a treaty of alliance, containing only general articles of amity and good understanding. Meanwhile, Henry failed not to reap this advantage, that these negotiations, which were openly transacting, embarrassed the French King. Indeed, all these treaties, the secret articles whereof he knew not, gave him uneasiness.

He had reason to fear, that a league was forming against him, which would obstruct not only the conquest of Bretagne, but also that of the Kingdom of Naples, which he had been some time meditating. It was this that hindered his renewing the war in Bretagne, though the Duchess's circumstances were such, that it seemed easy to dispossess her entirely. Besides Henry's conduct appeared so extraordinary, that he knew not what to think.

That Monarch made great noise about the league he was forming for the defence of Bretagne, and yet sent no aid. In this uncertainty, Charles resolved to send an embassy into England, under pretence of taking off Henry from the Duchess's party, but in reality to know by his answer what he was to hope or fear from him.

He chose for this purpose Francis de Luxemburg Viscount of Martigues, Waleran de Sams, and Robert Gaguin, general of the Order of the Trinity. These ambassadors being arrived at London, had their audience of the King, where nothing particular passed. Some days after, the King having nominated to treat with them Richard Fox Bishop of Exeter, Thomas Earl of Ormond, and some others[60], in their first conference, the general of the Order of the Trinity being the speaker, made the most submissive and cringing speech that ever came out of the mouth of a French ambassador to a foreign Prince, if after all the matter is to be referred to Henry VII's historian.

As I have several reasons to suspect this speech to be rather the historian's than the ambassador's, I shall only relate the principal points, without keeping to the very words, or mentioning certain articles which seem to me altogether improbable[61].

The Ambassador began with saying:-

"Their master had sent them to pray a peace with the King of England, and his respect for that great Prince induced him to pass by all formalities, and make advances unusual in such sovereigns as he. He would not however conceal from him another motive which made him desirous of peace. Having resolved to carry his arms in to remote countries, it could not but be for his advantage, that all the world would know he was in friendship with all his neighbours, and particularly with the King of England.

Then the Ambassador himself took care to excuse Henry's sending aid into Bretagne and Flanders, though it was against France, and owned it to be no just cause of rupture between the two crowns. As for Flanders, he justified the King his master's sending Troops thither, because it was his duty to protect the Flemings his vassals [62], against the King of the Romans their oppressor. After that, the ambassador added, King Charles intended to make war upon the Kingdom of Naples, unjustly detained from him by a bastard of the House of Aragon. That Kingdom belonging to him by undoubted right, he was bound in honour to try to recover it. But his thoughts did not rest there, his purpose being to make the conquest of Naples serve as a bridge to transport his forces into the East, and overthrow the Empire of the Turks, to which he was invited, as by a voice from Heaven, by a rent in the Ottoman family.

This therefore being his resolution for a holy war, he was content for the honour and advantage of the Christian religion, to beg peace at the hands of all the Princes of Europe, that he might not be diverted by any obstacle from them.

The Ambassador concluded with saying, he had only another affair to mention, not as a subject of treaty, but as a mark of his master's great desire to preserve a good understanding with the King of England, namely, being Sovereign Lord of Bretagne, and as such guardian of the Duchess, he requested that with the King of England's consent, he might dispose of her marriage as he should think fit."

Some days after, the ambassadors of France being sent for to the council, the chancellor returned them the following answer from the King:-

"That the King his Master had not forgot his former love and friendship with the King of France. That if the friendship was still the same, there was no occasion to

talk of it. But if not, it was not words but deeds that must renew it: That as for the affair of Bretagne, he could not help thinking it strange that the King of France should make him his instrument to ruin one of his best allies, and moreover pretend, he was very much obliged to him for it: As for the Duchess's marriage, he meant not to meddle with it, provided the King of France would proceed by law and not by the sword: That however, what had passed in Bretagne as well as in Flanders did not make so deep an impression, as to refuse to treat of peace, if all their other affairs might be debated at the same time. That as for the war upon Naples, the King had but one thing to say, which was, as the King of France thought himself bound in honour to try to recover that Kingdom, so France. for the same reason the King thought himself obliged to exert his utmost for the recovery of Guienne, Normandy, and the Kingdom of France itself, which of right belonged to him."

Henry had easily discovered the design of this embassy, and that, by a general proposal to live in peace with him, Charles had no other view than to sound his intentions with respect to Bretagne. Wherefore, according to the maxim he had established, which was to frighten him, he threatened a war, not only for the interest of the Duchess of Bretagne, but also for his own.

Meanwhile, it is likely he spoiled his affairs by carrying the artifice too far, and that Charles was sensible, this answer was only bare words, which would not be followed by deeds. It was not at all probable, that in the then situation of France, Henry who tottered as it were in the throne of a Kingdom full of malcontents, would renew a quarrel of that importance, of which he could not naturally expect to see a happy Issue.

1490 AD] His reputation for being one of the most prudent Princes of his time, made it incredible that he would embark in such an undertaking. So Charles taking for granted, that he intended only to frighten him, still pursued his course, with respect to Bretagne, and succeeded in the end, as will be seen under the next year. On the other hand, his ambassadors, surprised at the Chancellor's speech, answered with warmth, that the King their Sovereign feared not such threats, and was able to maintain his just rights against any person whatever[63].

The Chancellor calmly replied, the King expected no other answer from them; but would forthwith send ambassadors, to the King of France, to acquaint him more fully with his intentions. Then he asked them whether the King of France would agree to have the disposal of the marriage of the Duchess of Bretagne, with an exception that he should not marry her himself[64]. The Ambassadors answered, the King their master was so far from any thoughts of marrying the Duchess of Bretagne, that he had given them no instructions upon that head.

During all these Negotiations, Ann was extremely troubled to see no aid come either from Maximilian or the King of England. She had hitherto, kept her marriage secret; but perceiving it could not be concealed any longer, and that it was not honourable to hide it from him whom she deemed her principal protector, sent a solemn embassy into England, consisting of the prince of Orange, the Earl of Dunois, and the Chancellor.

Their business was to desire aid, and probably, notify her marriage to the King. For, till after this embassy which arrived in England the beginning of the next year, we do not find in the Public Acts, Maximilian's name joined with her's.

In February 1491 Henry sent ambassadors into France[65] according to his promise. Their Commission was, to treat of all his differences with King Charles, and in particular of a certain sum due to him from that Prince, as also of the affair between Charles and the Duchess Bretagne. These instructions alone are a clear evidence, that Henry designed not vigorously to push his pretensions to the realm of France, or at least, to Guienne and Normandy. For, is it probable that he would have comprised under the general word differences his claim to all France, or to two of the richest provinces, and have specified a debt of a hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns,

if the first had been the principal? It is therefore manifest, he still persisted in his desire to end the affair of Bretagne without war, and to secure the sums he had advanced.

A few days after, he appointed commissioners to treat with the ambassadors that came last from Bretagne. Then it was probable, that the Duchess's marriage with Maximilian was imparted to him[66]. Perhaps he was told of it before, though he pretended ignorance, because it had not been notified to him in form.

Meanwhile, Charles having at last heard of this marriage, which had been made a great secret, resolved to use no more ceremony, but vigorously hasten the conquest of Bretagne. In all appearance, he plainly saw through Henry's disguises, and perhaps believed the acquisition of Bretagne well worth the hazarding a rupture with England. As for Maximilian, he did not much fear him, and had an infallible expedient to pacify the King of Aragon, by restoring Rousillon, much less important to the crown of France than Bretagne.

So, without further consideration, he ordered Rennes, capital of the Duchy, to be invested, where the Princess then was. During the siege, which lasted some months, Ann sent into England, John Bouteiller Lord of Maupertuis, and Peter Cojalu, to desire Henry's assistance. Shortly after she sent also the Countess de la Val, and the Marshal Rieux, and some others, to inform him of her condition, and demonstrate to him, that Bretagne was going to fall into the hands of France.

This Embassy furnished the King with a pretence to borrow money of his subjects, to enable him to make war upon France. And yet, though he seemed extremely in haste, he gave no orders for levying troops, but was very intent upon collecting the loans.

Not long after, the league between Henry and Ferdinand was renewed. They agreed once more, that in May, or at farthest in June the next year[67], each should enter France at the head of an army. Maximilian promised likewise to do the same, and sent an aid of two thousand men to his Duchess. But all this tended only to make a great noise, in order to deter the King of France from his design to conquer Bretagne. It was not the intention either of Henry, or Ferdinand, or Maximilian, to make war upon France. Ferdinand was then entirely employed in the war of Granada, and if he leagued with Henry, it was only to oblige King Charles by the terror of the league, to restore him Rousillon, being very ready to desist the moment he should be possessed of that province.

Maximilian's aim, who had neither men nor money, was to engage the Kings of England and Spain in a war with France, and reap all the fruit, by the possession of the Duchess and Duchy of Bretagne. So, Henry not being able to depend in any measure upon such allies, and seeing Bretagne almost lost, was unwilling to engage alone in its defence. His sole aim was to secure by the dread of this league, the payment of what was owed him by France and Bretagne. Mean while, Henry and Ferdinand, in order to attain their ends, were to feign a real intention to make war upon France.

Whilst these two Monarchs were taking measures to accomplish their designs, and the ambassadors of Bretagne were waiting in vain at London, Charles caused the siege of Rennes to be continued. But finding the siege was in an ill way, and the season now far advanced, he sought and found a readier and more effectual means than the sword to secure the possession of Bretagne.

He gained, by his liberalities, all the young Duchess's counsellors, who should persuade her to break off her marriage with Maximilian, and take himself for her husband. Perhaps he had formed that project before. But however, he first discovered it during the siege of Rennes. When he was secure of the concurrence of the Lords of Bretagne, he caused the Duchess, then above fifteen years of age, to be so importuned, that she had not a moment's repose. She at first courageously withstood all their solicitations, affirming, she could not resolve to be false to a Prince whom

she had voluntarily espoused. But it was represented to her: That Maximilian had forsaken her first: That instead of coming in person to defend her, or at least, of sending her aids proportional to her wants, he had remained quietly in Germany, as if what passed in Bretagne no way concerned him: That in the present posture of affairs, it was impossible to hinder Bretagne from becoming a Province of France, and then Maximilian would regard her still less, when he saw her dispossessed of her dominions:

Nay, perhaps she would have the confusion to see that he himself would cancel his marriage, and so lose at once both her Duchy and spouse, and reduce her subjects to slavery: That in marrying the King of France, she might secure by a treaty, the sovereignty and liberties of Bretagne; whereas, by an obstinate and fruitless defence, she would ruin her subjects, without reaping any advantage herself.

In fine. That the King of France was more proper for one of her age: That the glorious title of Queen of the Romans, and Empress, ought not to tempt her, since that of Queen of France, with a real Kingdom, was not of less value. Meanwhile, as the Duchess resisted, Charles thought of another expedient to conquer her resolution.

He went himself and took the Duke of Orleans out of the tower of Bourges, where he was confined after the battle of St. Aubin, and told him, that knowing how great confidence the young Duchess of Bretagne placed in him, he required him, in return for his freedom, to try to persuade her to comply with his desires. The Duke of Orleans, who was tired of his imprisonment, willingly accepted of the office, and repairing to Rennes, succeeded at last in determining the Duchess to the marriage, which was accordingly concluded December the 16th 1491.

Whilst this affair was in hand, Charles amused the English ambassadors, being unwilling to conclude anything, or even treat with them till he saw the success of his negotiation with Ann. At last, the hearing the marriage was upon the point of conclusion, withdrew about the end of November, without taking leave.

Thus Henry saw, not without confusion, that he had lost the fruit of his avaricious policy, not only as he not saved Bretagne, but chiefly as the reimbursement of the sums he had advanced, was become more precarious than ever. Nevertheless, he had still one refuge left, which he knew how to improve, and which brought him off, if not with honour, at least with a pecuniary advantage, the thing he had all along aimed at.

Happily for him, Charles was possessed with his design to conquer the Kingdom of Naples. As a rupture with England would have laid invincible obstacles in his way, he thought it should by all means be avoided. Henry on his part, well knowing that, in the present juncture, Charles would not scruple to purchase a peace, feigned an extreme resentment of the affront he had received, and a resolution to be revenged at any rate.

The moment his ambassadors made their report, he issued out orders to levy forces, and prepare transports, intimating, he was going to undertake the most dreadful war that had ever been between England and France[68]. He seemed to prepare to tread in the steps of Edward III and Henry V, and not think of resting till he had forced the crown of France from the House of Valais. We shall see presently to what all this ardour tended.

Maximilian was enraged when he heard Charles had thus injuriously robbed him of his wife. He threatened, like Henry, to carry fire and sword into the heart of France, in revenge of so deadly an affront. On the other hand, the Archduke Philip demanded his sister Margaret who was at Paris, and affianced to King Charles.

But the Court of France did not yet think fit to send back that Princess. They feared neither father nor son. Their whole attention was employed in laying the storm with which they were threatened

from England and Spain, and which appeared much more violent than it really was. But before I relate the effects of this quarrel, it will be necessary briefly to mention the affairs of Scotland.

Since James IV's accession to the crown of Scotland, he had found it very difficult to maintain himself in the Throne. The troubles which immediately broke out, still continued by the policy of the King of England, who took care to foment them. He gave from time to time the Scotch malcontents some little aids, which enabled them to support themselves, but not to make any great progress against their King.

It is a policy very usual with Princes, to cherish the troubles of their neighbours, in a belief that it is a most effectual way to preserve Peace at home, though there are some who would scruple to use such means. But Henry was not of this number. He even seems to have been less scrupulous than many others, since we find in the *Collection of The Public Acts*, that the Lord Bothwel and Sir Thomas Tod, both Scots, had engaged to deliver into his hands the persons of the King of Scotland, and the Duke of Ross his brother, which could not be done without notorious treachery.

It even appears by the record, that he had lent the Earl of Boghan and Sir Thomas Tod, £266. 1 3 s. 4 d. Sterling, to enable them to execute this design, and that Tod left his son in hostage for security. This act is dated April the 17th 1491.

This project miscarrying, Henry who was preparing for the war with France, would first be secured from the diversions, the Scots might make in England during his absence, James for his part, desired nothing more than to deprive those of his subjects that were in arms against him, of the protection ever afforded them by the King of England. So, the two Kings sending their Ambassadors to Coldstream upon Tweed, a Treaty of Truce was concluded, from the 21st of December, to that day five years 1496.

By this Treaty, the City of Berwick, with its Territory was to stand neuter, and the Lordship of Larn in Scotland with the little Island of Lundey belonging to England, were excepted out of the truce. Henry ratified the Treaty January the 9th, 1492. But probably, the King of Scotland, whether bribed by France, or from some other motive, refused to confirm it. He agreed however, to a much shorter Truce, from the 20th of February 1402 to 20th of November following.

France seemed to be threatened from all sides with a furious war. Maximilian pressed it to the utmost of his power, reckoning that his son Philip, then twenty years old, would make a powerful diversion in Flanders, whilst the allies acted in other places. Henry was openly preparing for war with great noise and boasting. In fine, Ferdinand and Isabella, who had lately put a glorious period to the war with the Moors, by the taking of Granada, publicly threatened to invade France.

Charles therefore would have been in great danger, had this powerful league been in reality, what it was in appearance. After taking possession of Bretagne, he thought of executing his grand project, concerning the conquest of Naples. But one must first dispel the storm that was gathering in Spain, England, and Flanders. Whilst he was wholly employed in this affair, Henry was no less intent upon his own concerns.

In the beginning of the year 1492, he assembled a parliament, and communicated to both houses his design to carry war into France, not with intent to asked their advice, as in the case of Bretagne, but to acquaint them with his resolution to exert his utmost endeavours to recover the kingdom of France, which she called the inheritance of his ancestors.

To inflame them the more, he set before them the glorious battles of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt, where the English alone, with a small number of troops, vanquished the strongest armies of France. He would thereby insinuate, that he was no less a warrior than Edward III, the Prince of Wales his son, and Henry V. In demanding an aid of money proportionate to the greatness of the enterprise, he exhorted the Commons to spare the purses of the poor, and lay

the tax upon the rich, not at all questioning, whether what he required would be granted. Certainly great fault might have been found with his management of the former subsidy.

It was granted for the defence of Bretagne, and yet the Duchy was lost without his using the least endeavours to prevent it. But the conquest of the Kingdom of France was a very proper decoy to draw in the Parliament. The truth is, the King had no desire to embark in so hazardous an undertaking. He knew that France being now at unity with itself, the conquest of it would be too difficult a task.

Of his two allies, the one had will but not power, and the other had power but not will; Ferdinand's aim being, by shew of war to attain a peace, which might procure him the restitution of Roussillon. Besides, as he had but newly ended his war with the Moors, he was not in condition to begin another with France. However, Henry expressed to his Parliament and Council, an ardent desire to render his name famous, by the conquest of France, or at least of Normandy and Guienne.

Herein he had a view to his profit two ways, upon his subjects for a subsidy for the war, and upon his enemies for a peace, which would secure him the payment of what was due to him. He easily foresaw, that the defection of the King of the Romans, and of Ferdinand, would afford him a plausible excuse to desist from a war he was undertaking with so much noise. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Exeter, were the only persons that knew his real intentions. Shortly after, the last was removed to the see of Bath and Wells.

The Parliament took fire, as the King expected, and granted him a very considerable sum, which, pursuant to his desire, was to be levied upon the rich, by the name of Benevolence [69]. This sort of Tax was introduced by Edward IV, and raised without consent of Parliament. Richard III, to ingratiate himself with the people, abolished it, but this Parliament revived it[70], and gave it the seal of their authority[71].

Shortly after, Henry received ambassadors from King Charles, with proposals that were not made public. There was reason to believe, nothing was concluded in their conferences with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop Fox, since the warlike preparations were still seen to continue. However, very likely, these ambassadors laid the first foundations of the peace, which was made before the end of the year.

In June[72] the Queen was delivered of a Prince, who succeeded the King his father by the name of Henry VIII.

The preparations which were making in England were very seasonable for the Archduke Philip. Since the last year Gantois had revolted once more, and set at their head Philip de Cleves, a great stickler for France. Some troubles in Holland preventing the Archduke from endeavouring to suppress this revolt, it was the middle of this year before he marched against Philip de Cleves, and besieged him in Sluice. He would have found it difficult to take that place, if Henry had not sent him twelve ships, and two thousand five hundred men[73]. With this aid he was enabled to compel the rebels to sue for peace, and deliver Sluice into his hands.

As the King had no intention to push vigorously the war with France hastened not his preparations, being glad to begin the campaign late, in order to end it the sooner. Meanwhile, he sent ambassadors to France[74], to shew he was willing to try fair means before he proceeded to arms. But it is extremely probable, this embassy was sent only to finish, with King Charles, the terms of peace. moreover, the King's honour was to be secured, who after making so much noise, was unwilling to desist, without a seeming necessity.

To that end he must act in concert with the King of France. the same time, Henry sent ambassadors [75] to the King of the Romans, and to Ferdinand, to summon them to take the field and enter France according to their treaty. But he knew they had neither power nor will to perform their

engagements. Maximilian had no army, and Ferdinand was now in treaty with Charles, for the restitution of Roussillon. And yet, Henry pretending ignorance of these things, seemed to have great dependence upon them.

In the beginning of August he issued out orders for the levying a greater number of forces, and on the 22nd of the same month, appointed Commissioners to confer at Coldstream, with those of Scotland. All this afforded him pretences to delay his expedition. At length, though not till the 2nd of October[76], he came to Dover in order to embark[77], having constituted by patent his eldest son Arthur Prince of Wales, guardian of the Realm.

Such of his courtiers who were ignorant of his designs, could not forbear telling him, it was very late to begin a campaign. But he answered, that he intended not to make a summer's business of the war, and therefore it did not signify when it began, that he had Calais at his back, where he might winter, in order to be ready to open the campaign early next spring. He arrived the same day at Calais, where his whole army being assembled, amounted to twenty five thousand foot, and sixteen hundred horse[78].

Before he embarked, Henry received a letter from the Marshal Desquerdes, offering a negotiation of peace in England[79]. But he thought it more proper, in order to salve appearances, to treat in France itself. He was scarce landed at Calais, when the ambassadors sent to the King of the Romans arrived, and told him, that Maximilian was wholly unprepared to enter France as he had promised. This news was immediately made known to the whole army.

Some days after, he received from his ambassadors in Spain, letters which were likewise made public, importing, that Ferdinand had concluded a peace with the King of France, upon promise to restore Roussillon, without demanding the three hundred thousand crowns lent by Lewis XI upon that country. Henry knew all this before, but had so ordered, that these advices came together after his arrival in France, that it might appear, he was forced to the peace he intended to make.

Upon these advices, at which he feigned to be very much surprised, he agreed, that Richard Fox Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the Lord d'Aubeney Governor of Calais should enter into conference at Estaples, with the Marshal Desquerdes. He marched however the 15th of October, to besiege Boulogne, and in four days appeared before the place. It must be remarked, that King Charles was then at Tours, and though the warlike preparations in England had made great noise, there was no army in Picardy to oppose the invasion of the English; at least History mentions no such thing.

This is a clear evidence that all Henry's proceedings were concerted with the King of France, who was not so unprovided with troops, but he could have sent an army sufficient to stop his progress. So, this pretended siege of Boulogne was only an artifice to discourage the English, that by considering the difficulties of a siege at such a season, they might be the less surprised at a peace. At the end of eight days, Henry received at the camp before Boulogne, the articles of peace agreed by the commissioners of both parties, with the approbation of the two Kings, the substance whereof was as follows:—

I. That the King of France should discharge the debt contracted by his Queen for the defence of Bretagne, which debt, according to the English Ambassadors account, amounted to six hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, French Money, which is £124,000.

II. That the King of France should pay the King of England the arrears of the yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns paid by Lewis XI to Edward IV, amounting in all to a hundred twenty-five thousand crowns, which is £25,000 sterling.

III. That the King of France should pay these two debts at several times, namely, fifty thousand livres every year, every livre at twenty Scutz, or crowns, and to be paid half-yearly, till the whole was paid.

IV. Whereas in the obligation given by the Duchess of Bretagne to the King of England, there was no sum specified, the King of England should be obliged to make proof of his debt before commissioners of Bretagne or France, to be sent to England for that purpose.

V. That the two Kings should name such of their allies as they meant to include in the peace, who should be obliged to declare within four months, whether they would be included or not.

VI. That in case the King of the Romans, and the Archduke Philip his son desired to be included in the treaty, and if afterwards the King of France should, in any manner whatever, invade their country, it should be lawful for the King of England to assist them. But if, on the contrary, they should attack the King of France, the King of England should give them no aid.

VII. That in case the two Kings approved of these articles, they should give each other hostages till the Treaty was drawn and signed in form.

As these articles exactly corresponded with Henry's intentions, from the beginning of the war of Bretagne, there is no question that they were framed by himself or his own ambassadors. And yet, he would have them pass for proposals from the French King, and feigned to doubt whether he should accept or reject them. For that purpose, he called a council of all the lords and general officers, and sent them the articles, with his orders to give him their real opinion. As probably this council was managed by some person of great credit who was in the King's secret, all that were present unanimously agreed, he ought to accept of the terms.

They gave their reasons in a long memorial under all their hands, which in short, omitting the exaggerations, were at follow:—

I. The first reason was taken from the length of the nights and coldness of the weather, the want of provisions as they were to come by sea, the fear of distempers, and the like.

II. The second reason was founded upon the consideration of the sum offered, far exceeding any ever yet paid by France to the King's predecessors; and likewise, upon the apprehension of the murmurings the refusal of a peace might occasion in England and in the army.

III. They alleged as a third reason, the great advantage that would accrue by the peace to the King of the Romans and the Archduke: The benefit they had already received in the restitution of Sluice. And lastly, the fruits which the English merchants would reap, since the peace would secure their commerce with Flanders.

IV. They said, the King had honourably kept his word with his allies, notwithstanding the instances of his council, who solicited him to defer his expedition to a more convenient season, and till his allies should be ready: That he had led his army into France, put himself in condition to encounter alone all the enemy's forces, and exposed his person to the greatest dangers, at a time when his allies disappointed him. That therefore, if the war was not continued, he might very justly cast the blame upon them.

V. That the King was far from being in the same situation with Edward IV, when he led an army into France; That Edward was joined by the Duke of Burgundy with all his forces, and by several French lords who were in his interest: That he was in possession of all the towns as far as the Somme, and began the war in the midst of summer: That, on the contrary, the King was not assisted with any foreign troops: That when he marched out of the gates of Calais, he entered the enemy's country, and was advanced to Boulogne: That he had razed several places, as Ardres and Montory, and had stood four and twenty days ready for battle, defying the armies of France.

VI. That very likely, the people of England would thank the King for a peace which would put an end to taxes and exactions, and restore the public tranquillity.

VII. They added on more, that the restoring the Archduke to his dominions, would rebound to the King's honour, and the nation's advantage, by reason of their trade with his subjects.

VIII. They said, that before the siege of Boulogne, it was thought to be a weak place and easy to be taken; but on the contrary, it was found to be well fortified, strongly garrisoned, and plentifully provided with artillery and provisions. That therefore, in all appearance, if the King continued the siege, he would be forced to raise it with disgrace, whereas by making a peace, he could retire with honour.

IX. Their last reason was, that it was impracticable to continue the war during the winter, without utterly destroying the army, which would extremely afflict the whole Kingdom.

If these reasons are never so little considered, they will be found to be all false and deceitful, except the article of the money, which was the only true one. Without weighing them too particularly, I shall only observe that of all the inconveniences alleged by the officers, there was not one but what the King might have foreseen, and actually did foresee. He could blame himself only for beginning the campaign so late.

All in the 5th article concerning Edward IV is evidently false. As for the murmurs of the people, which were pretended to be feared in case the King rejected the peace, it was much more probable, on the contrary, that the nation would murmur to see the money given for a war with France, employed in making a dishonourable peace, advantageous duly to the King. In a word, the King's precaution to cause this peace to be approved by the officers of his army was a clear evidence, he was himself convinced of the little advantage it would be to England.

Henry feigning to be determined by these reasons to accept of the peace, the treaty was drawn up in form, and signed at Estaples the 3rd of November[80]. Charles ratified it the 6th of the same month. He was then at Tours, unconcerned at the seemingly threatened invasion, though an English army in France had ever made his predecessors extremely uneasy. What was peculiar to this treaty, was, that though it was called a treaty of peace, it was however to expire with the lives of the two Kings. But the successor of him that died first, was to ratify it within a year after his accession to the crown.

I imagine this was an expedient devised to excuse the silence concerning the Kingdom of France or at least, Guienne and Normandy, of which there was no mention, though the war was proclaimed solely upon that occasion.

Meanwhile, this treaty, which properly concerned only the payment of two debts, was to be approved and confirmed by the states of France, and the Parliament of England. This shews, it was not considered as a bare truce, and indeed it was called a Treaty of Peace. But on the other

hand, it is hard to conceive how a treaty, wherein the principal difference was not settled, and which was to be in force but till the death of the two Kings, could be deemed a Treaty of Peace. Can anything be more like a truce?

However this be, Henry took great care to see that the King of France ratified every particular article of the treaty, and especially those concerning the payment of the money. Charles was likewise, on his part, very punctual in paying the fifty thousand livres every year[81], as was also Lewis XII his Successor.

After this manner ended the war of Bretagne, which lasted since the year 1487. I say the war of Bretagne, because that I have been speaking of, was only a consequence thereof. Henry reaped the intended advantage, that is to say, large sums of money which were not employed in the service of the public. In the first place, he obtained of the Parliament a tenth of all the personal estates of his subjects, of which he expended no more than was necessary for levying and maintaining six thousand men for eight months. But this expense was only advanced, the money being repaid him with interest.

We have seen that he mounted his charges to six hundred and twenty thousand crowns of gold, a prodigious sum in those days, when money was much scarcer than at present[82]. In the next place, he borrowed money throughout the whole Kingdom, which probably was never repaid. There was likewise granted him a subsidy under the name of benevolence, which amounted to a very great sum, much beyond what was necessary for the maintenance of his army, the two or three months it was on foot.

Lastly, he received a hundred and twenty-five thousand crowns for the arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. But on the other hand, he suffered Bretagne to be lost, to the irreparable damage of England, since her alliance with the Duke of Bretagne gave her an advantage over France which she could never after recover. Besides, the recovery of the money advanced for Bretagne, is to be ascribed rather to his good fortune than policy.

He was solely indebted for it to the King of France's design upon the Kingdom of Naples, which induced him to purchase a peace with England. Otherwise, Henry would have found it very difficult to recover his money, and who knows what might have happened, had he been forced to obtain it by dint of sword? But the advantages Charles reaped by this peace were much more considerable. For the pension of fifty thousand livres paid a few years, and which he received with interest from Bretagne, he annexed that Duchy to the Crown of France, and deprived the English of their most considerable ally.

I have dwelt the longer upon the circumstances of this affair, because they perfectly discover the genius and character of Henry VII. This monarch, ever greedy of money, having always his interest in view, found means to make an advantage whether of war or of peace, and turn every thing to his profit. It was he that by his policy, wholly bent to his own private interest, gave the turn we have seen to the affairs of Bretagne.

The same day the peace of Estaples was signed, the ambassadors of England and Scotland concluded at Coldstream a truce, from the 3rd of November this year, to the 30th of April 1494.

Henry having concluded a peace with France according to his own scheme, set out for London, where he arrived the 17th of December.

On the 5th of November the Archduke's forces surprised arras, which had been fifteen years in the hands of the French. Philip refusing to be included in the peace of Estaples, the war continued in Flanders till the next year.

In August this year 1492, Christopher Columbus sailed the first time from Cadiz, with King Ferdinand's license, in quest of the new World[83].

Henry imagined he might for the future hope for a peaceable reign. He saw among his subjects no appearance of revolt. Not a Prince or Princess of the House of York was in condition to give him any disturbance. He kept the Earl of Warwick prisoner in the tower. Edward IV's daughters were in his power, and there was no Lord of the York party of sufficient credit to raise commotions in the Kingdom. On the other hand, he was in peace or truce with his neighbours, and in the seven years and a half that he had been on the throne, had by his economy heaped up such large sums of money, as none of his predecessors had ever been master of at once.

And yet this state of prosperity was not capable of dismaying his enemies. Whilst he was wholly employed in the affairs I have been relating the Duchess dowager of Burgundy was labouring to raise him troubles at home, so much the more dangerous as they were not suspected. This Princess was not ignorant how well disposed the English and Irish were to the House of York; and upon their affection she chiefly built her hopes of dethroning Henry.

Though Lambert Simnel's affair had miscarried, she did not ascribe the ill success so much to the project itself, as to the managers. Besides, Henry was exposed to the hazard of a battle, which he might have lost, and it was not impossible but he might be vanquished for the future, if he was in the same case. Thus she did not despair of wresting the crown from the House of Lancaster, or rather of Tudor, after which, she reckoned it would be easy to restore the House of York.

Since Simnel's misfortune, she had never ceased to spread a report, either by herself or emissaries, that Richard Duke of York, second son of Edward IV, had escaped the cruelty of his uncle Richard III, and was still alive. This she did to prepare people to receive a second phantom, who was to personate the young Prince her nephew, as Lambert Simnel had personated the Earl of Warwick. To this end, she looked out carefully for young lads of the Duke of York's age, fit for her purpose. At length she met with one, in whom she fancied to see all the qualities requisite to represent that Prince.

His name was Perkin Warbeck, son of (John Osbeck) a Jewish convert of Tournay, who had long lived at London. Edward IV having occasion to know this Jew, and receive some service from him, was pleased to do him the honour to stand Godfather to one of his children, and gave him the name of Peter, from whence was formed the diminutive Peterkin, or Perkin. Some years after, Osbeck being returned into Flanders, placed young Perkin with one of his relations at Antwerp, who kept him some time.

This Boy was so handsome, and endowed with qualities so far above his birth, that many suspected Edward IV to be his Father. And indeed it was something extraordinary, that Edward should stand Godfather to one of so mean parentage. Be this as it will, Perkin going from Antwerp, lived in several towns of Flanders, and shifted habitation so often, that when Henry afterwards would have traced him, in order to know the whole story of his life, he found it very difficult. As Perkin generally conversed with the English settled in the Low-Countries, he was so perfect in the English tongue that he might easily be taken for an Englishman, especially as he had spent his childhood at London.

This youth being mentioned to the Duchess of Burgundy, she commanded him to be privately brought to her palace, and finding him fit for her design, took care to instruct him, with respect to the person he was to represent. Hence we may guess, Perkin must have been a youth of great wit and sense, to enter into the Duchess's designs, otherwise it would have been fruitless to give him instructions.

Be this as it will, she so often described Edward IV, his Queen, Prince Edward their eldest son,

and the Princesses their daughters, that after several repetitions of her lesson, he could talk very pertinently of the court, of the King his pretended father, at least as far as the Duke of York could be supposed to know. The natural way he had learnt of relating circumstances fit for a child's memory, and certain particulars of Edward's court, made the Duchess believe, he would not fail to gain credit when he appeared in the world.

Above all, she took care to make him perfect in what he was to frame, whilst in sanctuary with the Queen, and when taken from thence by the contrivance of Richard III, and particularly in the manner of his escaping the hands of the executioners, who were ordered to murder him.

These were particulars so much the easier to be counterfeited, as there were but few people who could contradict them. Moreover, she taught him to assume the air and character of a well-bred Prince. She found the youth so apt a scholar, that she was herself surprised at it. In a short time, Perkin so used himself to talk and act like a Prince, that one would have sworn he had been born so, and educated in a palace.

It is not known when the Duchess of Burgundy took Perkin home to instruct him. But very likely, it was not long after the battle of Stoke, where the Earl of Lincoln, and Lambert Simnel were vanquished. However that be, the affair of Bretagne causing that Princess to think Henry would soon break with France, as himself would have had it believed, resolved Perkin should appear as Duke of York, so soon as the war was begun.

Meanwhile, being very sensible, if he appeared first in Flanders, or in any town in the Low-Countries, the world would not fail to suspect her, she sent him into Portugal[84], where he lived unknown for a year. At length, in 1492, the the war between England and France seeming unavoidable, she dispatched orders to Perkin to repair into Ireland, where probably, she had already been tampering with several persons of note. Perkin instantly obeying, and arriving at Cork, called himself Duke of York, Son of Edward IV, in which he was countenanced by the Mayor, who, it is likely, was in the plot.

A few days after, he writ to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, great friends of the House of York, acquainting them with his arrival, and desiring them to come and join him. Henry was then employed in his preparations for his expedition into France. As the Duchess of Burgundy imagined he would depart early in the spring, she expected, he would be embarked in the war with France, by the time Perkin appeared in Ireland, in which she was mistaken.

The report that the Duke of York was come from Portugal into Ireland, caused no alteration in the King's measures. He believed it to be only a contrivance to divert him from his enterprise. However, presently after he was told, the Duke of York who had appeared in Ireland, was gone into France, which made him very uneasy. And indeed the news was but too true.

It happened some time before, that one Frion Secretary to the King for the French tongue, had withdrawn from court, and retired to Paris, where he was very well received. This Frion, who followed King Charles's court, hearing the Duke of York was in Ireland, told that monarch of it, intimating, he might make that affair turn to account.

Whatever Charles thought of this pretender, he really believed that, though he was an impostor, he might be serviceable to him in making a peace with Henry. In this belief, he sent Frion into Ireland, to invite the pretender in his name to come to him, with assurance of his protection and aid to recover the crown of his ancestors.

Perkin seeing himself invited by a Prince so great and so capable to assist him, departed without a moment's consideration. When he was arrived in France, he waited upon the King, who gave him a very gracious reception, treated him as Duke of York, lodged him in his palace, and assigned him a guard, under colour of doing him honour, but in reality to hinder the King of

England from causing him to be seized. The courtiers imitated their masters in striving to pay the same respects to Perkin, as they would have done to the Duke of York. Shortly after, above a hundred Englishmen, dissatisfied with the King, repaired to Paris with offers of their service to the pretender. But the honours Perkin received at the court of France were of no long continuance.

As soon as Charles was almost sure of a peace, he dismissed him, for fear Henry, who had now demanded him, should make it one of the articles of the treaty. He was unwilling to be thought to surprise the young man, in order to deliver him to his enemy; as on the other hand, he would not have the peace miscarry for his sake.

Perkin thought himself very happy to be thus freed, he was afraid of worse usage, when he heard a Peace was treating between the two Kings. Having readily quitted the Court of France, he retired into Flanders to the Duchess of Burgundy, taking great care not to discover, he had ever seen her before. At the first interview, Margaret acted her part extremely well. She treated him very roughly, and seemed much surprised, that in her presence he should dare to call himself Duke of York.

She said publicly, that having been already imposed upon by a counterfeit Earl of Warwick, she should be more upon her guard, and it would not be easy to deceive her the second time. That therefore she advised him to retire, lest he incurred the punishment due to his boldness. Perkin seemed not at all troubled at these threats, and confessing she was in the right to doubt, persisted however in affirming, he was the Duke of York her nephew.

The Duchess feigning a desire to convince him of imposture before her whole court, put certain questions to him, to which, she knew, he could make pertinent answers. Accordingly, he replied in so natural and unaffected a manner, that the Duchess seemed astonished. In short, they played their parts so well, that the Duchess pretending she could not resist such evident proofs, owned him for her nephew, assigned him a guard of thirty Halberdiers, and gave him the title of the white Rose, the badge of the House of York. Perkin on his part, laboured to convince the world, he was the real Duke of York, by his natural way of relating the principal passages of his Life.

If at any time his dismissal out of France was objected to him, he answered with a sigh, it was not very strange, a young Prince, persecuted by fortune, should be sacrificed to the policy of two powerful Monarchs. That this very thing was a strong argument in his favour, since the peace between Charles and Henry could be established only upon his ruin. What Perkin said, added to the Duchess's public approbation, satisfied the whole Court, he was the true Duke of York, and from thence the rumour spread throughout all the Low-Countries, and at last over all Europe.

News being brought into England, about the beginning of the year 1493, that the Duke of York was in Flanders, and owned by the Duchess of Burgundy, it caused great motions in the Kingdom. The thing was presently credited by an infinite number of people, some of whom were dissatisfied with the King, and others greedy of novelty. Some blindly followed their leaders, and others, whose fortunes were desperate, wished for a change in the government.

The King was not generally beloved. The loss of Bretagne; his late peace with the King of France; the uncivil usage the Queen and the whole House of York had received, and daily did receive at his hands; and lastly, his unnecessary taxes, were but too apt to make the people wish the report to be true.

The King was surprised to see with what greediness the news was received. It convinced him of his great danger from the Yorkists, and their constant readiness to embrace all opportunities to ruin him if it was possible. He appeared however unconcerned, lest his fears should encourage his enemies. So, continuing to act as usual, he waited till they more plainly discovered their designs.

In the beginning of March, Henry sent[85] the Order of the Garter to Alphonso Duke of Calabria, eldest Son of Ferdinand King of Naples. Alphonso had been extremely desirous of this honour, to insinuate to the Princes of Italy, that he had in the King of England a protector who would not suffer him to be oppressed. He would have thereby induced them to league with the King his father, against Charles VIII, who was going to undertake the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples.

A few days after, Henry concluded at London a treaty of perpetual peace and amity with Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Castile and Aragon. This Alliance, which was a reciprocal engagement of mutual assistance upon all occasions, was particular in that it extended not to all the Kings of England and Spain without distinction, but only to all their successors descended from them[86]. In this treaty, the marriage articles between Prince Arthur and Catherine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, were confirmed and renewed[87].

Mean while, the King's enemies, not content with countenancing the report concerning the Duke of York, were now labouring to form a conspiracy to dethrone him. His covetous temper had alienated several of the firmest friends to his person and the House of Lancaster. William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, Brother of the Earl of Derby, John Ratcliff Lord Fitz-Walter, Sir Robert Clifford, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William Barley, were the chief heads of this conspiracy.

The Lord Chamberlain had greatly contributed to his victory of Bosworth, by declaring for him in so critical a minute. The King owned it, but thought him well rewarded with the spoils of Bosworth field, and the office of Lord Chamberlain. But Stanley thinking this too mean a recompense, was not satisfied.

So Robert Clifford was son of him that murdered the young Earl of Rutland, brother of Edward IV, at the battle of Wakefield; and afterwards lost his life in fighting for the house of Lancaster. Probably, Henry had forgot the constant attachment of the family to his house, and neglected to give him a share in his favours. Clifford and Barley were deputed by the conspirators to go into Flanders, and concert measures with the Duchess of Burgundy and the pretended Duke of York, for the accomplishment of their designs.

The Duchess gave them a very simple reception, deeming it a good omen, that process and ease of her house should be the first to offer their service. Shortly after their arrival, Clifford wrote to his friends in England, that the Duke of York, son of Edward IV, was in Flanders, and that he knew him perfectly well. The news inflamed the conspirators, and from that time, they spared no pains to gain adherents to the pretended Duke of York.

Whilst the King's enemies were labouring to create him fresh troubles, he himself was no less intent upon devising means to prevent the impending storm[88]. His principal business was to undeceive the people, and, to succeed, there was occasion for two sorts of proofs. First, it was necessary to shew that the Duke of York was dead; in the second place, that though he were alive, the person that borrowed his name was a counterfeit.

To prove the Duke of York was not living, it was necessary to produce the testimonies of those who had taken away his life, or seen him dead, and who were but four in all; namely, Sir James Tyrrel, ordered by Richard III of York to put that Prince to death; John Dighton, employed Tyrrel to commit the fact; Miles Forest his servant, who assisted him, and the priest who buried the two Princes.

Of these four persons, the priest and Forest were dead, and there remained only Tyrrel and Dighton. These were apprehended by the King's order and sent to prison. Then, after a private examination, it was given out, that they agreed in their depositions; namely that Dighton and Forest smothered the two Princes in their Bed; and shewed their dead bodies to Tyrrel, and that

the priest afterwards buried them under a staircase. That soon after, Richard ordered them to be removed elsewhere, by the same priest who was since dead, without discovering where he had laid them. It is likely however, that Tyrell's deposition was not so favourable for the King's purpose as Dighton's, since he was detained in prison, whereas Dighton was released, probably, that he might divulge his own evidence.

The publishing of these testimonies produced not the effect the King expected. For, what proof could a confession form, taken at a private examination, and published by him whose interest it was to make it appear for his advantage? In the next place, the removal of the bodies from the place where they were first interred, to another unknown, gave cause for strong suspicions. Had it not been for this removal, nothing would have been more easy than to prove the death of the two Princes, since the bodies would have been still found under the staircase.

So, people imagined, the King, wanting so natural a proof, had invented this removal, that his not making use of so convincing a proof might not be thought strange. Besides, the testimony of two villains who confessed themselves guilty of so black a crime, and whose evidence was so advantageous to the King, could not be of any great weight.

Accordingly, the King, finding this method insufficient to undeceive the people, applied himself chiefly to discover who this impostor was, that pretended to be the Duke of York.

To succeed in this design, he found no better way than to bribe several persons, who repaired to the counterfeit, under colour of offering him their service. He charged them to use all their endeavours to know who and whence he was, and to trace him from his birth to the day he came to the Duchess of Burgundy.

At the same time, he ordered them to make strict inquiry after his correspondents in England, and observe narrowly every thing that passed about him. Especially he enjoined some of the discreetest, to spare nothing to gain Sir Robert Clifford, much suspecting him to be concerned in the secret. It is said, that in order to make discoveries, he bribed the servants, and even the very confessors of the great men he suspected.

Moreover, to procure his spies in Flanders the greater credit, he used to have them pronounced excommunicate every Sunday at St. Paul's, by virtue of Pope Innocent VIII's Bull. He was so well served by that, in short, he came to know, the pretended Duke of York was no other than Perkin Warbeck.

He had perfect information of his birth, life, actions, profession and of all the places he had lived at from his childhood; which was instantly divulged throughout the whole Kingdom. Meanwhile, as the particulars were published by the King, the principal party concerned, the generality of people did not think themselves obliged to believe him upon his bare word. Their prejudice made them require more convincing proofs.

Whilst the King's spies were acting in Flanders and England, he had two affairs upon his hands from which he wanted to be disengaged, in case any troubles should arise in the Kingdom on account of the pretended Duke of York.

The first was, to make Peace with Scotland; the second, to get the peace of Estaples confirmed by the Pope, according to agreement with the King of France. For his purpose, he sent Ambassadors to Edinburgh and Rome. The former concluded with King James a truce from April the 30th 1494, to that day seven years 1501, upon the same terms with that of Coldstream, which expired the day this was to commence.

It appears by the ambassadors instructions, that he desired to conclude a marriage between the King of Scotland and Catherine daughter of the Countess of Wiltshire, and granddaughter of the

Duke of Somerset. But this marriage was not proposed, or at least the negotiation did not succeed [89].

As to the affair of Rome, the ambassadors presented to Alexander VI, a petition for a Bull of excommunication against which soever of the two Kings should not observe the treaty of Estaples. The Pope owned it to be one of the articles of the treaty, and answered, he was ready to grant such a Bull, provided the King of France did not oppose it, an instrument whereof he ordered to be given to the ambassadors.

The Emperor Frederick dying in August this year, Maximilian his son, King of the Romans, ascended the imperial throne in his room.

The 21st of the same month, John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, was made Cardinal of St. Anastasius.

Henry having had perfect information of everything to Perkin Warbeck, sent ambassadors[90] to Archduke Philip to desire him to deliver him up. He represented:—

That it was contrary to the law of nations, and the alliance they had made together, to protect a counterfeit, who sought to rob him of the crown by an evident imposture.

That he was informed of all the circumstances of Perkin's life from his cradle, and offered to produce authentic proofs of the cheat, as well as of the death of the Duke of York, whose name Warbeck borrowed.

That Perkin being only a theatrical King formed by the Duchess of Burgundy, he hoped the Archduke would not scruple to deliver him into "his hands". Philip being still a minor, his council told the Ambassadors,

That the Archduke's intention was, always to preserve a good understanding with the King of England, and therefore would give no manner of assistance to the pretended Duke of York. But the Duchess of Burgundy being sovereign in the lands of her dowry, the Archduke could not meddle with her affairs, or hinder her from doing what she thought fit."

Philip believed he had then the less reason to regard the Treaty of King of England, as he had made a peace with Charles VIII, by a treaty concluded at Senlis the 23rd of May. Charles had restored to the Archduke his sister Margaret, with the Earldoms of Artois and Burgundy; but kept some towns on promise to deliver them as soon as Philip was of age.

The ambassadors brought Philip's answer to the King, and withal told him, there was collusion between him and the Duchess of Burgundy. Henry was so provoked at this proceeding, that he broke off all commerce with the Archduke, and banished all Flemings out of his Kingdom[91]. The Archduke did the like by the English who were in Flanders. But the animosity between these two Princes went no farther, each fearing he might one day want the other's assistance.

Meanwhile, Henry having at length gained Sir Robert Clifford, who was entrusted with Warbeck's and the Duchess's secrets, had exact information of their correspondents in England. As it could not but be dangerous to let the evil increase, he resolved to apply proper remedies. For that purpose, he caused to be arrested in one day, and almost at the same instant, John Ratcliff Lord Walter, Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Thomas Thwaites, William D'Aubeney, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Cressener, and Thomas Astwood.

All these were convicted and condemned for high treason, in adhering and promising aid to Perkin. The Lord Fitz-Walter was sent prisoner to Calais with some hope of obtaining his pardon.

But his impatience causing him to attempt to make his escape, he was discovered and beheaded. Sir Simon Montfort, Sir Robert Ratcliff, and William D'Aubenev were executed immediately after their condemnation. The rest were pardoned, and those that were apprehended upon the same account, among whom were certain Dominican Friars, and (William Worsley) Dean of St. Paul's, were released. Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain, whether he was not yet informed against, or the King had a mind to stay for stronger proofs to convict him, was not touched at that time.

On the 1st of November, Henry writ to the King of France, desiring to be included in the peace of Senlis, according to the tenor of the treaty. The 17th of the France the same month, he notified to him the same thing from Ferdinand King of Naples, and Alphonso Duke of Calabria his son, who were expressly included in the peace of Senlis, on the part of the Emperor and Archduke. But however King Charles desisted not from his project of conquering Naples.

England was very quiet during the year 1494. Perkin Warbeck still remained in Flanders without offering stir, the execution of his adherents convincing him, the King knew more of his affairs than he imagined. Meantime, Henry laboured underhand to inform himself more and more concerning the circumstances of the conspiracy, and what the Duchess of Burgundy was contriving in England and elsewhere. In this Sir Robert Clifford whom he had gained, was very serviceable.

He learnt by this means, that Perkin had still some dependence in Ireland, and had writ to the Earls of Desmond and Kildare, when he landed there from Portugal. This discovery made him resolve to take care of the affairs of that Island, which had been hitherto much neglected. To that end, he made Henry his second son, then but two years old, Lieutenant or Governor of Ireland; but appointed for Deputy, Sir Edward Poynings, a man versed in affairs, and employed in several Embassies. He gave him a very extensive power as well over the militia, as the civil Government, that he might put the Island upon a good foot[92].

1494 AD] Poynings, upon his arrival in Ireland, made strict enquiry after those that were suspected of disaffection to the King particularly he vigorously attacked the Earls of Desmond and Kildare[93]. The first took care of himself, and kept out of the reach of the Lord-Deputy but the Earl of Kildare was sent prisoner into England, from whence he was quickly sent back by the King with marks of esteem and good-will.

As he dreaded fresh troubles in Ireland, where a rebellion in his circumstances would have been very incommodious, he thought he should prevent them by acts of grace, rather than severity; and therefore sent a commissioner[94] with a general pardon in form, as well for the Earl of Desmond, as for all the Irish rebels, to stifle if possible all the seeds of rebellion in the Island, where the House of York had but too many friends.

Whilst Poynings was in Ireland, he held a Parliament famous for the statutes enacted to the advantage of the crown of England, and of the English settled in the island. One of these statutes, still called Poynings's Law, ran, that the Parliament of Ireland should not be assembled before the Lord Lieutenant and Council had acquainted the King with the reasons, and obtained the Royal licence under the Great Seal. It was also enacted, that all the Statutes of England concerning the public, should be observed in Ireland. These two Statutes are still in force to this day[95].

Though Henry had given several proofs of his self-interested and covetous temper, they might be coloured with some pretence, because the secret springs of his policy were not yet fully known. But it was not the same with regard to his proceedings this year, which plainly discovered his nature.

The pretence of foreign affairs failing him, he extorted large sums from private persons, by forfeitures upon penal laws, on purpose to fill his coffers, this proceeding was the more

displeasing to the people, as they easily perceived it flowed from his natural disposition, since he was not obliged by any necessity to use such extraordinary methods. He was in peace with all the Princes of Europe.

He had drawn from the Parliament two very considerable subsidies, of which he had not expended a fourth part, and even that was repaid him with interest. Moreover, besides divers confiscations, he received every year fifty thousand livres of the King of France. All this, added to the usual revenues of the crown, which were no less than in the foregoing reigns, seemed to enable him to ease, instead of oppressing his subjects with frivolous accusations to drain their purses.

The first he attacked in this manner was Sir William Capel Alderman of London, who was fined two thousand seven hundred pounds, and forced to compound with the King for sixteen hundred. The Archbishop of Canterbury was taxed with being the contriver of these methods to procure the King money. But whether Henry's avarice daily increased, or the ministers who succeeded that prelate were still less scrupulous than he, people had but too much reason to lament him after his death.

Towards the end of this year, Henry gave a fresh instance of his desire of money, which proved very injurious to his good name, especially as he endeavoured to cover it with the veil of justice. By secret advices from Sir Robert Clifford he was informed, Sir William Stanley, Lord Chamberlain, was one of Perkin Warbeck's Adherents. Though that Lord had done him the greatest service imaginable, he had procured him the victory which raised him to the throne, he resolved to sacrifice him to his avarice, under colour of punishing his crime.

I say, to his avarice, and not to justice or revenge. For if we may judge by his usual conduct, with regard to the state criminals, of whom there was nothing to be got, he would, doubtless, have pardoned Stanley, if the desire of confiscating his estate, had not rendered him inexorable.

To attain his ends, he ordered Clifford, who was still in Flanders, to repair privately into England. When he heard the informer was arrived, he removed to the tower[96], that the great ones who should be accused, might be arrested more conveniently, and without noise.

Clifford being come to London without discovering himself, the King assembled the council[97] in the tower, and sent for Sir Robert, who falling down at his feet, craved his pardon, offering to declare whatever he knew of the conspiracy. The King immediately pardoned him, but on express condition, he would conceal nothing of what was come to his knowledge. Whereupon Clifford impeached several persons, and among the rest the Lord Chamberlain.

The King seeming extremely surprised, bid him take care what he said, since his life lay at stake in case the accusation was groundless. Clifford persisting, the Lord Chamberlain was presently apprehended. Next day he was examined by the council, where he confessed enough to condemn him. The great service he had done the King and the interest of the Earl of Derby his brother, made him hope he should not be treated with rigour. But two things rendered his crime unpardonable.

The first was his immense riches, which promised the King a plentiful confiscation[98]. The second, that he was accused, and probably, convicted of saying (to Clifford), speaking of Perkin Warbeck, if he were sure that young man were King Edward's son, he would never bear arms against him. This was wounding the King in the most sensible part, since he seemed to acknowledge, the House of York had a better title than the House of Lancaster.

Had he been guilty only of this crime, it is a question, whether the Judges would have sentenced him to die, but it is likely, he was convicted of acting more directly against the King, and holding intelligence with Warbeck, and the Duchess of Burgundy. All the favour he could obtain, was a delay of some weeks, to prepare for death, which he suffered not till the beginning of the next

year[99]. The King's Severity on this occasion seemed excessive. All the world imagined he would pardon a Lord to whom he was so much obliged, and who had even enabled him to exercise acts of mercy, by procuring him the crown. Besides, he was brother to the Earl of Derby, a zealous servant, and father-in-law of the King.

The execution of the Lord Chamberlain terrified the whole Kingdom. He was condemned for a crime of which few Englishmen were innocent, namely, for preferring the title of York, to that of Lancaster. But what caused still greater dread, was, that the King was perceived to have had spies about the Lord Chamberlain to observe his conduct, which might be every man's case.

The great men durst not speak their thoughts to one another, for fear those whom they counted their best friends, were the King's spies. But this restraint was in some measure made up, by swarms of libels against the judges, the Council, and the King himself. This license so displeased the King, that he ordered five persons, convicted of dispersing these libels, to be executed.

Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells, one of the King's favourites, was translated this year to the See of Durham.

It was likewise this year, that Henry the King's second Son, two years old, was created Duke of York[100].

Though there was a truce concluded with Scotland to the 30th of April 1501, there still remained some differences between the English and Scots concerning certain lands on the borders of the two Kingdoms, and the fishery of the River Eske. Henry always dreading some insurrection in the Kingdom, was extremely desirous to have no contests with his neighbours. For this reason he had in May this year, moved, that the differences between England and Scotland might be adjusted. King James seeming to desire the same thing, they both sent ambassadors to Coldstream, to agree upon some expedient.

Richard Fox was at the head of the English embassy[101]. But with all his address, he could not end an affair, which in itself seemed not very difficult. This caused Henry to suspect, that the King of Scotland reserved it for an occasion of quarrel, and to order the Earl of Surrey to be upon his guard in the north.

Charles VIII undertook this yeas the long meditated conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. This affair is so well known, it would be needless to relate the particulars. It is necessary, however, briefly to mention the rise and principal events.

The posterity of Charles of Anjou, first King of Sicily of the House of France, was divided into two branches, whereof one reigned in Naples, the other in Hungary. After sundry revolutions, the crown of Naples fell at length to Joan the first of that name. But in 1380 Charles de Durazzo, of the branch of Hungary, pretending to the same crown, and repairing into Italy, attacked Queen Joan, who finding herself pressed by this enemy, adopted Lewis I. Duke of Anjou, uncle of Charles VI King of France.

From that time there was a continual war between the two houses of Anjou. At last, Charles de Durazzo remained in possession of Naples, and was succeeded by Ladislaus his son, who dying in 1414, left the crown of Naples to Joan II his sister. Meantime, Lewis I, Duke of Anjou, and Lewis II, his son, always stiled themselves Kings of Sicily, and preserved their pretensions to Sicily on this side the Pharo, or the Kingdom of Naples. Lewis II, who died in 1417, left three sons, namely, Lewis III, Rene, and Charles.

In 1421, Lewis III led an army into Naples to dethrone Joan II, who, for support, adopted Alphonso King of Aragon. Alphonso arriving in the Kingdom of Naples, forced Lewis III to quit the country, and retire into France. Shortly after, upon some quarrel between Joan and Alphonso,

Joan revoking the adoption of Alphonso, adopted the same Lewis of Anjou, who would have deprived her of the Crown, and declared him her presumptive heir and successor; but Lewis died without issue in 1431. Joan departed this life the next year, having made a will in favour of Rene of Anjou, brother of Lewis III.

Rene made some attempts to take possession of the Kingdom of Naples, but to no purpose. Alphonso King of Aragon kept the crown till he died in 1458. He left the Kingdom of Aragon to John his lawful son, and that of Naples to Ferdinand his bastard.

In 1474 Rene made a will, and appointed for his heir Charles Earl of Main his nephew, son of Charles his younger brother, to the prejudice of Violante his daughter Duchess of Lorraine, and Rene Duke of Lorraine his grandson.

Charles Earl of Main, nephew and heir of King Rene, died in 1481, leaving Lewis XI, King of France, his sole heir. By virtue of which will, Charles VIII, son of Lewis XI, pretended, the Kingdom of Naples was fallen to him.

If what has been said be never so little considered, it will doubtless be perceived, that Charles's title to the Kingdom of Naples was very disputable. To decide this case in a judicial way, it would have been necessary to examine two points of equal importance in this affair. First, whether Joan II had power to revoke the adoption of Alphonso King of Aragon, and to adopt Lewis of Anjou in his room. It is true, the French historians pretend, Alphonso would have dethroned his benefactress, and upon that supposition, the reason of the revocation seems just.

But the Aragonians grant not the fact. They ascribe it to Joan's levity, who was inconstant and capricious. In the next place, supposing the house of Anjou's title better than the house of Aragon's, this second point must have been examined, whether King Rene could set aside Violante his Daughter and her heirs, and give the Kingdom of Naples to Charles Earl of Main his nephew. It could not be alleged in favour of this will, that the Kingdom of Naples was a masculine fief, since the house of Anjou's title was derived from a Daughter.

So Charles VIII could pretend to that Kingdom, only upon supposition, that the laws decided these two points in his favour, which was very doubtful, not to say worse. Besides, the house of Aragon had another title founded upon a sixty years possession. But what rendered this affair very intricate was, that the Popes, as Sovereign Lords of Naples, seemed to have determined it in favour of the house of Anjou, by investing the Princes of that House with that Kingdom.

But it was not so much his title to the Kingdom of Naples, that induced Charles VIII to this conquest, as the Juncture of time, and the situation of the affairs of Italy. Ferdinand King of Naples had two sons; namely, Alphonso who bore the title of Duke of Calabria, and Frederic Alphonso had a son called Ferdinand, after his grandfather.

These Aragonian Princes were not beloved in Naples, nor in the rest of Italy. Besides, old King Ferdinand had banished the Prince of Salerno, with all the other heads of the Angevin faction. And these exiles it was that excited Charles to the conquest of Naples. But this alone would not have sufficed to determine him to this undertaking, had he not been encouraged by Ludovico Sforza, uncle of the Duke of Milan. The occasion was this:—

The Duchy of Milan was passed from the family of Visconti, to that of Sforza; Philippo Maria Visconti, last Duke of that house having adopted Francis Sforza, who had married Blanch his only daughter.

Francisco Sforza, becoming Duke of Milan after the death of his father-in-law, died in 1446, leaving two sons, Galeazzo, who succeeded him, and Ludovico, surnamed the Black. Galeazzo being assassinated, John Galeazzo his son succeeded him, under the guardianship of his mother,

a Woman infamous for her lewdness, and of Ludovico his uncle. Some time after, the young Duke married Isabella, daughter of Alphonso Duke of Calabria, eldest son of Ferdinand King of Naples. John Galeazzo being a Prince of a narrow genius, Ludovico his uncle engrossed the whole power, leaving to his nephew only the bare title of Duke, without his being much concerned.

But Isabella his Duchess, not bearing to see the Duke her spouse without any authority, complained to the Duke of Calabria her father of this ill usage. Shortly after, the Duke persuaded Ferdinand his father to proclaim war against Ludovico, to compel him to resign the government to his nephew.

To avoid this war it was that Ludovico excited Charles VIII to undertake the conquest of Naples, by putting him in hopes, he would assist him with all his forces. He had also a further design to make use of Charles's aid, to become master of the Duchy of Milan, and dispossess John Galeazzo his nephew. He had now taken some private measures to that end with the Emperor Maximilian, to whom he had given Blanch his niece in marriage, with a dower of four hundred thousand crowns, and Maximilian had privately invested him with the Duchy of Milan for him and his heirs.

Upon the rumour of Charles VIII's preparations for the conquest of Naples, old King Ferdinand offered him a yearly tribute of fifty thousand crowns; but the offer was rejected. Ferdinand died a little before Charles's expedition, and was succeeded by Alphonso his eldest son.

The war of Naples seems at first to be entirely foreign to the History of England. However, as it was the source and origin of many great events in Europe, in the next century, I thought it not improper to shew the occasion, and for the same reason it is necessary to relate the principal events.

Charles VIII departed from Paris in July 1494, and came to Asti in Piedmont, where he fell sick of the smallpox. This distemper detaining him at Asti, he could not go from thence till the 6th of October, to Turin, where he was forced to borrow the Duchess of Savoy's jewels, so ill provided was he of money for an enterprise of that consequence. Ludovico Sforza made haste to meet him, and accompanied him to Pavia, where they found Duke John Galeazzo out of order, upon eating something that his uncle Ludovico had caused to be given him.

When they came to Placentia they heard of John Galeazzo's death. Then Ludovico left the King, to go and take possession of the Duchy of Milan, though the late Duke his nephew had left a son. Ludovico having obtained what he wanted, had not the same attachment for the King of France as before. On the contrary, he thought only how to drive him out of Italy, by a league of which he was the principal promoter.

Meanwhile, Charles pursuing his march, entered the State of Florence, and compelled Peter de Medicis the Duke, to deliver him four of his best towns, and lend him money. He made his entry into the city of Florence the 17th of November, and published a manifesto concerning the war of Naples. Then he took the rout to Rome, and all the places in the ecclesiastical state readily brought him their keys.

Alexander VI, upon the King's approach, desired Prince Ferdinand, Son of the King of Naples, to depart from Rome, where he was received some time before. On the other hand, Frederic Brother of Alphonso, who was upon the coast of Genoa with a fleet, came to Naples, where all was in the utmost consternation. Thus Charles having passed through Italy without the least opposition, entered Rome the 28th of December, whilst the Pope in a fright shut himself up in the Castle of Angela for the Security of his person. It is time now to return to the affairs of England.

Henry perceiving the negotiation with Scotland proceeded very slowly, without his being able to discover any visible reason, was apprehensive that King James would take occasion from their differences about the fishery of the river Eske, to break the truce. So, not to be surprised, he sent the Earl of Surrey orders to levy troops for the defence of the north, against the attempts of the Scots and Irish. These attempts which he pretended to fear, were only an excuse to put himself in a state of defence, incase the King of Scotland should attack him.

Shortly after, he made the Duke of York his second son president of the northern Marches, though he was but three years old. He had made him last year Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and by that means kept in his own coffers the salaries of these two posts, which must have been given to several lords. Never prince better understood the art of husbanding his money, and making everything turn to profit.

The Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV, and Richard III, died this year in a very advanced Age[102].

In July, Alexander VI sent into England a Bull, empowering all the bishops of the Kingdom to absolve the rebels, which by Innocent VIII's Bull was granted the Archbishop of Canterbury alone.

Hitherto Perkin Warbeck had not ventured to make any attempt in England, knowing that the King was informed of all his correspondents. But as the Duchess of Burgundy could not think, of relinquishing her hopes of gaining some advantage by the idol formed by herself, she resolved at length to send him into England. She judged it necessary to sound the people's affection for the House of York, without waiting any longer for the assistance of the great men, who being narrowly watched were very cautious.

Besides, she perceived, if the people seemed ready to rise, there would be no want of great men to support and conduct them. Wherefore, she gave orders to draw together some forces and ships, and caused Perkin Warbeck to embark, and make a descent in the county of Kent. Meanwhile, Henry knowing nothing of these preparations in Flanders, resolved to go in progress to Yorkshire [103] to visit the Countess his mother, which seemed to be a juncture very favourable to Perkin's design.

But as the projected descent miscarried, it was not doubted, that the King being informed of the pretended Duke of York's intent, had taken that journey on purpose to draw him into the snare, so persuaded were people that policy governed all his actions. Perkin, pursuant to the Duchess of Burgundy's directions, arrived upon the coast of Kent[104], near Sandwich, and landed some men to sound the inclination of the inhabitants.

These Troops made great boasts of the powerful armament the Duke of York had made in Flanders, pretending the ships in sight were but a small part of the fleet which would soon appear. But the people perceiving, these men were almost all foreigners, instead of joining them, advised with the gentlemen of the county to know how they were to behave. And it was resolved, they should feign to be ready to assist Perkin, in order to allure him to land and take him prisoner.

Pursuant to this resolution, the people took arms and appeared on the coast, making signs to invite Perkin and his men to land. But Perkin and his counsellor Frion suspecting the artifice, kept on board, expecting the return of some of their people, to inform them of what passed on shore. At last, the Kentishmen finding they could draw in no more, fell upon those that were already landed, and cut them in pieces, except about a hundred and fifty, who being taken alive, were all hanged by the King's order.

Perkin being eye-witness of his people's misfortune, weighed anchor and returned into Flanders. Henry, who was then on his progress, hearing of the descent, was about to turn back towards

Kent; but presently after receiving news of what had passed, he continued his journey[105], and spent some time with the Countess his mother, at the Earl of Derby's house[106]. His intent was thereby to make a sort of excuse to that Lord for putting his brother to death, and give him withal, a proof of the continuance of his savour.

The 13th of October the King called a Parliament, where it was enacted, that no person should be impeached or attainted for assisting the King for the time being. It is easy to see, the design of this act was to hinder a close examination of the King's title to the crown, since let what would be the consequence, those that served him would be always safe (6). Indeed, the precedent he had himself given, in causing those to be condemned that bore arms for Richard III, must have made his friends apprehensive of being in the same case, if the like revolution should happen.

But the clause added in the body of the Statute, that if for the future, any act of attainder should pass against such as assisted the King for the time being, it should be of no force; this Clause I say, was void and of no effect. For how could an act of this, limit the power of a future, Parliament, and cause an act, in its nature revocable, not to be so?

Meanwhile, this statute, which seemed to be made solely for the people's safety, but was however, only for the King's security, discovered Henry's uneasiness and uncertainty concerning his title. There was also an Act passed to oblige those who had not paid their quota of the benevolence, to pay the arrears by such a time.

This act brought in large sums to the King, the arrears of this tax being very considerable, because the war with France not having lasted any time, many persons had declined to pay either in full or in part. It appears in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that the Archbishop of Canterbury was indebted fifteen hundred pounds sterling[108].

Whilst the Parliament was yet assembled, the King received advice, that Perkin Warbeck was landed in Ireland. As this could not be but with some ill design, he gave order that the coasts should be strictly guarded, to be ready to oppose a descent wherever it was made. It was but too true, that the Duchess of Burgundy had sent Perkin into Ireland to raise a rebellion, and to that end, she had privately treated with the King of Scotland, who, it is likely, had promised to aid him.

The common opinion is, that the Emperor, the Archduke Philip, and the King of France, were likewise in the plot: The two first, in revenge of Henry's prohibition to his subjects of all commerce with the Low-Countries, and the other, to hinder his entering into a league that was forming in Italy, to which he was strongly solicited. Be this as it will, very probably, James, in promising to espouse the interests of the pretended Duke of York, had been led thereto by some private view, or by the solicitation of some other Prince.

Meanwhile, since Poynings had been in Ireland, the affairs of that island were quite altered. So, Perkin not finding the country inclined to favour his designs, departed for Scotland, where in all appearance, he knew he should be welcome. When he came to Edinburgh, he demanded an audience of the King, by the name of the Duke of York. James feigning an extreme surprise, gave him a solemn reception in the presence of the whole court.

Perkin made a long speech, recounting his pretended adventures, and how he escaped the cruelty of Richard III. Then, he inveighed against Henry Tudor, who had usurped the crown of England, and unjustly detained it from the lawful heirs of Edward IV. He enlarged up on the methods he had used to endeavour to recover his Kingdom. He concluded with saying, that sundry accidents having prevented him from succeeding, he was come to put himself under his protection, in hopes that with the assistance of so generous a Prince, he should expel the usurper, and ascend the throne of his ancestors. That then he should always regard him as a brother, and never miss an opportunity of showing his gratitude.

James seemed to be moved with Perkin's misfortunes, and told him, whoever he was, he should not repent of putting himself into his hands. However, he pretended still to have some doubt, to show it was upon mature examination that he was convinced of the truth. Shortly after, he publicly owned him for Duke of York, and gave him in marriage, Catherine Gordon daughter of the Earl of Huntley, one of the handsomest and most accomplished ladies in Scotland.

Henry whether he had received private notice of what was plotting against him, or it was a pure effect of his foresight, ardently wished to live in good understanding with the King of Scotland. To that end, he had empowered his ambassadors[109], who were to repair to Coldstream, to treat of the marriage of Margaret his eldest daughter with that Prince.

This marriage was indeed accomplished some years after; but, in all likelihood, was not mentioned in this congress, the ambassadors of England having doubtless perceived that such a proposal would be unseasonable.

The 18th of January 1495, Charles VIII departed from Rome, after receiving the strongest towns of the ecclesiastical state, with Cardinal Cæsar Borgia natural son of Pope Alexander VI in hostage. Whilst he was upon the march, the ambassador of Ferdinand King of Spain told him from his master, that when he promised not to molest him in the conquest of Naples, he did not mean that this conquest was to extend to all Italy.

That notwithstanding, he saw him in possession of Florence, Pisa, and all the Papal dominions. That therefore he declared, he did not think himself bound to the observance of their treaty, and accordingly the ambassador tore it in pieces before his face. Charles who was sailing with a prosperous gale, made a jest of these threats, and pursued his march.

1495 AD] Meanwhile Alphonso, the new King of Naples, finding himself attacked by a powerful King who was now upon the borders of his dominions, was entirely discouraged. As he knew he was not beloved by his subjects, he resigned his crown to Ferdinand his son, and retired to a monastery, where he died this very year. The new King willing to defend his Kingdom, advanced towards the frontiers to endeavour to stop the King of France. But he saw himself suddenly deserted by his own troops.

In this extremity he would have retired to Naples, but found the gates shut. In short, he was forced to seek a retreat in the little Isle of Ischia, having first garrisoned the castles of his metropolis, where he could enter without passing through the city.

In the meantime, Charles still continued his march. Triulzi a Milanese, who was in the service of the King of Naples, having surrendered Capua, all the rest of the towns sent him deputies with offers of submission. At last, he entered Naples the 22nd of February, and within few days became master of the castles.

Such a torrent of success so blinded the young Monarch and his council, that they knew not how to take any just measures for the preservation of this conquest. By degrees the towns that had submitted, returned to their sovereign; his army, which was not very numerous, being unable to furnish garrisons every where. Besides, the French made themselves so odious to the people of Naples, that they soon repented of receiving them.

But what most embroiled the conqueror's affairs, was a league formed against him by the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Archduke, the King of Naples, Ludovico Sforza new Duke of Milan, and the Republic of Venice. This league, which was for twenty-five years, was signed the 25th of March 1495, and at the same time the confederates began to assemble their forces.

Charles found then, it was time to think of his return. But he was resolved first to make a triumphant entry into Naples, from whence he departed the 20th of May in order for France,

leaving but few troops to defend his conquest. But the Allies did not intend to suffer him to retire thus peaceably.

They expected him upon his rout, with an army of forty thousand men, and posted themselves at Fornova to oppose his passage. Though Charles was very inferior in number of troops[110], he was determined to give them battle, being sensible that he must either conquer or perish. The battle was fought on the 6th of July, and the success was favourable to the King of France, who defeated that formidable army and came to Asti the 15th of the same month[111].

Whilst he was retiring through Italy, Naples submitted again to Ferdinand, and almost all the rest of the towns that were still in the French interest followed her example. The Duke of Montpensier, left by Charles at Naples with a few troops, retired to the Castle of le Ova, where after maintaining a Siege of three months, he was forced at last to capitulate. Thus Charles who had conquered the Kingdom of Naples in the space of three weeks, lost it with the same rapidity. He formed afterwards several projects to recover his conquest, which, by the obstacles that occurred, came to nothing.

This year the Emperor Maximilian came into the Low-Countries, and resigned the government to his son Philip, though he still wanted some years of being of age. After that, he returned into Germany. Philip being no longer under the Emperor's guardianship, sent, about the end of the year, ambassadors to Henry to desire the renewal of the commerce between England and the Low-Countries.

1496 AD] The ambassadors found no great difficulty to succeed in their negotiation. The renewal of the commerce which they were come to desire, was no less necessary for the English than for the Flemings. So, the 24th of February 1496 was concluded at London a treaty of peace and perpetual amity between Henry and Philip, and the trade between the two nations was settled to the satisfaction of both parties.

Among the articles of this treaty, there were two particularly remarkable. By the first, the two Princes engaged to give neither aid nor refuge to the rebellious subjects of either. Particularly, Philip obliged himself expressly to hinder the Duchess dowager of Burgundy, from harbouring the King's rebellious subjects in the Lands she possessed, by what title soever she held them, whether of dower or otherwise. That in case she acted contrary to this prohibition, he promised to deprive her of all her possessions in the Low-Countries.

By another article it was expressly agreed, that any vessel suffering shipwreck on the coasts of either of the two Princes, should not be liable to confiscation, provided there was left alive a man, woman, or child, a dog, a cat, or a cock.

The Flemings called this treaty (Intercursus Magnus) or the great treaty of commerce, not only by reason of the great number of articles, but chiefly with respect to another, made afterwards, and which not being so much to their advantage, was termed [Intercursus Malus] the bad treaty.

We find in the Collection of the Public Acts, that March the 5th this year, the King granted a Patent to John Cabott a Venetian, and to three of his sons[112], to go in quest of new lands with English colours[113]. The terms were, that after all charges deducted, they should give the King a fifth of the profit[114].

Meanwhile, the King of Scotland, not content with affording the pretended Duke of York a sanctuary in his dominions, would likewise undertake to place him on the throne of England. He was told, that as soon as he appeared in that Kingdom at the head of an army, all the Yorkists would rise in favour of the pretender. To that end it was, that immediately after his arrival in England he took care to disperse the counterfeit Duke's proclamation, wherein the King was termed usurper, tyrant, and murderer.

Moreover, he promised all sorts of favours to such as would join the lawful heir, to destroy him that unjustly detained the crown. But this proclamation was so ineffectual, that not a man offered the to join the Scots.

The truth is, Henry was not beloved, especially in those parts. But as, since Perkin had begun to appear by the name of Duke of York, many were undeceived, and others in doubt, it was not thought proper to hazard life and fortune, without a greater assurance that it was really for a son of Edward IV. Besides, the execution of the Lord Chamberlain was a terror to all, as no man could reasonably expect the King's pardon, since that Lord was not spared. At length, James seeing he waited in vain that the English would take arms in favour of his Duke of York, and being unwilling wholly to lose his labour, ravaged Northumberland and got a great booty.

Then Perkin feigning to be extremely moved with the calamities of the English, conjured that Prince, before his whole court, to spare his miserable subjects. This was a very artful device to persuade the public he was really what he pretended to be. James replied with a smile, he thought him very generous to be so careful for what was none of his, in order to save it for his enemy's use.

Meanwhile, the news that an English army was advancing, made him resolve to return into his own country, being unwilling to expose his great spoils to the hazard of a battle. Thus the expedition, from which he expected so great effects, ended only in the ruin of the people of Northumberland.

Whilst these things passed in England, Charles VIII fearing Henry would enter into the league of Italy, took care to have the peace of Estaples confirmed by the States, as he was bound by the treaty, which he had hitherto neglected, though it was confirmed by the Parliament of England the last year. However, as he thought not proper to assemble the States General, he caused the peace to be approved by the states of each province, with which, in all appearance, Henry was satisfied.

We find in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, the approbations of the States of Languedoc, Normandy, and several other provinces, as likewise of particular towns of little note, signed by great numbers of common people, as tradesmen and husbandmen.

Though the King of Scotland's invasion had produced no great effect, Henry was however apprehensive of the consequences. He knew his subjects were not pleased; that the Yorkists were very numerous; that Ireland was not well-affected; and that Perkin Warbeck was in Scotland ready to take advantage of these dispositions. So, to prevent the danger which might arise from all these quarters, he granted first a general pardon to all the Irish adherents of the pretended Duke of York, lest the dread of punishment should carry them to revolt.

In the second place, he commissioned Richard Fox Bishop of Durham to try, as of himself, to enter into negotiation with the King of Scotland, to treat of the marriage of his eldest daughter Margaret with that Prince. Lastly, he sent ambassadors[115] to Ferdinand and Isabella, to confirm his alliance with them, and secure, by fresh engagements, the marriage of Arthur his eldest son with Catherine their third daughter.

Some time before, he had dispatched to Rome Robert Sherburn, who had in his name entered into the league of Italy[116] against Charles VIII, and the 23rd of September ratified what his ambassador had done. He thereby thought himself sufficiently supported. For, he had nothing to fear from the King of France, who was elsewhere employed, and the most potent Princes of Europe were his friends and allies.

As for the King of Scotland, believed, he could easily resist him in case of attack, However, though he had now taken measures to make peace with that Prince, and had reason to hope for

success, he believed he ought not to lose this opportunity to demand an aid of money of the Parliament, as well to put himself in a state of defence, as to revenge the insults of the Scots. For this purpose, he called a Parliament the 16th of January following.

It was however easy to foresee, the King of Scotland being supported neither by France, nor the Archduke, nor the Duchess of Burgundy, would not undertake to maintain alone a war for the like of Perkin Warbeck, though he was so blind as to believe him the real Duke of York.

In October this year, Jane second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, came into the Low-Countries to marry the Archduke Philip, to whom she had been contracted. Isabella her eldest sister had been married in 1490, to Alphonso King of Portugal, who died shortly after. The same ships that brought Jane into the Low-Countries, served to carry Margaret of Austria, Philip's sister to consummate her marriage with Prince John, heir-apparent of Castile and Aragon[117].

The Parliament being assembled the beginning of the year 1497[118], the King made a speech to both Houses, highly aggravating the affront received from the King Scotland. He represented very pathetically, the calamities endured by his northern subjects, at a time when the truce should have secured them from such insults. In short, he told them, his honour and the protection he owed his people, would not suffer him to let these wrongs pass un-revenged. The Parliament understanding him well, gave him a subsidy[119], after which, they were instantly dissolved, as having been called purposely for that affair.

Though Henry hoped much from the King his negotiation with the King of Scotland, he perceived it necessary to prepare for war. Otherwise negotiations generally prove fruitless. The levy of the subsidy granted by the Parliament was the first and principal preparation. The necessity of war with Scotland afforded the King a pretence to hasten that affair, from which he expected the same advantage as from that of Bretagne; that is to say, to put the entire subsidy into his coffers.

To that end, it was necessary the whole should be levied before the peace was concluded with Scotland, else the people would pay their money with reluctance. As the King set his heart upon this business, he gave very strict orders to the commissioners, who were to gather the subsidy in the several counties.

The Commissioners proceeding with great rigour, met in the county of Cornwall with unexpected opposition. The Cornishmen being less tractable than those of other counties, loudly complained, that for some petty damage done to the other end of the Kingdom, they were robbed of their necessary subsistence. These murmurs were encouraged by one Michael Joseph, a furrier of Bodmin, and Thomas Flammock, a lawyer. Flammock affirmed, that subsidies were not to be granted or levied for the war of Scotland, (the law having provided for it by Escuage) much less when the Scotch invasion was made a pretence to fleece the whole Kingdom:—

That it would be a shame to submit to such an oppression, and all the mischief solely proceeded from the King's ministers, who made their court at the poor people's cost:

That to free themselves from these grievances, it was proper to take arms, and without injuring any person, go and present a petition to the King, to pray him to desist from this tax, and punish his evil counsel! for a warning to others how they gave him such advice for the future:

That a greater service could not be done to the Kingdom, than to deliver it from such harpies, who ruined it under colour of procuring the King's good.

Flammock's chief aim was at (Morten) Archbishop of Canterbury, and Reginald Bray, because they were generally the King's instruments in affairs of this nature.

Flammock and Joseph perceiving the people began to take fire, offered to lead them, till some person of quality should head them, which, as they said, would soon be. And indeed, it appeared afterwards, they were encouraged by persons of greater consideration. This was sufficient to excite all the rabble of the country to an insurrection; and arming themselves in the best manner

As for the King of Scotland, they marched under the conduct of these two incendiaries into Devonshire, and from thence into Somersetshire. The number of the rebels daily increased, by many people of the places where they passed, who had nothing to lose, and were inflamed by the King's secret enemies. At Taunton, they killed a commissioner[120], who had signalised himself by his rigour, in levying the subsidy.

This was all the mischief they did in their march. Then they proceeded to Wells, where the Lord Lord Audley[121], a nobleman of a restless and discontented spirit came and joined them, and was immediately accepted as their general. Audley putting himself at their head, led them directly to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester, without suffering them to commit any violence, and obliging them to be satisfied with a bare subsistence.

When they came to Winchester, instead of marching to London, as was intended at first, they forced their general to lead them into Kent. Flammock having told them, the people of that county were very fond of liberty, they fancied they should be immediately joined by them, in defence of the rights and privileges of the nation. But when they came there, they were greatly disappointed.

By the diligence of some Kentish Lords[122], not a man offered to take arms in their favour. This coldness discouraged many of the rebels, who foreseeing their enterprise would not be successful, returned quietly to their homes. But those that remained, being encouraged by the King's remissness, who had suffered them to proceed so far unmolested, insolently boasted, they would give him battle, or take London before his face. In this resolution they went and encamped[123] between Greenwich and Eltham, within a few miles of London.

When the King first heard of this insurrection, he was under some consternation. A war with Scotland and a rebellion rebellion in the Kingdom, and a Pretender to the Crown, seemed to him to be three affairs of the last importance especially as they came upon him at once. Besides, his inward uneasiness concerning the doubtfulness of his title, helped to magnify objects. He was apprehensive that the Cornish rebellion was the beginning of a general conspiracy, whereof Perkin was waiting the issue in Scotland.

Happily for him, this rebellion was at a time when he had an army in readiness, which was to march into the north, under the command of the Lord d'Aubeny. But the news of the insurrection made him keep his forces about London, not thinking fit to send them into the north at such a juncture. He contented himself therefore with detaching the Earl of Surrey, and sending him towards the borders of Scotland to oppose King James, in case he thought of making a second inroad into England.

Meanwhile, the rebels traversed the country, and the King made no motion to stop them. This conduct surprised all the world, considering it was his custom speedily to march to the place where danger began to appear. But upon this occasion he thought best to act otherwise for several reasons. First, he was very glad the rebels were so far from their homes, and harassed themselves with long marches. In the second place, he did not see any necessity to hasten him to attack them, since they committed no outrages.

Besides, he could not find that their numbers increased. But the chief reason of his slowness was, that he would see if they had any correspondents in other counties, in order to divide his army, if necessary, or hasten to the relief of the weakest. In fine, age, and the continued enjoyment of

a crown, had, doubtless, rendered him less in love with dangers. Any other way seemed to him less hazardous than a battle, to remedy evils of this nature.

But when the rebels were encamped on Black-Heath, from whence they might have a prospect of London, the King could no longer delay to attack them. He would have given occasion to believe his coldness proceeded from fear, which might have produced very ill effects among the people.

However, as he was much superior to the malcontents, both in number of troops and military knowledge, he resolved so to dispose all things, as to leave little to hazard or fortune. To that end, he divided his army into three bodies, the first whereof, commanded by the Earl of Oxford[124], was ordered behind the hill, where the rebels were encamped, to cut off their retreat, and, if necessary, attack them in the rear.

The second, led by the Lord d'Aubeney, was appointed to charge them in the front. The King retained the third about his own person, and encamped in St. George's fields, that in case of ill success he might be ready to renew the fight, or throw himself into London and secure the City as he should think proper. Besides, he was not so far off, but he could succour his people during the battle.

Battle of Every thing succeeded as the King expected. The rebels suffered themselves to be deceived by a report he had caused to be spread, that he intended to give them battle on the Monday following, whereas he attacked them on the Saturday, which of all the days of the week he fancied to be the most fortunate. As they expected it not, they were so surprised that they had scarce time to draw up.

On the other hand, for want of intelligence, they suffered themselves to be surrounded by the Earl of Oxford, who being posted behind them, hindered their retreat. So, of six thousand[125], which was their number, two thousand were slain on the spot, and the rest forced to surrender at discretion, there being no way to escape.

The King for this once, caused to be executed only the Lord Audley[126], Flammock and the Farrier[127], who were taken alive, but gave the prisoners to the captors, with leave to compound with them for their ransoms as they should judge fit. It is not unlikely, that the moderation of the rebels in their march from Cornwall to London, tempered also the King's severity; especially as they had not asserted the title of the House of York, a crime he never forgave. Be this as it will, he was satisfied with these three victims, for the expiation of this great rebellion.

Shortly after the battle, the Archduke's ambassadors signed at London articles of agreement, whereby, in explaining the late treaty of commerce, the Archduke desisted from duty a florin which he before exacted upon every piece of English cloth that came into his dominions.

The 18th July, Henry ratified the marriage articles between Arthur his eldest son, and Catherine of Aragon. This marriage had been concluded in 1491, and confirmed October 1. 1496.

About the same time Charles VIII sent an embassy into England on purpose to confirm the peace of Estaples, by the reparation of certain outrages committed on both sides.

But whilst Henry was employed against the Cornish rebels, the King of Scotland thinking it a favourable juncture, made a second irruption into England, and appeared before the Castle of Norham. But the Earl of Surrey, then in Yorkshire, hastening to its relief[128], James raised the siege and retired into his own Kingdom. The Earl of Surrey, not satisfied with driving him out of England, pursued him into Scotland, and took the little town of Aton.

This war was inconvenient to the King upon several accounts. First, he could not continue it, without using all the money given by the Parliament, which he would have gladly avoided. Besides, Perkin Warbeck made him uneasy, and he perceived it would be easier to remove him from Scotland by treaty, than by arms.

He would not however make the first advances, but visited the proposal of peace to come from another, to avoid the disgrace of a refusal, in case the King of Scotland was disinclined.

Whilst he was in this perplexity, he bethought himself that Don Pedro d'Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, would be a proper instrument to accomplish this affair. Ayala willingly undertook to go to the King of Scotland, and propose, as of himself, an agreement with the King of England. He used for pretence, that King Ferdinand his master, could receive no greater satisfaction, than to see the two Kings his friends and allies, live in peace and good neighbourhood.

This expedient succeeded according to Henry's expectation. The ambassador found the King of Scotland so well inclined, that he writ to the King, if he would enter into negotiation, he did not question the success. Whereupon the two Kings sent their ambassadors[129] to Aton to treat of a peace, Ayala performing the office of mediator. The greatest difficulty that occurred in this negotiation, was concerning Perkin Warbeck, whom Henry demanded, and the King of Scotland would not deliver.

The Bishop of Durham[130] perceiving he could not gain that point, proposed an interview of the two Kings at Newcastle. But when it was mentioned to the King of Scotland, he said, though he was very desirous of peace, he would not go and beg it of his enemy. At length, an expedient was found agreeable to both parties. And that was, the King of Scotland should honourably dismiss the pretended Duke of York, before the negotiation of a peace was carried any farther, lest he should be thought to be forced to it; that after wards they should treat as if Perkin had never been in Scotland.

Pursuant to this agreement, James told the pretended Duke, he had done for him all that lay in his power:—

That he had twice entered England at the head of an army, to try the disposition of the English:

That not having found what was expected, there was no likelihood that with his forces alone he could place him on the throne, and dispossess a King so firmly established:

That his misfortune proceeded solely from the English refusing to espouse his quarrel, and his being forsaken by those who had engaged him in the undertaking, whilst the Scots exposed their lives for his sake:

That therefore he advised him to seek his fortune elsewhere; but nevertheless, he would make good what he told him at first, That he should not repent of putting himself into his hands.

Perkin seeing the King of Scotland bent to dismiss him, thanked him for the protection he had hitherto given him, and for all his other favours, entreating him to convey him into Ireland with his wife, which the King immediately granted.

As soon as Perkin Warbeck was removed from Scotland, there were no farther obstacles to a peace. The ambassadors, assembled at Aton, signed a truce for seven years, commencing the 30th of September, the day of signing the treaty. It was expressly agreed, that neither of the two

Kings should make war upon the other, by himself or subjects, or by any other person, whereby Perkin Warbeck was sufficiently understood without naming him:—

That with respect to certain points not settled by the ambassadors, the two Kings referred them to the decision of Ferdinand and Isabella. Afterwards this truce, limited to seven years, was prolonged till a year after the death of the survivor of the two Princes. In fine, each of the two Kings gave letters patents to the mediator, desiring him to report to Ferdinand and Isabella the differences yet undecided, promising to stand to their determination.

1497 AD] These Letters were full of marks of esteem and acknowledgment for the ambassador, and the two Kings showed how well pleased they were with his equity, wisdom, impartiality, and the trouble he had readily taken upon him. Nothing could be more honourable for Ayala, whom the English and Scotch writers call Hialas or Elias, than the perfect confidence placed in him by these two Monarchs. But then, it may be said, he had the good fortune to find them equally inclined to a peace so necessary for both.

I observed that in 1495 and 1496, Henry empowered his ambassadors to treat of a marriage between Margaret his daughter and the King of Scotland. But it does not appear, this affair was mentioned in any of the former negotiations, or even in this I have been speaking of. It is however very probable, that Henry, who desired this marriage, did not fail to insinuate the proposal by the Spanish ambassador, who was in his interest and confidence.

It was a very proper occasion, since Ayala might make the overture as from himself, without engaging Henry in case of refusal. It went no farther for this time, but we shall see presently the happy effects of this overture, which gave birth to the union of the two Kingdoms.

In the beginning of the year, Margaret of Austria, sister of the Archduke, went into Spain to Don John her husband. The nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity and magnificence. But in a few months after, Don John died, leaving the Princess with child, who was delivered of a still-born Infant.

By the death of Don John, his sister Isabella, widow of Prince Alphonso of Portugal, became heir apparent of the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Since the death of the Prince her spouse, she had been contracted to Don Manuel new King of Portugal, who hearing of Don John's sickness, so pressed his marriage that it was consummated before that Prince expired.

The last year, as was related, Charles VIII lost the Kingdom of Naples. Though the divisions among the Princes of Italy, seemed to invite him to this conquest, he could never resolve, because he had turned all his thoughts to love and pleasure. He duly paid Henry twenty five thousand livres every half year, as he was bound by the treaty of Estaples, for fear of drawing upon himself new troubles from England.

After the Treaty of Estaples, there was neither war nor difference between France and England during the rest of Henry's reign. Charles and Henry stood in awe of each other. Charles, who at first had formed vast projects, perceived, the King of England was the only Prince that could lay obstacles in his way. Afterwards, when he desisted from the war of Italy, and indulged his pleasures, he always feared that a war with Henry would disturb his tranquillity.

Henry on his part dreaded all foreign wars, and particularly with France, by reason of his domestic enemies. Thus the two Monarchs having the same interest, lived in peace till Charles's death, on the 16th of April 1498. The Duke of Orleans, who succeeded him by the name of Lewis XII, was no less careful to preserve a good understanding with England[131].

As he turned all his thoughts to Italy, it highly concerned him to keep fair with Henry, who would have it in his power to overthrow all his projects by a diversion in Picardy. As soon as Lewis

was on the throne, he caused his marriage with Jane daughter of Lewis XI to be annulled, in order to espouse Ann of Bretagne his predecessor's widow. Otherwise he would have run the risk of seeing Bretagne once more severed from France, and in the hands of a foreign House.

Though Henry had nothing to fear from abroad, since he was in peace with all the Princes of Europe, it was not the same with regard to his subjects. Before he could acquire that perfect tranquility, he so earnestly longed for, he had fresh attack to maintain from the Cornishmen. Perkin Warbeck himself, who having learnt to live like a Prince, could not resolve to return to his primitive state, embraced this opportunity to create him new troubles.

The Cornish rebels had been treated more gently than they had reason to expect, considering the nature of their crime, which sovereigns never willingly pardon. Most of them had compounded for two or three shillings a man, so miserable were they. These being returned home, publicly said, if the King had treated them with lenity, it was not from a motive of clemency, but because he was sensible if he punished all that were of their mind, he must hang up three parts in four of his subjects.

These discourses making their friends and neighbours believe, the whole Kingdom was ready to rise, they began to flock together, and show they were not discouraged by the battle of Black-Heath. At last some of the most fiery hearing Perkin Warbeck was in Ireland, proposed to send for him and set him at their head. The proposal meeting with applause, they sent to Warbeck, that if he would come among them, he should find no contemptible aid, and that with the assistance of other good Englishmen, they hoped to place him on the Throne.

Perkin being without any refuge in Ireland, and expecting nothing more either from Scotland, or France, or the Low-Countries, gladly accepted the invitation. He had with him for counsellors, Hern a broken Mercer, Skelton a tailor, and Astley a scrivener, who persuaded him to take that course. They told him, he had committed a great error in relying on the Duchess of Burgundy, and the Kings of France and Scotland, who without regarding his, had only their own interests in view:—

That he had been ill advised when he landed in Kent, which was too near London; but if he had been so fortunate as to have been in Cornwall when the Cornishmen took arms, he had been crowned at Westminster before now:

That the Scots were not proper instruments to place him on the throne, by reason of the aversion the English had for them; but, he must wholly depend upon the people of England, who alone were capable of procuring him the crown:

That therefore they advised him to repair into Cornwall where he was expected.

Pursuant to this advice, Perkin embarked for Cornwall, having with him about seventy men[132] on four small vessels, and arrived in September[133] at Whitsand Bay.

As soon as he had landed his little troop, he came to Bodmin, the furrier's town, who was hanged after the battle of Black Heath. There assembling about three thousand men, he issued out a proclamation assuming the title of King of England, and the name of Richard IV. He was very free of his reproaches and invectives against Henry and his government, with magnificent promises to such as should take arms to dethrone the usurper.

After publishing his proclamation, he formed a design to become master of Exeter as well as to make it serve for a magazine as a retreat in case of need. At first, he tried to bribe the inhabitants, with promising them the preservation and augmentation of their privileges. But finding they would not hearken to him, he resolved to storm the city. As he had no artillery, he was forced to

scale the walls, and at the same time attempted to fire one of the gates. But the attempt miscarried, and he lost two hundred men in the assault.

Henry hearing that Perkin had joined the Cornish rebels, and was before Exeter, said merrily, he hoped now to have the honour to see him which he could never yet do. He intimated withal, he should receive with pleasure and thankfulness, the services the nobility should do him upon this occasion. Whereupon, several Lords and gentlemen of Devonshire, and the neighbouring parts, uncalled from court, drew some forces together, and put themselves under arms[134].

On the other hand, the King ordered the Lord d'Aubeney to march to the relief of Exeter, spreading a report of his following in person with a numerous Army.

Perkin, upon news of these preparations against him, Perkin raised the siege of Exeter, and retired to Taunton[135], where he prepared all things as if he intended to fight. But that very night he fled to Bewley monastery in the New Forest, where he and several of his company registered themselves sanctuary-men. The Lord d'Aubeney hearing, Perkin had forsaken his Army, detached three hundred horse[136] to pursue him, and prevent his escaping by sea. The pursuers arriving too late at Bewley, contented themselves with besetting the sanctuary till further orders.

Meanwhile, Perkins troops, which were increased to six thousand, being destitute of their head, submitted to the King's mercy, who pardoned them all except a few ringleaders who were hanged for an example.

Presently after he sent a detachment of horse to St. Michael's Mount, to bring away Perkin's wife who was retired thither, lest, if she was with child and escaped, the business should not end in the person of Perkin. This virtuous lady, who loved her husband entirely though unworthy of her, so gained the King's favour by her modesty, that he gave her a very gracious reception.

He comforted her himself in a very affectionate manner, had her conducted to the Queen, and assigned her an honourable allowance, which she enjoyed during the King's life and many years after. She was called the white rose, as well on account of her beauty, as because of the name given by the Duchess of Burgundy to her Husband.

Though Perkin was in a place from whence he could not escape, the King however came to Exeter, to inquire more closely into the causes and origin of the rebellion. As he entered the city, he took his sword from his side and gave it to the mayor, to be always carried before him, honouring by that mark of distinction the zeal shewn by the citizens for his service. On the morrow, he caused some the rebels to be hanged in sacrifice to the inhabitants of Exeter, and as a sort of satisfaction for what they suffered.

1498 AD] For the rest who had submitted to his mercy, he gave them indeed their lives; but withal appointed commissioners[137] to punish them by fines. He proceeded on this occasion, with excessive severity. One would have thought he repented of giving them their lives, and designed to starve the miserable wretches after freeing them from the gallows.

This done, he advised with his council, upon what should be done with Perkin, who was still invested in his sanctuary. Some were for taking him out by force and putting him to death, not at all questioning, that after the execution, the King might easily agree with the Pope.

Others on the contrary believed, that according to the license granted by Innocent VIII's Bull, it sufficed to have him narrowly watched, and that, without necessity, such an advantage should not be given to the Pope. Moreover, that the King ought carefully to avoid being deemed a violator of sanctuaries, of which his enemies would not fail to take the advantage. In short, some

there were who plainly told the King, he would never satisfy the people, that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor, unless Warbeck himself freely undeceived those that were seduced by his artifices: That therefore the best method that could be taken, was, to engage him by a pardon to make himself a confession of his crime.

The King following this advice, sent to offer Perkin his life, if he would voluntarily surrender himself. Perkin readily accepted the offer. He saw himself so strictly watched and guarded, that he despaired to make his escape. Besides, supposing he could have escaped, he was destitute of all hopes, after an unsuccessful trial of so many different means,

Shortly after, the King ordered Perkin to be brought to Court, as if he was entirely at liberty, but however, attended by several persons who were commanded to guard him with all care, lest he made his escape. Every one might see and talk with him; but he could never obtain leave to throw himself at the King's feet, though the King, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him without being seen.

After that, Perkin was conducted to London. He was all the way exposed to the insults and derision of the people; but seemed to bear all with great courage and constancy. Never did he act the Prince better than upon this occasion, without affecting too great an insensibility, of shewing too much dejection. When he was come to London, he was made to ride twice through the city, that people might have time and opportunity to view him well, after which, he was confined in the Tower[138].

A few days after was executed one of his chief confidants, who not caring to take sanctuary with him in Bewley, chose rather to wander about the country in a hermit's dress[139]. This execution being over, Perkin Warbeck was privately examined, and his confession published, giving an exact account of all his actions, and the places where he had lived ever since he was born. But all were surprised to find no particulars of the conspiracy or the Authors.

The Duchess of Burgundy herself was not so much as named. Some took occasion from thence to confirm themselves in the belief, that the person called Perkin Warbeck was the true Duke of York. They were persuaded, that this affected silence was not without mystery, and that the king durst not insert in Perkin's pretended confession, any of the circumstances relating to foreign Princes, for fear of being publicly contradicted by persons who would not have for him the same regard as his own subjects.

As for what was published concerning Perkin's life and kindred, nothing, as they said, was easier than to invent such stories. Some however believed the King was thus silent, out of complaisance to the King of France, the Emperor, Archduke, Duchess of Burgundy, and King of Scotland: And that there were even English Lords engaged in the plot, against whom he did not think fit to proceed.

The year 1498, ended with an accident which gave King no small concern. Whilst he was at his palace of Shene, a fire broke out the 21st of December with that violence, that in few hours the building was entirely consumed, with all the rich furniture. As Henry was very fond of that palace, he caused it, soon after, to be rebuilt from the ground, calling it Richmond, which name it retains to this day[140].

The same year Isabella Queen of Portugal was solemnly acknowledged presumptive heir of Castile and Aragon, by the states of these two Kingdoms. But shortly after she died in childbed at Saragossa, having been delivered of Michael a Prince, who was named Michael, and proclaimed presumptive successor of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Since Lewis XII ascended the throne of France, he had been employed in contriving how to recover the Duchy of Milan, which he claimed in right of Valentina of Milan his Grandmother.

The truce between England and Scotland being concluded, as I said, to the satisfaction of both Kingdoms, the Scots conversed familiarly with their neighbours the English, particularly with the inhabitants of Norham. This town, which was fortified with a good castle and a strong garrison, is situated on the little river Tweed, which parts the two Kingdoms.

It happened one day, some Scotchman walking out of the town, stood looking attentively upon the castle, which breeding suspicion in the soldiers of the garrison, they sent to them to retire. The Scots taking it ill to be suspected, returned an angry answer, and in short, falling from words to blows, some of them were killed. The affair being brought before the the wardens of the Marches, was neglected, so that after many delays, the King of Scotland sent ambassadors[141] into England to demand speedy satisfaction.

Henry, who had no mind to quarrel with James, replied, that what had been done was a mere chance and without his privacy: but however, he was ready to make all convenient satisfaction, and to that end would send ambassadors to the King of Scotland. Buchanan, and the Lord Bacon, Henry the Seventh's Historian, affirms, the first overture of the marriage between King James and the Princess Margaret was made during this negotiation, and that James IV himself proposed it to Richard Fox Bishop of Durham.

Whereas it appears in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that, above four years before, Henry had projected this marriage, and probably, caused it, as I said, to be suggested to the King of Scotland, by some indirect means. As the Bishop of Durham could not be ignorant of the King's intention, since he had been twice commissioned to treat of this marriage, he failed not to inspire King James with hopes, that the business would be ended to his satisfaction.

Shortly after, the Ambassadors of the two Kings[142] meeting at Sterling to decide the Norham affair, renewed the former truce, adding certain articles to prevent the like accidents. After that, Henry appointed the Bishop of Durham to settle with the King of Scotland the articles of the intended Marriage. This affair was not however finished till January 1502.

Perkin Warbeck, accustomed to live like a Prince, was heartily tired of the Tower; where doubtless he was not treated as such. Though according to appearance, the King had ordered him to be strictly guarded, he found means to escape, and take the road into Kent, where he hoped to meet with some ship to carry him out of the Kingdom. But hearing that orders were every where sent to apprehend him, he thought proper to fly to the Monastery of Bethlehem[143], which enjoyed the privilege of sanctuary[144].

It was difficult for the prior to protect such a person, and yet he could not resolve either to let him go elsewhere, or violate the privilege of the house, in delivering him to the King. In this perplexity, he chose to wait upon the King, and acquainting him that Perkin Warbeck was in his hands, petitioned for his life, leaving him otherwise to the King's discretion.

The King readily saw, it would not be possible to draw Perkin out of the Monastery to put him to death, without making great noise. So, on pretence of his great respect for the Prior, who was a person very much revered, he granted the prisoner his life, but ordered him to be kept in the stocks a whole day, in the Palace Court at Westminster, and next day at the cross in Cheapside [145], from whence he was conveyed to the Tower[146].

Such a prisoner naturally should have been thrown into some dungeon, and yet his confinement was not the most rigorous, since he had the liberty to converse with the rest of the prisoners.

After he had remained some time in this state, he found means to gain four servants of Sir John Digby, lieutenant of the Tower, with whom he plotted to kill their master, seize the keys of the Tower, and escape with the Earl of Warwick, who had been also persuaded to come into the plot, out of hopes of recovering his liberty, of which he had been so long unjustly debarred. But

unhappily for them, the affair was discovered before it could be executed. It was scarce doubted, that the King himself was the contriver of this plot, and that his aim was to draw at once Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick into the snare, in order to put them both to death. Indeed several reasons rendered it credible.

First, it was very surprising, that Perkin was not more closely confined, after his attempt to make his escape. Secondly, it was not likely, that in his circumstances, unable to reward Sir John Digby's servants, they should expose themselves to such danger for his sake. In the third place, Perkin was too cunning to join with the Earl of Warwick, who would have hurt him only, though they had been so happy as to escape. Lastly, supposing they had killed the governor without being discovered, and got the keys of the Tower, how could they expect that the guards would have opened the gate, or suffered it to be opened in the night, without examining the persons that went out, or without the governor's express order.

But what farther confirms the suspicion of the King, was, that about the same time a young man, one Wilford a shoemaker's son, pretended to be the Earl of Warwick. He was accompanied, or rather guided and directed, by an Augustine Friar, called Patrick, who had the boldness to preach publicly in some towns in Kent, that Wilford was the Earl of Warwick, and exhorted the people to take arms in his favour. They were both apprehended, and Wilford was hanged, but the Friar pardoned[147].

This gave occasion to believe, Wilford had been seduced by the Friar, and by the King's particular direction, that it might be thought less strange, that he put him to death, under colour of causing fresh troubles.

However this be, it is certain the King was resolved to free himself at once from all his uneasiness occasioned by Perkin Warbeck and the Earl of Warwick. Though it cannot positively be said, that he laid a snare for them, at least this plot furnished him with a plausible reason to Perkin to deliver them over to justice.

Perkin was condemned[148] condemned by commissioners (of Oyer and Terminer) to be hanged, and was executed with the Mayor of Cork[149] and his son, who had been his constant companions in all his adventures. Of eight others that were condemned with them, among whom were Sir John Digby's four servants, there were but two executed.

Such was the end of Perkin Warbeck, who had been acknowledged for lawful King in Ireland, France, Flanders, England, Scotland, and made Henry shake in his throne. Perhaps he would have succeeded in his designs, had he been to deal with a less politic Prince. However, it is certain the King was not enough careful to undeceive the public, and that the proofs produced to shew Perkin was an impostor, being taken only from a private examination, seemed not sufficiently evident.

In a few days after Perkin's death[150], the Earl of Warwick was brought before the House of Peers, in Oxford exercising, by Commission, the office of High Steward. He was arraigned, not for attempting to escape, which could not be deemed high-treason, since he was imprisoned for any such crime, nor even for any other, but for conspiring the King's death jointly with Perkin Warbeck. The poor Prince confessing that he gave his consent to the project laid by Perkin and Digby's servants, was condemned to lose his head, and the sentence was executed on Tower-hill[151].

He was the last male heir of the House of York, which in truth was the crime that cost him his life, the King chusing rather to sacrifice his own reputation, than be disappointed of securing the crown both to himself and his heirs. To lessen in some measure people's horror of this cruelty, the King caused it to be published, that King Ferdinand positively declared, he would never consent to marry his daughter Catherine to Prince Arthur, so long as the Earl of Warwick was

alive. Strange sort of apology tending to insinuate, that the marriage of the Princess of Spain was so necessary for England, that it must be purchased with Blood!

But if this marriage was not requisite for the state, it was at least very beneficial to the King, who was to receive two hundred thousand crowns of gold for Catherine's dowry. This alone would have induced him to sacrifice the Earl of Warwick, though he had no other advantage by his death. From a like motive he had beheaded the Lord Chamberlain.

Meanwhile, very probably, what was published concerning King Ferdinand, was only a mere pretence to excuse Henry, since Arthur's marriage with Catherine was solemnized by proxy the 19th of May this very year, before the Earl of Warwick's death[152].

Lewis XII had solemnly ratified and sworn the peace of Estaples, a little after his accession to the crown. But being desirous to shew Henry, he really intended to keep it caused it to be approved and ratified by the States General, assembled at Nantz in the beginning of the year. Then he sent ambassadors to the Pope, to pray him to confirm it by his authority. The Pope seeing no farther from France, issued out a Bull of excommunication against whoever of the two Kings should not observe the treaty.

It was not without reason that Lewis desired to preserve the peace made by his predecessor with England. He had formed a design to seize the Duchy of Milan, and to that end made a league with the Venetians, who were to have for their share all that part of the Milanese situate beyond the Adda. This same year the confederates attacked the Duchy of Milan, and Ludovico Sforza, the most perfidious of men, being forsaken by all the world, was forced to fly to the Emperor, having lost all his places, except the castle of Milan. Genoa, of which he was possessed, followed the example of the Milanese, in voluntarily surrendering to the King of France.

Frederick King of Naples, who had succeeded Ferdinand his Nephew, fearing the preparations in France were designed against him, gave Henry speedy notice that he desired to be included in the peace he had lately renewed with France. But it was not with him that Lewis intended to deal this year. He reserved the war of Naples after the conquest of the Milanese.

Alexander VI having published a Jubilee for the year 1500, the last of the century, had granted by his Bull to all Christians at a distance from Rome, the privilege of the Jubilee without being obliged to visit the Churches of that City; but on condition of paying such a sum for the favour. This was an infallible way to draw money from all the States of Christendom, where he had sent commissioners to levy it.

The commissioner appointed for England was Jasper Pons a Spaniard, who wisely discharged his commission without noise or scandal, and carried a good sum of money to his master[153].

Besides this affair, he was charged with another which seemed of great moment, but tended, like the first, only to fill the Pope's coffers. He had orders to acquaint the King, that the Pope was resolved to publish a crusade against the Turks: That therefore it was agreed with the ambassadors of several potentates, that the Hungarians, Polonians, and Bohemians should make war upon the Turks in Thrace; the French and Spaniards in Greece; and himself, with the King of England, the Venetians, and Princes of Italy, who were most powerful at sea, should attack Constantinople:

That in consequence of this resolution, he had sent Nuncios to all the courts, to exhort the Sovereigns amicably to end their private quarrels, that all the forces of Christendom might be united together for so pious an undertaking. Alexander VI was too well known to be thought to act upon this occasion from a motive of religion and zeal for the glory of God. Consequently, it was easy to see that the sole design of this crusade was to heap up money by voluntary contributions, as well from private persons as sovereigns. However, as Henry was unwilling to

shew his dislike of this project, which probably would meet with obstacles enough elsewhere, he told the nuncio:—

That no Prince in all Christendom should be more zealous than himself, to promote this affair, to the glory of God and the good of the Church: but as his dominions were so remote from Constantinople, as he had no galleys, and as his mariners were not sufficiently acquainted with the Mediterranean Sea, he judged it more proper that the Kings of France and Spain should accompany his Holiness by sea; whereby, not only all things would be sooner ready, but the jealousy wisely avoided, which would infallibly arise between these two monarchs, in case they should march together by land, without a superior:

That for his part, he would freely contribute both men and money towards the undertaking. But if the Kings of France and Spain should refuse to accompany the Pope, he would go himself and command under him, provided all differences between the Christian Princes were first appeased, (which he should not obstruct, since he was in peace with all the world,) and some good towns on the coast of Italy put into his hands, to serve for retreat in case of necessity.

1500 AD] The Pope easily perceived the meaning of this answer, as probably the rest of the Princes would return the like, the crusade vanished into air. Meanwhile Henry, to display his zeal, appointed ambassadors to go to Rome to treat with the Pope concerning that affair. But I do not know whether these ambassadors ever went from London, Henry's answer being made public, the Knights of Rhodes elected him for protector of their order, imagining there was no Prince in Christendom more zealous than himself for religion.

The plague having for some time raged in England[154], the King, after frequent change of places, resolved to go make some stay at Calais with his family, till the danger was over. Upon his arrival[155], the Archduke Philip sent ambassadors to welcome him into those parts, and express his desire of paying him a visit. But withal, prayed him to appoint for their interview, some place that was not a walled town, not but that he had a perfect confidence in him, but because he had already refused to confer with the King of France in a fortified place.

Henry very civilly accepted this compliment, and appointed the place to be at St. Peter's Church without the gates of Calais. Then he sent ambassadors to Philip to return his compliment, and tell him with what impatience he expected him. Some days after, being informed that the Archduke was near Calais, he rid out of the town to receive him. When Philip saw him, he alighted and offered to hold the King's stirrup.

But Henry not permitting him, they embraced, and withdrawing into the Church, had a long conference. The Archduke, willing to efface the impression which his protection of Perkin might have made in the King's mind, shewed an ardent desire to live in a good understanding with him, calling him his patron and father; as appears in the King's letter to the Mayor of London, acquainting him with what passed at the interview.

It is said also, that overtures were made of cross marriages between Henry Duke of York the King's second son, and Margaret sister of Philip, and widow of the Prince of Spain, and between Charles son of Philip and Mary the King's second daughter. Charles was born the 24th of February this year, and by the death of Prince Michael of Portugal, about the same time, was become presumptive heir of the Crowns of Castile and Aragon.

This year, the Pope, at the request of Lewis XII himself, gave a Bull, whereby that Prince was declared excommunicate, if he failed in his payments contained in the Treaty of Estaples.

The Ambassadors of England and Scotland, being at length agreed upon the terms of the marriage between King James and Margaret, the Pope granted a dispensation. But as the Princess was only between ten and eleven years old, it was not consummated till three years after.

Henry was then in peace with all the Princes of Europe and there was no appearance of any troubles in his Kingdom. Consequently he had no sort of pretence to demand of his Parliament new subsidies. This way of raising money, of which he was so greedy, failing him, other methods were to be devised. Perkin Warbeck's affair was a plentiful fountain, which was not yet exhausted.

The Commission he had established whilst at Exeter, regarded properly such only as had actually taken arms against him. But though that commission had brought him in very large sums, he was not yet satisfied. Under colour, that those who had any way adhered to Warbeck's party, were still liable to the rigour of the law, he was ready to grant them a pardon unasked; but it was on condition, they paid the fines laid upon them.

For that purpose he appointed new commissioners[156] to make inquest of those that assisted Michael the farrier, author of the first Cornish rebellion, and Perkin Warbeck the impostor, with power to pardon them upon their paying fines at the commissioners discretion. He ordered likewise the estates of such as were dead to be seized and sold, if the heirs refused to make a reasonable composition.

It is easy to see from hence, that if the King had been favourable to the rebels during the troubles, it was only out of fear of driving them to despair, whilst they were yet heated, since he spared them not, as soon as he believed them to be no longer dangerous.

Cardinal Morton Archbishop of Canterbury was accused of being the author of these oppressions. But it was afterwards perceived, they sprung from the King himself. The Archbishop died the latter end of this, or the beginning of the next year[157], little regretted by the English, who were greatly prejudiced against him. Henry Dean Bishop of Salisbury succeeded him, but had not possession till the August following[158]. Before we close this year, it will be necessary briefly to mention what passed in Italy.

After Lewis XII was become master of the Duchy of Milan, he turned his thoughts to the conquest of Naples, Though, probably, he might alone have conquered that Kingdom, he made however an alliance with the King of Aragon, whereby they agreed to join their forces, and share the conquest between them. Ferdinand was to have Apulia and Calabria, and Lewis the city of Naples, Abruzzo and Terra di Lavarò.

This treaty being signed, Ferdinand sent an Army into Italy under the command of the famous Gonzolvo, commonly called the great captain. Lewis gave the conduct of his Army to d'Aubigni, to the Earl of Gaiazzo and Cæsar Borgia the Pope's bastard, who having quitted the Cardinalate, was become Duke of Valentinois.

The French Fleet was commanded by Philip of Cleves Lord of Ravenstein. In a very short space, each of the two Kings became master of the portion assigned him by the treaty, and the unfortunate Frederick King of Naples was forced to cast himself upon the mercy of Lewis XII, who sent him to live in France with a pension of thirty thousand crowns.

Henry having no war with any of his neighbours, lived in great tranquillity, and the more, as he saw in England no Lord in condition to create him uneasiness. The ability he had shewn in several affairs, as well foreign as domestic, which had unexpectedly come upon him, kept his neighbours in awe, and his subjects in obedience.

So, which way soever he turned his eyes, he saw nothing capable of disturbing his quiet. Mean while, when he least expected it, he thought a new storm was gathering against him, but he was

more afraid than hurt. The Earl of Suffolk[159], Nephew of Edward IV, and Richard III, and Brother of the Earl of Lincoln, slain at Stokefield, quarrelling with a man, had the misfortune to kill him.

This accident might have given the King a pretence to free himself from the Earl, who could not but be odious to him, since he was, by his mother, of the House of York, However, whether the action in itself was not ill, or for some other reason, the King was pleased to forgive him, on condition he openly pleaded his pardon. The Earl, more offended at this ignominy, than grateful for the favour granted him, retired shortly after into Flanders, to his aunt the Duchess of Burgundy.

Henry was startled at his retreat, imagining he was gone into the Low-Countries, to contrive some plot against him. His constant uneasiness, with respect to his crown, made him apprehensive, that the least beginnings would be attended with sad consequences. And therefore, not to give the Earl of Suffolk time to concert new projects with the Duchess of Burgundy, he so wrought with him by messages, that he returned into England, where he was very readily pardoned. The Duchess of Burgundy was grown old, and tired with so many fruitless attempts to dethrone Henry. Besides, she could expect no farther assistance from the Archduke, who was willing to live in a good understanding with him.

1501 AD] This year abounded in marriages, and projects of marriages of consequence. The Archduke going into Spain by land, had an opportunity to confer with Lewis XII, and conclude with him a marriage between his son Charles with Claude eldest daughter of that Monarch.

On the other hand, Margaret of Austria, the Archduke's sister, and widow of the Prince of Spain, espoused Philibert Duke of Savoy.

In fine, Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella coming into England in October [160], her marriage with Arthur Prince of Wales was solemnized the 14th of November. Though the Prince was but in the sixteenth year of his Age[161], it was not questioned whether the marriage was consummated. The Prince himself next morning said several things which left no room to doubt it. And yet, there were afterwards very warm disputes upon it, Catherine, or her council affirming, there was no consummation. But it is not yet time to speak of this matter.

Thomas Wolsey, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Cardinal, who made so great a figure in England, was now rector of the parish church of Lymington in the diocese of Bath and Wells. We find in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, that in November this year, the Pope, in consideration of his distinguished merit, granted him a dispensation to hold two benefices that were inconsistent.

1502 AD] Though the dispensation for the King of Scotland's marriage was come, Henry made no great haste to finish that affair by reason of his daughter's tender age. At length, the Princess being entered upon her thirteenth year the 29th of November 1501, James sent ambassadors to London where everything concerning the marriage was settled, and the contract drawn in form the 24th of January 1502.

Henry gave with his daughter thirty thousand angel nobles of gold[162], (each noble worth twenty grosses, or groats) payable in three years. James settled upon the Princess his spouse, a jointure of two thousand pounds sterling a year in land, of which however, he was to receive the income during his life, and allow her only a thousand pounds a year at her own disposal.

It was farther agreed, that she might have twenty four English servants, and when one died, she might appoint another in his room: That the Marriage should be performed *per verba de Præsenti*, about the Feast of Purification; but the King of Scotland should not think of having Margaret in his hands till September the 1st, 1503.

That then Henry should cause her to be conducted, at his expense, to the borders of the two Kingdoms. Before this contract was signed, a Privy Counsellor represented to the King, that it was not impossible but this marriage might one day give England a Scotch sovereign[163]. Whereupon the King replied, supposing that should be, the strongest would carry it from the weakest, and Scotland be annexed to England, and not England to Scotland, which fell out accordingly.

The same day were signed also two other treaties, between one of perpetual peace and amity between Scotland and England, and the other concerning the outrages that be committed on both sides contrary to the peace.

Whilst the court was rejoicing for the marriage of the Queen of Scotland, Prince Arthur her brother was seized with a distemper which laid him in his grave. He died the 2nd of April, about five months after his marriage, and in the seventeenth year of his age[164] As the Princess his widow might be with child, the King delayed two or three months to create Henry his second son, Prince of Wales.

The Lord Bacon says in his History that Henry was not made prince of Wales till February 1503. [165]. But we find in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, Letters Patents of the 22nd of June 1502, wherein he is stiled Prince of Wales, a clear evidence that he was now invested with that Principality.

Shortly after, Henry received an embassy from the Emperor Maximilian, to propose a league against the Turks. This embassy was properly only a pretence to money, to demand of the King an aid of money, which the Emperor promised punctually to repay. But the King knowing Maximilian to be always in want, chose rather to make him a present of ten thousand pounds, than to lend him the sum he desired.

As for the league proposed by the Emperor, Henry did not think fit to engage in it, contenting himself with stipulating that the ten thousand pounds should be employed in the war against the infidels. He concluded with him however, a treaty of commerce and another of friendship and alliance, which was to last one year after the death of the survivor.

Moreover it was agreed, that Maximilian, and his son the Archduke, should be admitted into the Order of the Garter, and Henry into that of the golden fleece. Pursuant to this agreement, Henry sent ambassadors[166] to Maximilian, with the Order of the Garter, and to see him swear to the treaties.

About the same time Ladistaus King of Hungary, finding himself pressed by the Turks, and desiring the assistance of the Christian Princes, Henry sent ambassadors to treat with him. But their power was limited to the promise, in his name, of a sum of money to be employed against the infidels.

During the rest of the year nothing extraordinary passed in England. James and Henry were entirely taken up with confirming and ratifying their three late treaties, and swearing to observe them. We find in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, the ambassadors of the King of England[167] having delivered to King James a writing, containing the oath he was to take, and he reading it as it was, inadvertently gave Henry the title of King of France. But afterwards perceiving his error, he took publicly another oath, wherein the words, and of France, were omitted, and made that his authentic act. He was afraid, no doubt, the King of France would be displeased with his giving Henry that title, though it was of no great importance.

We see likewise in the *Collection*, that on the 9th of December, Henry gave a Patent to James Elliot and Thomas Ashurst Merchants of Bristol, to John Gonzalez and Francis Fernandez, natives

of Portugal, to go with English colours in quest of unknown countries, upon certain terms expressed in the Patent[168].

Elizabeth, Henry's Queen, died the 11th of February 1503. without being much lamented by the King, who never loved her[169]. On the contrary, he had given her sensible mortifications. His hatred to the House of York, was extended to his own wife, especially as he always deemed her a dangerous rival. The concern he gave her by confining the Queen her mother in a convent, and confiscating all her estate, plainly showed his little regard for her[170].

At this time, the King's affairs were so prosperous, that he seemed to have all he could desire. He was in peace with all the Princes of Europe, and without troubles at home, or the appearance of any thing to vex or embarrass him. But his subjects were not the happier. As his avarice was insatiable, he was continually seeking new ways to heap up riches, which he wanted not, since it was not to use them, and since never Prince was a greater economist than himself.

His instruments for this purpose were two infamous ministers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, who regardless of their own and the King's reputation, sought only to gratify his humour, and devise new means to fill his coffers. Dudley was of a good family, well skilled in the laws of the land, and able to give a favourable turn to the most odious actions.

Empson was sprung from the dregs of the people[171], impudent to the last degree, and so little ashamed of the injustices he committed, that he used to glory in them.

These are some of the means they used to draw money from the people, into the King's treasury, besides numberless others too long to be recounted.

In the first place, they caused such as were reputed rich, to be indicted of sundry crimes, and when the bills were found by the Grand-Jury, committed them, without bringing them to their tryal, till of themselves they desired to compound with the King. If they delayed too long, the ministers found means to terrify them by emissaries, who made them believe their lives were in danger.

1) By this means the parties were forced at length to come to a composition, which tore from them the best part of their estates, and which the ministers termed however mitigation, as if the King had done them a favour in allaying the too great rigour of the Law.

2) They came at last to that point, that they proceeded without observing any form of justice. They sent forth their precepts to attach and cite people before themselves, at their own private houses, in a Court of Commission, and there, after a summary proceeding by examination, without proofs or witnesses, passed sentence, and condemned them in large fines to the King's use. Thus without vouchsafing to make use of juries, and the methods prescribed by the law, they assumed themselves to deal as well in controversies civil, as in pleas of the crown. One would have thought, all criminal causes had belonged to that kind of Jurisdiction, which having been very rare in the foregoing Reigns, was grown common in this.

3) They charged the subjects lands with tenures in *Capite*, by finding false offices [172], refusing upon divers pretences and delays to admit people to traverse those false offices according to Law. Hence they formed variety of processes, whereof they themselves were the judges, and which were always decided in favour of the Crown.

4) When the King's wards had accomplished their full age, they could never have livery of their lands with out paying excessive fines, contrary to the express tenor of Magna Charta[173].

5) When men were outlawed in personal actions, the ministers would not permit them to purchase their charters of pardon, unless they paid great and intolerable sums; standing upon the rigour of the law, which upon out-lawries gives 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 two whole years.

6) They would also threaten the jurors, and force them to find as they should direct; and if they refused to act so unjustly, they were cited, imprisoned, and fined[174].

It is needless to repeat any more of their courses. These I have mentioned are sufficient to show, that men of this character scrupled not to commit the most enormous injustices, provided it was for the King's advantage. Herein less blamable than the King himself, who suffered them to abuse thus his name and authority.

We do not find in the life of this Monarch, that he ever exercised one act of grace in point of fines or confiscations. On the contrary, he was always inflexible, even with regard to his most faithful servants. His historian relates a very remarkable particular, which serves to discover plainly the character of this Prince. Of all the Lords of the Kingdom, he had the most confidence in the Earl of Oxford, who had indeed done him the greatest services, as well in war as in peace.

One day, the King went to visit him at his castle (at Henningham) and was entertained with all possible magnificence. When the King was ready to depart, he saw a great number of men dressed in rich liveries, and ranged on both sides to make him a lane. The Earl it seems had forgot, that it was forbid by several Acts of Parliament, to give liveries, as was observed, to any but menial servants, but the King remembered it.

Wherefore turning to the Earl, he said, My Lord, I have heard much of your magnificence and hospitality; but I find they exceed all report. These handsome gentlemen and yeomen I see on both sides of me, are sure your menial servants. The Earl, not perceiving the King's aim, smiled and answered, he did not keep so many domestics, but these people were only his retainers, come to do him service on such extraordinary occasions.

The King startled a little, and said, By my faith, my Lord, I thank you for your good cheer; but I must not suffer to have my Laws broken before my face. My attorney must talk with you. The historian adds, this trespass cost the Earl fifteen thousand marks[175].

The same Historian says, he had seen a book of accounts of Empson's, with the King's hand almost to every leaf, by way of signing, and was in some places posted in the margin with the King's hand likewise, where among many others was this memorandum:—

Item, received of such a one, five marks for the pardons to be procured, and if the pardons 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, was written by him in the margin, ***Other ways satisfied***. He was unwilling to pardon the man, and yet could not resolve to restore the five marks. Hence it is plain he did not neglect small profits.

It is easy to guess, the King's and the ministry's conduct bred great discontent and murmurs among the people. The great men themselves meeting with no better than the meanest, groaned under the oppression of Empson and Dudley, two leaches, who spared: neither friend nor foe.

The Earl of Suffolk whom the King had lately pardoned, fancied, these discontents would raise in the end some violent storm against the King, if the people could find a person of distinction to head them. As he was of the House of York by his mother, he imagined, the time was come to prosecute his rights, and the people would not fail to declare for him. In this belief he persuaded several Lords and Gentlemen to promise to support him at a proper season, and then retired into Flanders from whence he made his friends expect a powerful aid by means of the Duchess of Burgundy[176].

The King, surprised at the Earl of Suffolk's retreat, Henry did not question that he had contrived some plot in England before his departure, and had his accomplices. To be fully informed, he believed the best way was to recur to the same arts, he had used with respect to Parkin Warbeck.

To that end, he sent orders to Sir Robert Curson Governor of the Castle of Hammes near Calais, whom he knew to be fit for his purpose, and entirely at his devotion. Pursuant to his instructions, Curson relinquishing his Government, under colour of some affront designedly put upon him by the King, came to the Earl of Suffolk with offers of his service.

He played his part so well, that the Earl imparted to him all his secrets. By this means the King came to know, that William Courtney Earl of Devonshire[177], married to Catherine, Edward the Fourth's Daughter, William de la Pole, Brother of the Earl of Suffolk, Sir James Tyrrel, Sir John Windham, and several other meaner persons, were concerned in the plot. They were all apprehended in one day[178].

But as probably, there was not sufficient evidence against the two first, the King was contented with detaining them in prison. This gave occasion to think they were not guilty, but that the King used this pretence to secure them, because their relation to the House of York made him uneasy. As for Tyrrel, against whom the blood of Edward V, and the Duke of York cried for vengeance, he was beheaded[179] with Windham his accomplice. The rest of inferior rank suffered the punishment of traitors

Meanwhile, Henry desiring to be better informed of the Earl of Suffolk's secrets, took care to preserve Curson's credit, by an extraordinary method. He caused Innocent VIII's Bull of excommunication, to be published at Paul's Cross, against all persons that should disturb him in the possession of the throne, and particularly against the Earl of Suffolk and Sir Robert Curson. But when he had drawn from the Earl all his secrets, he returned into England, where he was graciously received by the King, but the people looking upon him with horror, loaded him with curses.

The Earl of Suffolk being confounded by Curson's flight, roved about for some time in Germany, and at length returned into Flanders, where the Archduke, notwithstanding his treaties with Henry, took him into his protection.

The King knowing the Earl had not in England a party capable to support him, showed no farther uneasiness. Another affair troubled him much more. He had now received a hundred thousand crowns of gold, in part of the portion of the Princess of Wales his daughter-in-law, Arthur's widow.

As that Prince died without issue, he must either send back the widow to Spain, and consequently return the hundred thousand crowns, or if he kept her in England, give her the third part of the Principality of Wales[180], which was settled upon her. Both were equally grievous to a Prince of Henry's temper.

However, he could not dispense with one or other, with out breaking with Ferdinand, which did not agree with his present circumstances. For indeed, the deference paid him by all the other Princes, and particularly by the King of France, was properly owing to his strict alliance with

the Spanish Monarch. In this perplexity, he thought of a very proper expedient to preserve the friendship of Ferdinand, with the sum already received, and procure him the other hundred thousand crowns which remained to be paid. And that was to marry Catherine to his son Henry, now Prince of Wales, by the death of his elder Brother.

The proposal being made to the King and Queen of Spain, they agreed to it, on condition the Pope's dispensation was first obtained. This was the subject of an agreement between the two crowns, the 23rd of June, without a particular mention of the articles of the intended marriage. It must be observed, that in this agreement, it was alleged, as a necessary reason for demanding the dispensation, not only that Arthur and Henry were brothers, but moreover that Arthur's marriage with Catherine was duly solemnized and consummated.

1503 AD] Alexander VI dying in the meantime, Pius III succeeded him. But as he outlived not the 18th of October, it was to Julius II, elected the 1st of November, that the two Kings applied for the dispensation. The new Pope granted a Bull for that purpose, where he said, that in the petition lately presented to him, Henry and Catherine declared, that Catherine was married *per verba de Præsenti*, to the late Prince Arthur, and that the marriage was solemnized in form, and perhaps consummated[181].

Upon the word perhaps, it must be remarked, that, on this occasion, it cannot be a term denoting a doubt, since it is not the Pope that speaks in the petition, but Catherine, who must know whether the marriage was consummated or not. It is only a term which gives more strength to the dispensation, as obviating all the objections that might be made. This evidently appears in the sequel of the Bull, where the Pope permits Henry and Catherine remain in the state of matrimony, though they were married before, publicly or privately, and had perhaps consummated their marriage by carnal copulation.

It is easy to see, the word perhaps, is inserted only to give the more force to the dispensation, by preventing all cases that might render it invalid. It was necessary to make these observations, by reason of the important consequences of this affair in the following reign.

The King of Scotland's marriage was consummated in September[182] according to agreement, Henry having conducted the Queen his daughter to York, from whence she pursued her journey into Scotland[183].

The Archduke Philip returned this year into Flanders, having stayed about a year in Spain. As he passed through France, he endeavoured to adjust a difference between King Ferdinand his father-in-law, and Lewis XII, concerning the Kingdom of Naples. He even took upon him to conclude in Ferdinand's name, a treaty which was afterwards disclaimed.

Had he been concerned with a Prince of less goodness and equity than Lewis XII, that disclaiming might have thrown him into great trouble. But Lewis was so generous as not to take the advantage. The occasion, in short, of the rupture between the two monarchs was this:

They had, as I have observed, divided the Kingdom of Naples after conquering it. It was hardly possible that these two Princes should long possess the portion fallen to each, without some occasion of quarrel. Accordingly a dispute, arose concerning the province of Capitanata, which each would have to be in his division. Whereupon the French and Spaniards came to blows. At first the French had the advantage, but afterwards lost two battles, one near St. Severina in Calabria the 21st of April, the other on the 28th of the same month at Cerignoles, where the Duke of Nemours their general was slain.

After these two victories Gonzolvo, who commanded Ferdinand's troops, became master of the whole Kingdom of Naples. Lewis desirous to repair his losses, sent a powerful army into Italy, which was by sundry unexpected accidents rendered unserviceable.

The 16th of January 1504, the King assembled the Parliament on pretence of the necessity of reviving certain statutes, and making some new ones. But the real motive was to demand a subsidy for his eldest daughter's dowry. The custom of demanding money on such occasions was too advantageous to the King to suffer it to be abolished.

The Queen of Scotland's portion was but thirty thousand nobles[184], but this Subsidy granted by the Parliament may well be thought to be much more considerable, besides a handsome present made him by the clergy on the same account. So, instead of emptying his coffers by the marriage of his daughter, he filled them the fuller. Nothing shows more the almost absolute power of the King, than the choice of Dudley for Speaker of the House of Commons[185].

He was the most generally hated person in the Kingdom, except Empson his associate, who was as odious as himself. Wherefore it must be that the fear of displeasing the King, by rejecting the person he recommended, led the Commons to that choice.

The Subsidy was not the only thing, the King politically turned to his advantage in this Parliament. He found means to obtain Acts which seemed to aim wholly at the good of the public, but in reality tended only to procure him money. For instance, all patents of lease or grant were disannulled to such as came not (upon lawful Summons) to serve the King against the rebels[186].

As the number of Delinquents in this respect was very great, this act was a fertile source of treasure to the King, by reason they were obliged to renew their leases and grants, which could be done only upon very hard terms.

Another statute made all sorts of clipped or impaired coins of silver not to be current in payments, without suffering them even to pass for the value of their weight. As there were scarce any other in the Kingdom, every one was forced to bring in his ready money to the mint, in order to be new coined, by which the King was a very considerable gainer.

The Statute against giving liveries to any but menial servants, was also revived, from whence Empson and Dudley had an opportunity to attack many persons[187].

Thus the King continually amassing without being obliged to any extraordinary charge, at a time when his ordinary expenses were very moderate, and husbanded in the best manner possible, could not but be extremely rich in ready money. But then he doubly ruined his subjects; first by draining their purses; and secondly by hindering the coin, of which he had great quantities in his coffers, from circulating in trade.

On the other hand, Empson and Dudley continued their extortions without any reserve, and with a rigor inexperienced by the English, under any of their former Kings.

About this time Henry had thoughts of canonizing Henry VI, the last King of the House of Lancaster. But there were two grand obstacles. The first, that the miracles ascribed to that Prince since his death were not well attested, and the actions of his life, which were ostentatiously displayed, showed rather his weakness than sanctity. But the second difficulty, that is the necessary charges of this canonization quite frustrated the project.

As this is an act of grace and favour, the Pope generally proportions the expenses not to the person of the saint himself, but to the riches of him that solicits the canonisation. The King even perceived, that the court of Rome's questioning Henry sixth's sanctity, tended only to magnify the favour, and enhance the price accordingly.

This was sufficient to cause him to desist from his intentions. So avarice a Prince could hardly resolve to empty his coffers for so needless a thing, and which, at most, would have only procured him the praises of the Lancastrians. He was contented therefore to obtain a bull for the removal

of Henry VI's body to Westminster among his Ancestors[188]. He was obscurely buried at first in Chertsey Monastery near London, from whence he was removed to Windsor.

The 19th of August, Henry issued out a proclamation, giving notice that he had appointed commissioners to whom his creditors, and such as had any demands upon him, might apply for the space of two years, to commence the 19th of August, and to continue till Michaelmas come two years.

1504 AD] It is hard to judge whether he did this from a principle of equity, and with intent to satisfy those he had injured, or designed only to blind people's eyes by this act of justice. The first would be most probable, if from this time he had put a stop to the exactions of Empson and Dudley. But it is difficult to believe that, whilst he suffered his subjects to be oppressed by these ministers, he really intended to do justice to all the world.

Isabella Queen of Castile dying the 26th of November, Ferdinand her spouse writ the same day to Henry to give him notice thereof. He told him in his letter, that the deceased Queen had appointed him in her will administrator of the Kingdom of Castile, for Jane their daughter, wife of the Archduke of Austria, and who by the death of the Queen her mother was become Queen of Castile.

When the Archduke received the news of Isabella's death, he was employed in making war upon the Duke of Gueldres. This war preventing him from repairing to Spain so soon as he could have wished, he was obliged to leave to King Ferdinand his father-in-law the government of Castile, fully bent however to take it from him as soon as possible. On the other hand, Ferdinand improving Isabella's will, pretended to keep the administration of that Kingdom during his life, probably, because the deceased Queen had not limited the continuance.

This dispute bred some uneasiness in Henry, whose case was the same with Ferdinand's, in the opinion of many people. He was not ignorant that most of his subjects were persuaded, Elizabeth his spouse had been of right the true Queen of England, and consequently the crown was fallen after her decease to Henry her son and lawful successor.

Though he affected to hold for certain, that the House of York had never any right to the Crown, he was however very uneasy, because in general the English were of another opinion. It is true, that besides his descent from the House of Lancaster, he founded his right upon two other titles; namely, conquest, and the approbation of Parliament. But he perceived how weak these two foundations would prove, should the House of York, by some revolution come to gain ground.

Upon this account, he was very attentive to what passed in Spain, looking upon the decision of this contest as a precedent for or against him. On the other hand, he was afraid that Philip, who had appeared for some time closely united with Lewis XII, would join in a league with that Monarch and the Emperor, to oblige Ferdinand to resign him Castile. In that case he foresaw, he should be forced either to abandon Ferdinand to these three potent enemies, or enter into a war with them to support him.

Both were equally opposite to his interests. In fine, he had cast his eyes upon the Queen dowager of Naples, widow of King Ferdinand, for a wife, in order to enjoy the large dower assigned her in that Kingdom. Perhaps he hoped by marrying that Queen, to render himself umpire of the differences between Lewis XII and Ferdinand, concerning the Kingdom of Naples.

To be fully informed therefore of the disposition of the Castilians, and the qualities of the Queen of Naples, he sent three persons into Italy and Spain, not as ambassadors, but as travellers for their pleasure[189]. However, to procure them access to the Queen of Naples and Ferdinand, he so ordered, that the Princess of Wales gave them letters both for the King her father and the young Queen.

These Gentlemen's private instructions, with respect to the Queen, were very particular. The King wanted to be exactly informed of her age, complexion, stature, health, temper, inclinations, behaviour and estate. This shows he was not willing lightly to resolve. But the project vanished when the King heard from his envoys, that indeed the Queen's jointure was very considerable; but had been changed by Ferdinand, since he was possessed of the Kingdom of Naples into a pension for life.

When the gentlemen arrived in Spain, the contest between Ferdinand and Philip his son-in-law was still in the same state. They therefore acquainted the King, that Ferdinand continued to govern Castile as administrator; and even hoped to persuade Philip to leave him the administration freely during life, both by means of some of his council whom he had gained, and by threatening him to marry again, and so give an heir to the Kingdom of Aragon: That therefore, there was a project of marriage between Ferdinand and Germaine de Foix, which would be certainly accomplished, in case Philip molested the King his father-in-law.

They informed him moreover, that Ferdinand's secretary had discovered to them, as a great secret, that the marriage of Prince Charles of Austria with Claude of France would not take effect, because Lewis XII, was resolved to give his daughter to Francis Duke of Angoulême his presumptive heir. That then, on supposition that Philip would remain in the Low-Countries with his Queen, Ferdinand intended to demand Mary the King's second daughter for the young Prince of Austria.

These informations containing nothing certain, Henry could take no measures, till he saw the course of the Spanish affairs.

Whilst Ferdinand and Philip were in treaty concerning their difference, Philip and Jane were proclaimed King and Queen of Castile at Brussels; which showed, they intended not to resign for ever the administration of Castile to Ferdinand, as he had flattered himself.

Meanwhile, the war of Gueldres, and Queen Jane's being near her time, hindered them from executing their resolution of going to Castile. They knew, the Castilians were not pleased with Ferdinand, and did not doubt that as soon as they appeared, all would declare for them. For the same reason, Ferdinand used all sorts of artifices to dissuade them from this voyage.

In the meanwhile, Margaret of Austria, Philip's sister, lost her spouse the Duke of Savoy, who died the 10th of September. Some days after the new Queen of Castile was delivered of a Princess who was called Mary, and was afterwards Queen of Hungary.

This year was very barren of remarkable events with Henry's regard to England. Besides what has been related, we find only a treaty of alliance between Henry and George Duke of Saxony, hereditary governor of Frise, to Saxony, whom Henry had sent ambassadors[190] ever since February. This treaty was concluded the 30th of December.

The war of Gueldres being ended, and Queen Jane, able to travel, Philip resolved to carry her into Castile, Philip and knowing it to be the only way to secure the government of that Kingdom. Though they intended to go by sea, they chose the winter, it seems, to surprise Ferdinand, who probably, would not expect them at that season.

They departed the 10th of January under a strong convoy prepared for that purpose. But before they got out of the channel, a terrible storm[191] dispersed their fleet, and the ship on which they were, with much difficulty ran into Weymouth[192] in England, having been in great danger. The King and Queen were so fatigued and sick, that contrary to the opinion of their council they would land to refresh their spirits.

Meanwhile the people of the country seeing a numerous fleet, were very much alarmed. They immediately ran to their arms, and Sir Thomas Trenchard at the head of some troops marched to Weymouth[193], to concert measures with the inhabitants in case of an invasion.

When he heard, the King and Queen of Castile were landed, he waited upon them, humbly inviting them to his house, till the King was informed of their arrival. Philip would have gladly re-embarked, but perceived he should not be suffered till the King's orders were received, to whom an express was dispatched. So, without much entreaty he consented to stay till that time.

As soon as Henry had notice of the King and Queen of Castile's arrival, he sent the Earl of Arundel[194] with his compliments, and to tell them, he would make all possible haste to come and embrace them. The Earl withal assured them from the King, that they were as much master in his dominions as himself. Philip finding there was no avoiding the King's visit, believed he should gain time by going to him.

To that end, he posted to Windsor[195], whilst his Queen followed by easy journeys. Henry received them both with all imaginable marks of friendship, but however, ruminating all the while, how to reap some advantage from the accident which had thrown them into his dominions [196].

1506 AD] Some days after, he insinuated to Philip, that as his condition was altered, it would be proper to renew their treaty of commerce, to which Philip agreed, though the reason alleged by Henry was of no force. For Philip being King of Castile, was not less Sovereign of the Low-Countries, the first dignity causing no alteration in the last. But Henry had his aim, and Philip plainly perceived, that being in his power, he ought carefully to avoid all occasions of offending him, lest he should find some pretence to detain him in England.

He was not ignorant of the strict union between Henry and Ferdinand, and was under some apprehensions, that Henry would think of obstructing his voyage, to oblige his father-in-law. However this be, the treaty was renewed, but with some alterations to the advantage of the English. Amongst other things, an article of the old treaty was suppressed, which permitted Philip's subjects to fish on the coasts of England. This made the inhabitants of the Low-Countries call it (*Intercursus Malus*), or the bad treaty.

This affair being finished, Henry opened his mind to Philip concerning his design to marry Margaret his sister, widow of the Duke of Savoy[197]. Philip seemed very well pleased with the proposal. And indeed, nothing could be more for his advantage than to make Henry his friend by this alliance, lest he should openly espouse the King of Aragon's quarrel.

So, the marriage was concluded at Windsor, the 20th of March[198]. By the articles signed by both, Philip promised to give the Duchess his sister, three hundred thousand crowns (of French gold)[199], with a yearly pension of three thousand eight hundred and fifty.

Meanwhile, Henry fearing Philip would go from his word, when he was out of his power, caused to be inserted in the treaty, that the principal Lords of the Low-Countries should swear, they would use their utmost endeavours to procure the accomplishment of this marriage. The oaths of several of the Lords, in pursuance of this article, are to be seen in the *Collection of The Public Acts*.

Henry had one thing more to obtain of Philip, without which he could not think of letting him go, though outwardly he continued to caress him. And that was, to deliver to him the Earl of Suffolk, who was then in Flanders. But at the first overture, Philip told him plainly, he could not comply with his request, being bound in honour not to sacrifice a Lord whom he had taken under his protection; that besides, it would be dishonourable to himself, since the world would not fail

to say, he was used as a prisoner. Henry, who little regarded what the world said, provided he obtained his ends, replied, he would take all the dishonour upon him self. This answer threw Philip into great perplexity.

He was unwilling to betray the Earl of Suffolk, after promise to protect him. But on the other hand, he perceived Henry was bent upon having that Lord at any rate, and had in his hands an infallible means to obtain him. Besides, in the present posture of his affairs, not being yet certain, whether he should not be forced to go to war with his father-in-law, it was easy to foresee, he might stand in need of the King of England, and consequently it would be very wrong to disoblige him. Wherefore, he suddenly came to a resolution, and with an air of confidence spoke in this manner:—

Sir, since you are pleased to give law to me, permit me to do the same by you. I will deliver the Earl, but you shall give me your honour not to touch his life.

Henry agreeing to this condition, Philip desired the thing might be done in a manner honourable for both:—

I will so order it, added he, that the Earl shall come to England of his own accord, by which it will appear that I have solicited and obtained his pardon, and that you were very ready to grant it.

Henry approving the expedient, the Earl of Suffolk willingly accepted the offer made him[200].

Meanwhile, Henry being desirous to have the Earl in his power before Philip's departure, continued his entertainments and diversions, on pretence of doing honour to the King and Queen of Castile but in reality, to gain time till the Earl's arrival. He admitted Philip to the Order of the Garter, and Philip made the Prince of Wales, Knight of the Golden-Fleece.

After that, Henry carried his guests to London, where they were magnificently entertained. Shortly after, the Earl of Suffolk came from Flanders, and was conveyed to the Tower. Thus, Henry under colour of doing him honour kept Philip in England above three months, till he had obtained his desires[201]. In all appearance, Philip saw plainly, through all the caresses he received, that it was not in his power to depart when he pleased. Else, it is not likely, as he intended to sail into Spain in January, he would have willingly staid in England till the end of April, or the beginning of May.

When Philip and Jane were in Castile, the people shewed so great affection for them, that Ferdinand could easily see, his endeavours to keep the government of the Kingdom would be vain. Accordingly, without insisting any more upon his administratorship, which could take place only in the Queen his daughter's absence, he withdrew into his own realm of Aragon. Afterwards, he made a voyage to Naples, where Gonzolvo his general began to make him uneasy, and thereby Philip and Jane remained, though not long, in possession of Castile.

Within a few months, Philip was seized with a distemper, of which he died the 25th of September. He left the guardianship of his son Charles to Lewis XII, who appointed the Lord de Chievres for his governor. This choice, which was generally approved, and was a clear evidence of Lewis's sincerity and disinterestedness, proved fatal to France, as the governor made his pupil more able than was necessary for the good of the Kingdom.

The death of Philip so affected his Queen, that she lost her reason, and became entirely incapable of governing Ferdinand the State. Whereupon her father resumed the administration of affairs, which he had been deprived of but five months. He is said to take no great care of the Queen's cure, lest recovering her senses, she should send him back again to Aragon.

The disinterestedness shewn by Lewis XII, with respect to the young Archduke Prince of Spain, did not hold long. He had promised to give him Claude his eldest daughter in marriage, but thought it more proper to marry her to Francis Duke of Angoulême his presumptive successor. Moreover, being apprehensive of a league against him, between the Emperor, the Archduke, and Ferdinand, and that the King of England might come into it also, he endeavoured to embroil young Charles's affairs, by exciting the Duke of Gueldres to renew the war.

The Archduke being too young to govern, the Flemings prayed the Emperor his grandfather to take the administration in his grandson's name. Maximilian granted their request, and till he could come himself, sent them Margaret his daughter, widow of the Duke of Savoy.

Upon that Princess's arrival at Brussels, she concluded with Henry a provisional treaty of commerce, till some differences caused by the late treaty between the merchants of both nations could be adjusted. This treaty was signed at Bruges, the 5th of June.

The same ambassadors that were assembled at Calais, spent there the rest of the year, in treating of the marriage of Charles Archduke of Austria, sovereign of the Low-Countries, and Prince of Castile with Mary, Henry's second Daughter[202]. At length, on the 21st of December, they signed a treaty, that Charles should marry the Princess Mary, as soon as he was fourteen years old, and that her portion should be two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns of Gold[203].

The young Prince ran the hazard of losing the Kingdom of Aragon, Valencia, Granada, and the Principality of Catalonia, his grandfather Ferdinand having married Germane de Foix. But happily for him, they had no Children.

Though Henry's coffers were full, he was not weary of heaping up money. We have seen, that in the year 1504, the Parliament gave him a subsidy for the marriage of the Queen of Scotland his daughter. But the year was not expired before he issued out a proclamation to levy a benevolence, by his own authority, and with out any apparent necessity; so that this conduct could be ascribed only to his insatiable desire of hoarding up money[204].

1507 AD] He was grown so absolute in his Kingdom that no man durst oppose his will, or even shew the least discontent. Meanwhile, Empson and Dudley continued their extortions and oppressions with all imaginable rigour. This very year 1507, they sharply prosecuted the Mayor of London [205], for neglecting to bring to justice a coiner of false money, and because he would not, or could not pay an exorbitant fine, sent him to the Tower.

The sheriffs, aldermen, and all that had borne any office in the City, were questioned and prosecuted with the same rigour, and compelled to pay to the King fines, proportioned not to their abilities, but to the King's and his ministers rapaciousness[206].

Whilst the King was wholly intent upon heaping up riches, he found himself frequently seized with the gout. At first he disregarded it, as not believing it dangerous. But by degrees the humour falling upon his lungs, it turned to a ptisick, which made him perceive he had not long to live. He suffered however his two ministers to continue their exactions without any respect of persons. He was so charmed to see his coffers full of gold and silver, that he could not resolve to put a stop to the shameful proceedings which daily brought him in fresh sums.

He is said to have amassed eighteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. This sum will appear prodigious, if it is considered that money was then much scarcer in Europe than at present. He laid up his treasures under his own key and keeping, in secret places at Richmond[207].

As the Marriage of the Princess Mary with the Archduke was then the only considerable affair Henry was employed in, he spent the whole year 1508 in taking measures to secure its accomplishment.

The acts of this year, in the collection, scarce regard any other affair. At length, on the 17th of December, the marriage was accomplished *per verba de Præsenti*, the Lord de Berghes being the young Prince's proxy. As such, he espoused the Princess, gave her a ring, and saluted her publicly in the name of the Prince her spouse[208].

About the same time, the Archduke pawned to the King a Jewel called the rich Flower-de-luce [209], for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. The Emperor as grandfather and guardian of Charles, approved of the marriage and upon loan. In all likelihood, the money was borrowed for him.

He had occasion for it to make a figure in the league of Cambray, which he had concluded this year, with the Pope and the King of France, against the Venetians, who were become formidable to all Italy.

As to Henry's marriage with Margaret of Austria, though it was concluded in 1506, it was no more thought of, after that monarch, fallen into a ptisick, perceived he was fitter to think of death than a wife.

The King finding he daily grew worse was pleased to prepare for death, by granting a general pardon. He discharged likewise, with his own money, all prisoners about London that lay for fees or debts, under forty shillings. Then he made his will, ordering that his heir should make restitution of whatever his officers and ministers had unjustly taken from his subjects. But this remorse came too late.

As he could not resolve to make this restitution in his life-time, the Prince his son thought not proper to part with the money amassed by the King his father. He died at Richmond the 22nd of April 1509, having lived two and fifty years, and reigned three and twenty and eight months. His death is said to happen very season ably, for had he lived much longer, the Prince his son, now in his seventeenth year, might not have had patience to wait till his father's death put him in possession of the Throne.

In that case, he might have supported himself with the Queen his mother's title, heiress of the House of York, and pretended that the King his father reigned only in right of his Queen. This pretension would have been capable of reviving the old quarrel, and rekindling a civil war in the Kingdom. But the King's death removed the fears of the English.

Henry VII had three sons[210] and four daughters. Arthur his eldest, as was observed, died in his seventeenth year. Henry his second, succeeded him, and Edmund his third died at the age of five years. Of his four daughters, two died in their childhood[211], and the other two, Margaret and Mary, are sufficiently known by what has been said.

If the history of this reign be read with never so little attention, it will easily be perceived, that Henry's views were but two. The first was to keep the crown, acquired by extraordinary good fortune, and perhaps unthought of, before he was invited into England by the Duke of Buckingham. The other was, to accumulate riches.

As he never suffered himself to be diverted by other thoughts, his whole application centred upon one single object, namely, upon thoroughly examining every thing that could have any relation to the two ends he had proposed. Ambition, honour, glory, love, pleasures, and all the other passions which generally disquiet the hearts of Princes, made but little impression upon his.

Content with enjoying his crown, he thought neither of new acquisitions, nor of rendering his name illustrious by great actions. All his thoughts were confined to prevent or defeat the designs of his domestic enemies, or to well fill his coffers. He had a wonderful sagacity, to discover in the affairs that occurred, the side from whence some advantage could be drawn.

This is what he plainly shewed in the affair of Bretagne, in his pretended wars with France and Scotland, and even in his domestic troubles, which by his address, turned all to his profit[212].

Though he was sometimes forced to take arms, never Prince loved peace more than he[213]. As he had no ambition, he saw no advantage for him in war. On the contrary, he considered that all the events of a war, whether foreign or domestic, were against him. The former could at most but procure him some glory and acquisitions abroad, of which he was not very fond; and by the latter he might be a great loser.

Besides, a time of commotions afforded no opportunities to accumulate riches. So, laying down this fixed principle of his policy, not to engage in any war without an absolute necessity, he never swerved from it. It is this that made him unconcernedly behold the loss of Bretagne, and without resentment suffer the insults of the King of Scotland, because it was not from the war that he intended to reap any advantage, but only from the preparations that were to be made to support it.

However, this policy would have been unseasonable when he was attacked by domestic enemies, whose aim was to rob him of his crown. As his all was then at stake, he cheerfully faced the danger, though with all the precautions possible not to run any hazard. He won two battles upon the rebels, one at Stoke, the other at Black-Heath. But in both he was very superior in number of troops, and fought against persons ill-armed and unskilled in the art of war.

So, it cannot be said what he would have done, had he been opposed with equal forces. It is no less difficult to know, whether it was owing to his courage that he headed his armies in person, or to his distrust of those that served him. However this be, he was always fortunate in his domestic wars, and thereby gained so great a reputation, that all the Princes of Europe earnestly courted his alliance. On the other hand, the esteem foreigners expressed for him, did not a little contribute to render him formidable to his subjects.

I say, formidable, for it is certain, he was never beloved. In a word, his method of governing, which approached to arbitrary power, especially towards the end of his reign, his insatiable avarice, his haughtiness, his pride, and his dark and reserved temper, were no proper qualities to win the affection of his People.

He never opened his mind to any man, except perhaps to one or two of his ministers. As for the rest, he set them to work without their knowing themselves the motives of their own proceedings. The world was so persuaded, he had always some hidden design even in his most indifferent actions, that what was only a pure effect of chance, was often ascribed to his policy.

His spies in foreign courts gave him an extensive knowledge of all that passed there. On the other hand, his ambassadors were always charged to inform themselves by all sorts of ways, of the secrets of the Princes to whom they were sent. Very often this was the principal article of their instructions. By this means he made such discoveries as enabled him to convince the foreign Ministers residing at his court, of his great insight into their master's affairs.

Hence he reaped many considerable advantages, chiefly in that the Princes of Europe fearing his abilities, were very forward to live in good understanding with him. His strict friendship with Ferdinand King of Aragon, a Prince of much the same character, was extremely useful to him. Probably, it hindered the court of France from interposing more in the affairs of England and was one of the principal causes of his constant peace with his neighbours.

Instead of increasing the credit of the nobility, he took all possible care to lessen it. His council was almost wholly composed of churchmen and lawyers, who being devoted to him, and aiming only to please him, never opposed his will. This unlimited compliance of his council, was the cause of his entirely addicting himself to his natural passion of heaping up money, there being

no person about him, that had boldness or conscience enough to give him good advice upon that head.

This conduct drew upon him the hatred of the English, which at first made him something uneasy, but when he had surmounted all his troubles, he regarded it not. On the contrary, he affected to rule with an absolute power, making of his Council a Court of Justice, where all the pleas of the crown were decided, which had never been seen before.

He has been extremely praised for the good laws made in his reign, as if he had been the sole legislator, and his Parliament no ways concerned. Hence perhaps was given him the glorious name of the Solomon of England, though he much more resembled that Prince in the heavy yoke he laid on his people. But if these laws are carefully examined, it will doubtless be found that the King's interest was the true motive, though in appearance they seemed to be made for the good of the people.

Thus did William the Conqueror formerly act, whom our Henry resembled in so many things, that they may be very justly compared. In short, Henry's most distinguishing character was, that he lived entirely for himself, considered things only with respect to his own private interest, and regarded not any affairs where that was not concerned. Indeed, such a character is not uncommon among Princes. But he had this in particular, that whereas the interest of other Princes is usually divided into several branches, Henry's was in a manner contained in one single branch, namely, to have always full coffers.

He was extremely suspicious, as are generally those who act by secret ways, because they think all the world like themselves. The House of York's title, and the People's opinion concerning it, filled his mind with fears and suspicions, with which he was continually racked. It is true he took great care to conceal his uneasiness. But his conduct and precautions plainly demonstrated, his mind was not as he would have had it thought to be, at rest.

This perpetual distrust led him incessantly to seek means to prevent the dangers, in which he was not always successful. Witness the report he caused to be spread that the Duke of York was alive, which had a quite contrary effect to what he expected. His genius was but mean. He saw better near than at a distance, and his wisdom consisted more in extricating himself out of difficulties, than in finding means to avoid them.

The chief troubles of his reign may be said to happen by his fault. However, he acquired, by a long experience, qualities which by nature he had not.

It is not surprizing that a Prince always intent upon preventing the rebellion of his subjects, and continually employed in heaping up money, should have performed nothing glorious for himself or the Kingdom. Conquerors do not always make the greatest Kings. On the contrary, peace would have been very advantageous to the English, had it rendered them happy. But it was still more fatal to them than war itself, since the King's insatiable avarice incessantly carried him to devise means to accumulate riches, which could be done only at their expense.

There are Princes that heap up money solely to disperse it; but Henry kept it carefully in his coffers, without any communication. Liberality was a virtue he did not pretend to. If he made any presents, it was only to spies or informers.

As for his religion and morals, nothing certain can be affirmed, by reason of the contrarieties which met in him. He was chaste, temperate, an enemy to open and scandalous vices, constant in the exercises of devotion, and observing strict justice where his interest was not concerned. But on the other hand, his extreme avarice made him commit many injustices, and the fear of losing his crown, caused him to consider as lawful, all means which could free him from that danger, how unjust soever they might be in other respects.

The Earl of Warwick's death will be an everlasting stain to his memory. His making a jest of religion, in causing a solemn procession to be made on purpose to shew that Prince to the people, and the excommunications he ordered to be pronounced against his own spies, are clear evidences that his religion was not proof against his interest.

In general, it cannot be denied, this Prince had great abilities. But as these abilities centred only in himself, they would have been more valuable in a private person than a great monarch. Though all his projects were crowned with success, his reign cannot be said to be happy, either for himself or for England. He lived under continual fears and suspicions, and his subjects were always exposed either to domestic troubles or oppression.

One thing; rendered this reign remarkable, namely, that by Henry's abilities, the civil wars, which had so long afflicted England, were at length happily ended. I say happily, since it was very indifferent, with respect to the welfare of the English, whether the Kingdom was governed by a Prince of the House of Lancaster, or a Prince of the House of York.

Henry VII was of a serious temper, ever thoughtful and intent upon his affairs, without being diverted by his pleasures, to which he was little addicted. He had a book wherein he marked down with his own hand, the qualities and characters of the persons he knew, in order to employ them upon occasion. A monkey[214] that he kept in his chamber, having one day tore this notebook all to pieces, he appeared grieved as at some very great loss.

He was of stature taller than the common sort. His face was long, thin, and lean, like the rest of his body, but withal very grave, which made people speak to him with fear. He could however be affable when his affairs required it. He was rather studious than learned. What he read in his leisure hours was generally in French, though he understood Latin too.

He founded a chapel at Windsor, for which he obtained of the Pope privileges and indulgences. He turned into an hospital the palace of the Savoy, built by Peter Earl of Savoy in the reign of Henry III. He founded likewise XIII. several convents of Dominicans and Franciscans[215]. But of all his structures, that which did and still does him the greatest honour, is his chapel in Westminster Abbey, which gives not place in any respect to the most stately Chapels in Christendom[216]. There he was buried[217], and there the bodies of his successors lie with his [218].

Notes to Chapter 1

- 1) The case would be the same, supposing the Queen left the issue, for the crown would upon her death fall to her eldest son or daughter.
- 2) Or, as the Lord Bacon expresses it, he 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.
- 3) On Saturday the 27th of August; and as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday, he chose afterwards to consider that day as a day prosperous to him. The Mayor and Companies of London went out to meet him at Shoreditch.
- 4) There were three, on one of which was the image of St. George, in the second was a fiery dragon upon white and green sarsenet, the third was of yellow tartan on which was painted a dun cow.
- 5) In the Bishop of London's palace, where he lodged for some time.
- 6) Two Mayors, and six Aldermen died of it within one week.

7) The bannerets made at this creation, were these: Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Cheney, Sir William Stonar, Sir William Troutback, Sir John Mortimer, Sir Richard Crosby, Sir John Fortescue, Sir Edward Bedingfield, Sir Thomas Cokesey, Sir James Baskerville, Sir Humfrey Stanley, Sir Richard de la Bere.

8) Hall and Hollingshead say, King Henry was crowned by the whole assent, as well of the Commons as of the nobility.

9) Under a captain, by the name of Yeomen of the Guard. There are at present a hundred in daily waiting, and seventy more not in waiting; and as one of the hundred dies, his place is filled up out of the seventy.

10) Among the rest was Henry Lord Clifford, who had been concealed, and obscurely brought up in the mountainous parts of Cumberland, and at Lansborough in Yorkshire, ever since the battle of Towton.

11) And was of a very infirm Constitution. P, Daniel, Tom. VI, p. 573.

12) Non modo Jure Belli ac notorio & indubitato proximo Succffionis Titulo, verum etiam omnium Prælatorum, Procerum, Magnatum, Nobilium Torasque ejudium Regini Angliæ Plebis Electione & voto necnon decreto statuto & Ordinatione ipsius Angliæ Regini Trium Statuum in inforum Coventu, Parlimento nuncupato. Rymer's Fœd Tom. XII, p. 297.

13) At Colchester, where they had been ever since the battle of Bosworth. Hall, fol. 4.

14) At Windsor, Hall, fol. 5. Stow, p 471.

15) The Lord Verulam only says, "Neither was the King's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but contrary-wise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance."

16) About 15 years old. Bacon, p 583.

17) Sir James Ware says the earl was Gerald Fitz-Gerald, and the chancellor Thomas.

18) They also lent messengers to England, to desire the most considerable person, whom they knew to be well affected to the House of York, to supply the young pretended King with money. Hall fol. 7.

19) At the Charter House at Shene, now called Richmond. Hall, fol. 7. Bacon, p. 584.

20) She was buried at Windsor, by her husband King Edward IV. She completed the founding of Queen College in Cambridge, begun by Margaret, King Henry IV's Queen. Hall, fol. 4. Bacon, p. 585.

21) This year, on November. 27, King Henry granted Bernard Andrews, his Poet Laureate, an annuity of ten marks. Rymer's Fœd Tom. Tom. II. p. 317.

22) The Lord Bacon observes, she had the spirit of a man, and the malice of a woman. Bacon, p. 585.

23) Adding, That he should always be able, (when he had cleared himself) to make him reparation. Bacon, p. 586.

24) Where he kept his Christmas. Hall, fol. 9.

- 25) This place was once famous throughout England for pilgrimages to the Virgin Mary. For in those days, whoever had not made a visit and an offering to our Lady of Walsingham, was looked upon as impious and irreligious. Camb. in Norfolk.
- 26) By the way of Cambridge, Hall, fol. 9. Hollingsh. p. 1430.
- 27) Namely, the Archbishops of Cosnil and Tuax and the Bishops of Clogher and Ossery. Rymer's Fœd Tom. XII. p. 332.
- 28) He landed at the Pyle of Fowdrey near Lancaster. Hall, fol. 9.
- 29) With them came George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheney, and of other Knights and Gentlemen at least three score and ten. Bacon, p. 537. Polydore virgil, hath a list of them. Vit. Hen. 7.
- 30) Hall, Stow and Hollingshead say, it was the 16th and Sir J. Ware the 20th
- 31) Sir James Ware says, it was Thomas Fitz-Gerald, who according to him is erroneously called the Earl, that was killed.
- 32) In this battle Sir Thomas Broughton is said by some Historians to fall also; but Camden says, it is a mistake, and that he escaped to Witby Sack, a Manor of his in Westmoreland, where he lived a good while incognito among his tenants, and where he died and was buried: his grave being known, and to be seen at this day. Camden. Lancashire.
- 33) Martial Law depends upon the just but arbitrary power and pleasure of the King, or his lieutenant, see Jacob sub voce Martial Law.
- 34) The putting any man to death by Marital Law, in time of peace, was adjudged to be against Magna Charta, and murder. 3 Instit. 52, but temporary Acts of Parliament have of late enabled our Kings to hold Courts Martial in time of peace. Sec 4 and 5 Will and Mr. c. 13.
- 35) Two old French words, signifying to bear and determine.
- 36) Hall and Hollingshead say, that it was during his stay at Newcastle, where he spent the rest of the summer, fol. 11. p. 142. Stow, p. 472.
- 37) On November 28th - Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 329.
- 38) Besides, he was possessed with many secret fears touching his own people, and therefore was loath to put weapons into their hands. Bacon, p. 590,
- 39) Christopher Urswick his Chaplain. Ibid.
- 40) During this siege, King Charles, the better to maintain his dissimulation, sent Bernard Lord D'aubigny to King Henry, earnestly desiring him, to make an end in some manner of this war and controversy between him and the Duke of Bretagne. Accordingly, Henry dispatched the Abbot of Abingdon, Sir Richard Edgecombe, and Christopher Urswick to France. Hall, fol. 13. Bacon, p. 590. Hollingshead, p. 1431
- 41) Dr. John Morton
- 42) Polydore Virgil says, it was a poll tax—*Tributo singula capita imposito*--But according to Stow every man was taxed to pay the tenth penny of all land and goods, p. 473. See also Hall, fol. 16. Hollingshead, p. 1434. In the first parliament of this King, the taxes granted were as

follows:- **1) Tunnage**, which was three shillings on every tun of wine, of denizens; and six shillings of aliens. **2) Poundage**, that is, one shilling the pound of all merchandises imported or exported; except tin, for which aliens were to pay two shillings. **3)** the subsidy of wool and woolfells which was thirty three shillings and four pence of denizens and of aliens three pounds six shillings and eight pence, for every sack of wool, and for two hundred and forty woolfells. And for every last of hides, denizens were to pay three pounds six shillings and eight pence, and aliens three pounds thirteen shillings and four pence. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 335. The clergy granted then decaying a tenth. Ibid p. 325.

43) In this Parliament, the Authority of a Star-chamber, which before subsisted by ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. This Court consisted of councillors, peers, prelates and chief judges, It took cognizance of forces, frauds, advances towards heinous or capital crimes not actually committed. The other statutes now enacted were these: **1)** That if any of the King's servants, under the degree of a Lord, did conspire the death of the King, or any of the council or lord of the Realm as the Lord Steward, Treasurer, or Comptroller, it should be felony. This Law was thought to have been procured by the Lord Chancellor who being a stern and haughty man, and finding he had mortal enemies in Court, provided for his own safety. **2)** The taking and carrying away women, having lands and goods, (except Female wards and bond slaves) forcibly, and against their wills and the abetting of it, was made felony. **3)** It was ordained that clerks convicted should be burned in the hand. **4)** That the Sheriff shall certify the names of all prisoners in the goal-delivery. **5)** That all deeds of gifts made to defraud creditors shall be void. **6)** That the costs shall be awarded to the plaintiff where the defendant sueth a writ of error before execution be had. See Statute. 3. Henry VII, and Bacon, p. 594.

44) Besides them, there were six thousand Bretons slain; and twelve hundred of the French. Hollingshead, p. 1433.

45) Hall says seventeen hundred. fol. 15.

46) Henry Percy, chief ruler of the north parts. Hall, fol, 16.

47) Thomas Howard.

48) The ambassadors were, Christopher Urstwyke, Thomas Warde, and Stephen Fryen, Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 347.

49) And at the same time, the truce concluded between the two crowns in 1486, was ratified and confirmed by Henry on the 26th of July. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 345. 346. Commissioners had been appointed, in the former part of the year, to treat of a peace or a prolongation of the truce between the two kingdoms, Ibid p. 334, 340, 343.

50) Unless he is expressly included in the said alliance. Rymer's Fœd.

51) He sent thither a reinforcement sometime after, as appears by his proclamation dated August 16. 1489. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 577.

52) There was a Parliament held in the beginning of the year 1490, which met at Westminster January 13, wherein the following statutes were enacted: **1.** That no finer or gold or silver, nor parter of the same by fire or water, should allay any one silver or gold, nor sell either of them to any person, but only to the officers of mints, changes, and goldsmiths within the realm. And that all silver be made so fine, that it may bear twelve-penny weight of allay in a pound weight. **2.** That no butcher kill any manner of beast within the walls of London, upon pain of forfeiting for every ox twelve-pence, and for a cow and every other beast eight pence. This to extend to every city, burrough, and town, walled within the realm of England; Berwick and Carlisle excepted.

3. That benefit of clergy shall be allowed but once. And, that persons convicted for murder shall be marked with an M, upon the brawn of the left thumb; and other felons with a T. **4.** That no person whatever shall hold more than one farm in the Isle of Wight. There were some other laws then made, which are either repealed, or of small consequence. See Statute, 4 Henry VII. c. 2, 3, 13, 16 ; and Bacon, p. 596, 597.

53) In her letters, she call King Henry, the most high, most puissant, and most excellent Prince, her most honoured Lord, cousin, and father. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 387.

54) Richard Fox Bishop of Exeter, Thomas, Earl of Ormond and Lord Rochford, and the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury. Rymer, p. 449.

55) Eight thousand men. Hollingshead p. 1435.

56) He was so inveterate against the English, that he used to say, he would gladly lie in hell seven years, so he might win Calais from the English. Bacon, p. 598. Hollingshead p. 1436.

57) And Robert Lord Willoughby of Brooke. See Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 455.

58) Among whom were Sir James Tyrrel Captain of Guisnes, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Humfrey Talbot Marshall of Calais, Sec. Hollingshead p. 1435.

59) With the slaughter, as is said, of eight thousand of the enemy, and the loss only of a hundred of the English, among whom was the Lord Morley. Bacon. Hollingshead *ibid*.

60) The Prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, John Gunthorp Dean of Well,, Sir John Don, Sir John Turbervyle treasurer of Calais and William Rosse Victualler of the same. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 431.

61) For instance, the Lord Verulam makes the ambassador desire Henry that he may annul the marriage of Maximilian, of which neither Charles nor Henry had yet any knowledge.

62) In the Lord Bacon it is, the subjects of Burgundy—

63) According to the Lord Verulam, their answer was; that they doubted not, but the King their sovereign's sword would be able to maintain his sceptre, p. 601.

64) If Henry had known, Ann had espoused Maximilian, he would not have offered to leave to Charles the disposal of that Princess's Marriage. Rapin.

65) Richard Fox, Thomas Earl of Ormond, and the Prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 435.

66) King Henry takes notice of it, in a commission dated August 9th this year. *Ibid* p. 438.

67) About the 15th of May, or of June. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 463.

68) He retained several persons by indenture, to serve him in this war, who had the following allowance. For every man at arms, garnished with his custrell (i.e. servant) and page, eighteen pence a day: for every half lance, nine pence a day: and for every archer, either on the photo horseback, sixpence a day.

69) The Citizens of London paid £968. 17s 4d. A Stow, p. 474.

70) Hall makes a pertinent remark upon this occasion; namely, By this a man may perceive, that what it once practised for the utility of a prince and brought to a precedent by matter of record, may be turned to the great prejudice of the people, if rulers in authority will so adjudge and determine. PA fol. 22.

71) Bishop Merton the chancellor is said to make use of this dilemma, in his instruction, to the commissioners, which some called his fork, others his crutch. That if they met with any that were sparing, they should tell them, That they must need have, because they laid up, and if they were spenders, they must needs have, because it was visible in their manner of living. Bacon, p. 602.

72) The 22nd at Greenwich. Stow, p. 474. Sandford says, it was the 28th p. 479.

73) 5 Which were commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, Hall, fol. 13. Hollingshead, p. 1438.

74) Richard Fox Bishop of Bath and Wells, Sir Giles d'Aubeney Lieutenant of Calais, Sir John Kendall, Sir William Husey, Chief- Justice, Sir James Tyrell, Captain of Guisnes, and Henry Aynsworth, Doctor of Laws. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 481.

75) Christopher Urswicke, and Sir John Riseley. Hall, fol. 26.

76) He set out from Greenwich, September 9. Bacon, p. 604.

77) Robert Lord Willoughby of Broke was Admiral of the Fleet, and Sir Robert Poynters, Vice-Admiral. P. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 484.

78) There were with him, Thomas Gray, Marquis of Dorset, Thomas Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundal, Thomas Stanley, Earl of Derby, George Talbot, Earl of shrewsbury, Edmond de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Edward Courtney, Earl of Devonshire, George Gray, Earl of Kent, Henry Bourchire, Earl of Essex, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, &c, See. Bacon, p. 604. Speed, p. 736.

79) The Lord Bacon observes, that for this reason he remained much the longer near the seaside, p. 604.

80) King Henry's plenipotentiaries were, Richard Fox Bishop of Bath and Wells, Giles Lord D'Aubeney, Christopher Bibbick (or Urswick), Dean of York, Henry Aynsworth Doctor of Laws and Sir James Tirell. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 499.

81) And moreover, assigned great tensions to all the King's principal counsellors. Bacon, p. 605.

82) We may guess how far a shilling went in those days, when a good while after, in King Edward the Sixth's reign, a large house, within the precincts of the Court, in Channon Row, in Westminster, was let to no less a person than the comptroller of the King's Household for thirty shillings a year. See J. S. Life of Thomas Smith.

83) Columbus was the son of a wool comber, and he himself followed that business in his younger years. He set out from port Palos be Mogar in Andalusia, August 3rd 1492, and landed at Guana Bay, one of the Luccay islands. He returned to Port Palos, in May the next year, and died in 1505.

84) With the Lady Brampton, an English lady and one to have an eye over him.

85) By Christopher Urswicke, Dean of York, and Sir Humphrey Talbot Marshall of Calais. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 517.

86) Ex corum Corporibus legitime procreatos. Ibid

- 87)** About this time, viz. April 5, the King made his son Henry Constable of Dover Castle, and Guardian of the Cinque! Ports. Ibid p. 525.
- 88)** He sent certain knights, with a band of soldiers into every port, to keep the shores and seacoasts, that no one might come in, or go out of the Kingdom, without being searched and examined. Hall, fol. 32. Bacon, p. 608.
- 89)** King Henry paid the King of Scots a thousand marks, by way of compensation for the injuries one nation had received from the other, before the conclusion of the truce. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 547.
- 90)** Sir Edward Poynings, and William Warbam, Doctor of Laws. Ibid. p. 544.
- 91)** Appointing Calais to be the mart for all English merchandize. Hall, fol. 34.
- 92)** With him was sent Sir Henry Dean late Abbot of Langtony, a Man of great whit and diligence, who was made chancellor of Ireland. Hall, fol. 36. They carried with them about a thousand men. J. Ware, c 10.
- 93)** Morris and Gerard Fitz-Gerald.
- 94)** Richard Hatton, Doctor of Laws. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 567.
- 95)** My Lord Bacon calls that Poyning's Law, whereby all the Statutes of England (to the 10th of Henry VII.) were made to be of force in Ireland; which before that time were not, nor are any since that time, but by a special clause. &C.
- 96)** January 7. Hall, fol. 35. Stow, p. 4.77.
- 97)** A selected Council, says Lord Bacon, p. 610.
- 98)** There was found in his castle of Holt forty thousand marks in money and plate, besides jewels, Household stuff, stock upon his grounds, and other personal Estate, exceeding great. He had likewise in land three thousand pounds a year of old rent. Bacon, p. 610.
- 99)** He was beheaded on Tower Hill, Feb. 10. 1495. Hall, fol. 35. says, the cause of his discontent was, King Henry's refusing to create him Earl of Chester. He was succeeded in the office of Lord-Chamberlain by Giles Lord d'Aubeny. Id. fol. 36. Bacon, p. 611. Hollingshead, p. 1444.
- 100)** On November 1. The Knights of the Bath made upon this occasion were these: The Lords Harington, Clifton, Dacre of the South, and the Lord Waren, Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir John Arundel, Sir Walter Griffith, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir Robert Harcourt, Sir Edward Trafford, Sir Henry Marney, Sir Robert Newbrough, Sir Rash Ryder, Sir John Sparke, Sir Humfrey Fulford, Sir Robert Litton, Sir Pierce Edgecombe, Sir Robert Clere, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Richard Knightley, Sir John Cheke. Stow, p. 477.
- 101)** The rest of the ambassadors were, Sir Thomas Dacre, Sir William Tyler, Christopher Moresby and Job Cartyrgen. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 554.
- 102)** Cecily, youngest daughter of Ralph Earl of Westmoreland and relic of the Duke of York, died m May 31, in the castle of Berkhamstead in Hertfordshire, and buried in Fotheringham College in Northamptonshire, by her husband. She lived to see three Princes of her body crowned, and four murdered. See Sandford, p. 387.
- 103)** Or rather to Lancashire. He set out June 15. Hall fol. 17. Stow, p. 480.

104) On July 3. Ibid.

105) 4) And sent Richard Guelford to thank the inhabitants of Kent for their fidelity. Hall, fol. 38. Stow, p. 480.

106) At Latham.

107) My Lord Bacon observes, that though this law seemed to aim more at the people's safety than the King's, yet did it take off from his party and that great tye and spur of necessity, to fight and get victors out of the field, considering their lives and fortunes were in safety, whether they stood or run away.

108) The other remarkable statutes enacted in this Parliament were these: **1.** That vagabonds, idle, and suspected persons, shall be set in the stocks three days and three nights, and have no other sustenance but bread and water, and then shall be put out of the town. And whosoever shall give such persons more, shall forfeit twelve-pence. This act was afterwards explained, 39 Elizab. **2.** That poor persons, who are not able to sue according to the laws of the land, for the redress of injuries and wrongs to them done, shall be admitted in *Formâ Pauperis*, without paying fees to counsellor, attorney, or clerk **3** That no manner of person shall carry, or send any horse or mare, above the value of six shillings and eight pence, out of the realm, upon pain of forfeiting the same; except it is for their own use. **4.** That no person shall make, or put to put sale any feather-beds, bolsters, or pillows, out what are stuffed with dry pulled feathers, or clean down; and not with scaled feathers, or fenn-down. See Statute. II Hen. 7.

109) The bishop of Durham and Carlisle, Thomas Earl of Surrey, Ralph Lord Nevill, Sir Thomas Dacre Lieutenant of the West Marches and Sir William Tyler, Deputy Governor of Berwick. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 572.

110) He had nine thousand men, whereas the confederate army consisted of twelve thousand horse, and above the same number of foot. Bembo, p. 59, Edit. Venet, 1718.

111) Thus in this memorable event related by French historians, but it appears from Cardinal Bembo, and other Italian authors, that the King of France retired, after this battle, in the utmost hurry; and Ludovico Sforza and Francisco Gonzaga, the Italian general favoured his escape. As their forces were much superior, to those of the French King. They might have easily cut off his retreat, if they had not acted treacherously, as it is undeniably plain to see Cardinal Bembi, Hist. Venice, p. 65. Edit. 1718, and Paul Jovious, etc.

112) Lewis, Sebastian and Sanebs. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 595.

113) And with five Ships, *ibid.*

114) They were bound and engaged to land at Bristol *ibid.*

115) Thomas Bishop of London. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 636.

116) This League consisted of Pope Alexander VI, the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand and Elizabeth King and Queen of Spain, Augustine Barbadoico Doge of Venice, Lewis Maria Sforza Duke of Milan, and King Henry. *Ibid.* p. 639.

117) This year, on December 18, died Jasper Tudor Duke of Bedford, and was buried in the Abbey of Keynsham in Gloucestershire. Stow, p. 479.

118) On January 16. See Statute.

- 119)** Limited to the sum of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds, besides two fifteens. Bacon observes upon this occasion, that his wars were always to him a mine of treasure of a strange ore, Iron at the top, and gold and silver at the bottom, p. 617.
- 120)** The Provost of Perin. Hollingshead p. 781. last Edit.
- 121)** James Tuchet.
- 122)** George Grey Earl of Kent, George Nevill Lord Abergavenny, John Broke Lord Cobham, Sir Edward Poynings, Sir Richard Guilford, Sir Thomas Bouchier, John Pecbe, William Scot, &c. Hall, fol. 42. Hollingshead p. 782.
- 123)** On Black Heath, *ibid*.
- 124)** John de Vere, who had with him Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex, Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Sir Rice ap Thomas, and Sir Humphrey Stanley. Hollingshead p. 782.
- 125)** Bacon says, sixteen thousand, p. 619.
- 126)** He was led from Newgate to Tower Hill in a paper coat torn and painted with his own arms reversed, where he was beheaded, June 28, fol p. 43.
- 127)** He is said to please himself with the notion that he should be famous in after ages. He with Flammock was, drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn. The Cornishmen are said to shoot arrows, of a yard long. *Ibid*.
- 128)** Together with Ralph Nevill Earl of Westmoreland, Thomas Lord Dacres, Ralph Lord Nevill, George Lord Strange, Richard Lord Latimer, George Lord Lumley, John Lord Scrope, Henry Lord Clifford, George Lord Ogle, William Lord Coniers, Thomas Lord Darcy, Thomas Biron of Hilton, Sir William Crecy, Sir William Bulmer, Sir William Gascoigne, Sir Ralph Bigod, Sir Ralph Bowes, Sir Thomas Parre, Sir Ralph Ellicker, Sir John Constable, Sir John Ratcliffe, Sir John Savill, Sir Thomas Strangeways; the whole army amounting to little less than twenty thousand men, besides the navy. Hollingshead, p. 783.
- 129)** The English ambassadors were; William Warham, Master of The Rolls and John Cartington, Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom. XII. p. 673.
- 130)** The King directed Bishop Fox, who was the at his castle of Norham, to confer with d'Ayala, and both to treat with the same commissioners. Hollingshead, p. 783.
- 131)** He ratified the late treaties concluded with King Henry by Charles VIII his predecessor, and engaged to continue the payment of the yearly sum of fifty thousand livres. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom. XII. p. 681-696.
- 132)** Bacon says a hundred and twenty, or a hundred and forty fighting men, p. 622.
- 133)** On the seventh. Stow, p. 480.
- 134)** As Edward Courtney Earl of Devonshire, and William his son, with Sir Edmund Carew, and Sir Thomas Fulford, and likewise Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, with many brave gentlemen, namely, Sir Thomas Trenchard, Sir William Courtney, Sir John Halewel, Sir John Crocker, Walter Courtney, Peter Edgecombe, William St. Maure, or Seymour. &c, Bacon. Hall, fol, 46, Hollingshead, p. 784.
- 135)** September 20, Hall, fol. 46,

- 136)** Five hundred, says Hollingshead, p. 784; and Bacon, p. 622.
- 137)** Thomas Harrys, William Hatclyff, and Roger Holand, Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. p. 606.
- 138)** It does not appear that he was committed to the Tower till after he had attempted to escape. See Hollingshead, p. 784.
- 139)** He was a furrier to the King's stables, and accompanied Perkin in his procession through the City, bound hand and foot upon a horse. Bacon, p. 263.
- 140)** He gave it that name from his having been Earl of Richmond. Camden
- 141)** Marchemont his Herald. Hall, fol. 48. Buchanan.
- 142)** The English ambassadors were; William Bishop of Carlisle, Richard Hatton, Doctor of Laws, Sir Thomas Darcy, Sir Richard Chomeley and John Cartyngton. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 721.
- 143)** Built by Henry V in Shene Surrey, and was called the Priory of Shene. Hall, fol. 49.
- 144)** And desired the prior, for God's sake, to petition the King to grant him his life and a pardon. Hall, fol. 49. Hollingshead, p, 786.
- 145)** In both of which places he read his confession, of which the reader may see a copy in Hall, fol. 49 and in Hollingshead, p. 786.
- 146)** On the 15th of June. Hall, fol. 50.
- 147)** Wilford was hanged on Shrove-Tuesday; and the Friar was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Bacon, p. 625. Hall, fol. 49. Hollingshead, p. 787.
- 148)** On November 16, and executed the 23rd of the same month. Hall, fol. 50. Stow, p. 481.
- 149)** John Awater. His son was pardoned. J. Ware, c. 15.
- 150)** November 21st and consequently two days before Perkin's death, Hall, fol. 51. Hollingshead. p. 787.
- 151)** He was four and twenty years old, and had been a prisoner fifteen years, and kept so from the company of men and beasts, that he is said not to know a goose from a capon. He was beheaded November 28, and buried at Bisham. Hall, fol. 50, 51. Stow's Ann. p. 481.
- 152)** It is reported that Catherine, upon Henry VIII's divorcing her, should say, That she had not offended, but it was a Judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood. Meaning the Earl of Warwick's. Bacon, p. 626.
- 153)** This was done after the King's return from Calais, which was about the end of June. Hall, fol. 52.
- 154)** There died of it thirty thousand in London. Hall, fol. 51
- 155)** Which was the eighth of May. Ibid.
- 156)** Robert Shirbern Dean of St. Paul's, and Sir Amias Paulet. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 766.

157) Stow says, he died in October at his Manor of Knole. p. 482.

158) This year also died Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of York; in whose place was chosen Thomas Savage Bishop of London, who was succeeded by William Warham. About the same time ham Warbam. About the same time died Thomas Langton Bishop of Winchester and was succeeded by Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester. Hall, fol 52. Stow, p. 481, 482. Hollingshead, p. 788. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 767, 771.

159) Edward del la Pole, son of Elizabeth, Edward's eldest sister, by John del la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, her second husband.

160) She arrived at Plymouth, October 2. Hall, fol. 52. Stow, p. 482.

161) He was born September 20. 1486. Sec above, p 655.

162) Ten thousand Pounds.

163) In case Arthur and Henry died without Issue.

164) He died at Ludlow Castle, where he was sent to keep his residence as Prince of Wales, and was buried in the Cathedral Church at Worcester. Hall. fol. 55. Sandford, p. 475, 476.

165) Bacon says it was half a year's time between Henry's creation and Arthur's death. And just after he says, the February following (that is, ten months) Henry was created Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester and Flint, p. 629. Hall relates, that upon suspicion of his brother's wife being with child, he was by a month and more delayed of his title, fol. 55. Hollingshead. p. 790.

166) Sir Thomas Brandon, and Nicolas West, Doctor of Laws. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 35.

167) Sir Thomas Darcy Captain of Berwick, and Henry Babyngton. Ibid. p. 43.

168) About this time were brought to court three men taken in the new found islands by Sebastian Cabbot. They were clothed in beasts' skins, and spoke a language unknown. Two of them were seen two years after at the King's court at Westminster dressed like Englishmen, neither could they be discerned from such. Stow's Ann. p. 483.

169) She died in childbirth, having been delivered of a daughter called Elizabeth, in the tower, who died soon after her Mother, the Queen was buried at Westminster. Stow's Ann., p 484. Hall fol. 55. Sandford p. 469, &c.

170) On Aug. 5, died Sir Reginald Bray, Knight of the Garter, often mentioned in this reign of whom Hall gives this character That he was a very father of his country, a sage and grave person, and a fervent lover of justice: who would often admonish the King when he did anything contrary to justice or equity, fol. 56. About the same time also died Henry Dean, Archbishop of Canterbury, and was succeeded by William Warham Bishop of London. Ibid. Stow, p. 484.

171) He was a sieve maker's son. Bacon, p. 629.

172) And suing them for Wardships, Liveries, Premier Seisnes, Alienations, &c. Bacon, p. 630.

173) They vexed men also with information of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles. Ibid.

174) The Lord Bacon observes, that their principal working was upon penal Laws, wherein they spared neither great nor small, nor considered whether the law was possible or impossible, in

use, or obsolete: And had ever a rabble of promoters and leading jurors at command, so as they could have anything found as they pleased. See Hall, fol. 57.

175) It is said in the original fifteen hundred, but I suppose it is an error of the printer, for Lord Bacon says fifteen thousand.

176) Hall says, that the Earl having made a very great appearance at Prince Arthur's marriage solemnity, had thereby run himself extremely in debt, which was the occasion of his retiring now into Flanders. fol. 54.

177) He was not yet Earl of Devonshire, for his father lived till 1510. See Dugdale's Baron. Vol. I. p. 640.

178) At the same time were taken up George Lord Abergavenny, and Sir Thomas Green, but upon less suspicion, and therefore were soon set at liberty. Bacon, p. 630 Hall, fol. 59.

179) On May the 6th. Hall, fol. 55. Stow, p. 483.

180) And likewise of the Dukedom of Cornwall and Earldom of Chester, for a third of all three was settled upon her. Bacon. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XII. p. 664 and Tom. XIII p. 84.

181) Cum alias Tu Catberina, & tunc in Humanis agens quondam Artburus--Matrimonium per verba legetimé de Præienti contraxissetia illudque Carnali Copulâ sorsan consumavissetis. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XIII. p. 89.

182) Stow says, it was the 8th of August, at Edinburgh, p. 484.

183) Being attended by Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland. Hall. Hollingshead, p. 791.

184) Rapin calls them crowns. But Rymer, Tom XIII, p. 118, says, thirty thousand angel nobles, the value of each noble being Viginti Grosses. See above, p. 685.

185) Hollingshead says, that there was a Parliament in 1503, in which a subsidy was granted by the Lords and Clergy; and another on Jan. 25, of which latter Dudley was chosen Speaker, p. 791.

186) The like Act had been, made before (in the 11th of this King's) for offices, and by this statute it was extended to lands. Bacon, p. 631.

187) The other statutes made in this Parliament were these: **1.** That no Pewterers and Brassiers sell, or change, any pewter or brass, new or old, at any place within the Realm, but in open fairs or markets, or in their dwelling houses. What gave occasion to this law, was, that many persons went about the Kingdom privately, buying pewter and brass, which encouraged wicked people to steal dishes, plates, &c. knowing they had receivers for them. **2.** It was ordained, that no bodies corporate make any acts or ordinances, but what are examined and approved by the Chancellor, Treasurer of England, chief Justices of either breaches, or justices of assize, upon pain of forfeiting forty pounds. **3.** That persons concerned in a riot, shall forfeit twenty pounds, and be imprisoned. **4.** That no person bring, or cause to be brought into the realm, to be sold, any manner of silk wrought by itself, or with any other stuff, upon pain of forfeiting the same. See Statute. 19 Hen. VII.

188) At the same time the Pope sent a Bull, wherein he ordered, that traitors and robbers, &c who had taken sanctuary, would be carefully watched, so as not to be suffered to escape; and if they did, they should be then delivered to Justice. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XIII. p. 104. 106.

- 189)** They were Francis Marsin, James Braybrook, and John Style. Bacon, p. 631.
- 190)** Richard Nonsan Deputy of Calais, Nicolas West Doctor of Laws, and Hugh Conwey Treasurer of Calais. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XIII. p. 114.
- 191)** This storm lasted from the 15th to the 26th of January. Stow, p. 484.
- 192)** Falmouth, says, Stow, *ibid*.
- 193)** And soon after was joined by Sir John Carew, with a choice body of men. Hall, fol. 58. Hollingshead, p. 791.
- 194)** Thomas Fitz-Alan. The Earl came to King Philip in great magnificence, with a brave troop of three hundred horse, and (for the more State) by torch-light Bacon, p. 633. Hall, fol. 58.
- 195)** He was received five miles from Windsor, in a very splendid manner by the Prince of Wales, who was accompanied with five Earls, and several Lords, Knights, and others, to the number of five hundred persons; and about a mile from Windsor, he was met by the King himself, and most of the nobility of the Realm, who went out to welcome him. Hall, fol. 58.
- 196)** Philip at their first meeting told the King, that he was now punished for his refusing to come within his walled town of Calais where they met last. The King replied, that walls and sea were nothing, where hearts were open; and that he was here only to be served. Bacon, p. 633.
- 197)** The famous Thomas Wolsey, being then the King's chaplain, was employed in managing this affair. Bacon, p. 634.
- 198)** This treaty of marriage is not found in the Foedera, but is supposed and referred to by the Acts which follow the treaty of alliance or commerce, dated Feb. 9. See Tom. XIII, p. 127, 129, 151, &c.
- 199)** 3) Each Crown worth four Shillings Sterling. *Ibid*. p. 130.
- 200)** The two Kings sent severally for him. He landed at Dover, and with a sufficient guard was conveyed to the Tower of London, Bacon, p. 633.
- 201)** King Philip went by land to Falmouth, where he embarked April 23. Hall, fol. 58. Haræus.
- 202)** She was his third daughter. See Sandford and Speed.
- 203)** At the same time the treaty of perpetual peace, amity, and alliance was renewed between the Emperor Maximilian, and King Henry. Rymer's Fœd, Tom. XIII. p. 189, 212.
- 204)** Besides what he got by the re-coinage of groats and half groats, now shillings and sixpences; and the five thousand marks which he made the City of London pay for the confirmation of their liberties in 1504, &c. Bacon, p. 631.
- 205)** Sir William Capel. He was not Mayor this year; but was still fined two thousand pounds, for having, in the time of his Mayoralty (which was in the year 1503), received false money, and not inflicted due punishment upon the person that was accused of having coined it. Stow, p. 485.
- 206)** Sir Thomas Knesworth, Mayor in 1505, and both his sheriffs, were imprisoned for abuses committed in the execution of their offices; and not released, but upon paying fourteen hundred pounds. Sir Laurence Aylmer, Mayor in 1507, and both his sheriffs, were fined a thousand

pounds, and Sir Laurence imprisoned for refusing to pay his fine. Alderman Hawis was put to trouble, and died with vexation, before his business was decided. Stow, p. 485. Bacon, p. 635.

207) This year the sweating sickness raged again in England. Hall, fol., 59. And also this year died Giles Lord d'Aubeney. Hollingshead, p. 795.

208) Henry was so pleased with this alliance, that in a letter to the City of London, he expresses himself as if he thought he had built a wall of brass about his Kingdom, in having for his sons-in-law a King of Scotland, and a Prince of Castile and Burgundy. Bacon, p. 635.

209)) There is in the *Fœdera* the inventory of the jewels contained in the rich Flower de luce, which weighed, in gold and precious stones, which weighed, in gold and precious stones, 211 ounces and half. XIII. p. 241.

210) He had four sons. The fourth, born in February 1500, was named Edward. Hollingshead p. 788.

211) Their Names were Elizabeth and Catherine. Sandford, p. 477, 478.

212) Hall however gives this instance of his generosity, That he sent merchants a great deal of money, without gain or profit, in order to encourage trade, fol. 61.

213) His usual preface to his treaties was, that when Christ came into the world, peace was sung; and when he went out of the world, peace was bequeathed. Bacon, p. 656.

214) Set on, as it was thought, by one of his Chamberlains. Bacon, p. 637

215) He built three houses for the Franciscans called observants, at Richmond, Greenwich, and Newark; and three others for Franciscans, called conventual's, at Canterbury, Newcastle and Southampton. Stow, p. 486—he also new built Baynard's Castle, and enlarged Greenwich, calling it Placentia. Hollingshead, p. 796.

216) The 18th year of his reign, the chapel of our Lady above the east side of the high altar at Westminster Abbey church, with the tavern near adjoining, called the White Rose, were taken down, and in their room was built King Henry VII's famous chapel. Stow, p. 484. Hollingshead, p. 790, 797.

217) May 11. Stow, p. 486.

218) In the fifth year of King Henry VII's it was ordained, that the mayors of London shall have conservation of the River Thames, from Staines bridge to the waters of Yewdale and Medway. In his 18th year King Henry being himself a brother of the Taylors company, as several kings had been before him, namely, Richard the third, Edward fourth, fifth, sixth, and Richard the second, besides Dukes eleven, Earls twenty eight, Lords forty eight, he gave them the name of Merchant Taylors. Hollingshead, p. 790. In his 13th year, was the passage to the East Indies round the Cape of Good Hope discovered, by Vasco the Gama a Portuguese. In his tenth year, the body of Alice Hackney is said to be found, in the church of St Mary-Hill, London, whole of skin, and the joints of the arms pliable, after having been buried a hundred and seventy five years. In this reign John Collet Dean of St Paul's founded Paul's school in the churchyard. The colleges founded in the two universities in this kings reign, were, Christ College, and St John's in Cambridge by Margaret countess of Richmond, the king's mother. Jesus College in the same university, by John Alcock, Bishop of Ely; Corpus Christi and Oxford, by Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester; and Braxton-Naze College, by William Smith, Bishop of Lincoln. Rymer's *Fœd*, Tom. XII. p. 653. Stow, p. 482.



It appears binding denture of the ninth of Henry VII, that a pound weight of gold, of the old standard, was coined in terms many, and the same pieces, as in the fifth of Edward IV. (See the coin note, at the end of the kings reign.) The gold coins of her seventh were a sovereign, half sovereign, Ryal, half Ryal, and a quarter Ryal; angel, and half angel. His silver body was, groats, half groats you, or to

penny pieces, pennies, half-pence, and farthings. Those old pennies that bore divers spurs, or the mullet betwixt the bars of the cross, were to go only for half pennies. To avoid clipping for the future, the King caused new groats and twopences to be coined, having a circle round the outer part; and ordered, that the gold hereafter to be coined, should have the whole scripture, or inscription, about every piece. See Statute. 19 Hen. VII. c. 5. He was the first that after Henry III added the number to his name. He left off the rose that used to surround the King's head, and instead thereof, gives his head with a side-face, which was used before only on the coins of William Rufus; but was continued by all his successors, except on the bad money of Henry VIII, and best of Edward VI, and likewise crowned with an arched crown; having this inscription, **HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX. ANG. Z. FR.** leaving out on the smaller monies the title of France. On the Reverse, instead of the inner circle with the place of coinage and the pellets, he placed the arms of France and England quartered, which he the first of our English monarchs used constantly, but retained the outer circle and motto, **POSVI DEV. ADIVTORE MEV.** except on the small coins, whereon sometimes is the place of coinage. Of these, the pennies exhibit the King in his robes upon the throne, with crown, sceptre, and ball: Reverse, the keys, which discover it to be of the Archbishop's coining. These are the only pieces that have not the number, and are inscribed **HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX. ANG.** In his 20th year, there were some few shillings coined, and they (being only forty in a pound of silver) were fair and large pieces, a full third heavier than ours at this day. They are now choice rarities in the cabinets of the curious. He is said to have likewise coined smaller pieces, called dandy prats, but of what metal, value or fashion, is unknown. Num. Brit. Hist.





CHAPTER II

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH had never been in so deplorable a state as in the XVth Century. God's justice and mercy, and Christ's meritorious death, were scarce any more the object of a Christian's faith. Most people's religion consisted in pilgrimages, and the worship of the blessed virgin, saints and relicts. As for the clergy, their whole care was confined to the supporting themselves in that height of grandeur and power they had enjoyed for several centuries, and to the seeing that no man presumed to dispute their immunities. Discipline was never more remiss.

The Clergy seemed to look upon their spiritual power and jurisdiction, only as a means to prevent the violation of their temporal privileges. Provided their rights were untouched, every one might do what seemed good in his own eyes. The authority of the Church was become the capital point of religion.

The Papal power had strangely increased every century, each Pope having made it his business to enlarge it as much as possible. They were come at length to dispose of all the Church-preferments in Christendom, and to be the supreme judges in all causes ecclesiastical.

National synods were no longer held. And indeed, of what use would they have been, since the court of Rome claimed the cognizance of all Church-matters? In a word, the Pope was become the centre of religion, to which every thing was to tend. The privileges of Churches, the prerogatives of sovereigns, were all annulled by the *Non-obstante* clause, usually inserted in every Bull. But it was not only over spirituals that the Popes had stretched their authority; they pretended also to extend it over temporals, under colour that religion was concerned in all affairs.

Kings themselves were not out of their reach. In all the marriages of Princes there was occasion for the Pope's dispensation: Neither peace nor truce of any moment was concluded without the Pope's mediation or guaranty. Some popes were seen to carry their pretensions so far, as to enjoin peace or truces without the consent of the parties. In short, it is extremely probable, they would have wholly engrossed the temporal power as well as the spiritual, if the schisms of the XVth century had not caused them to lose ground.

The revolutions of the following century made them lose still more. However this be, the Popes were become real Sovereigns, not only with respect to the power they had assumed, but also with regard to the immense riches, which through numberless channels flowed into the vast ocean of the Apostolic Chamber, tenths, first-fruits, taxes for the service of the chamber, Dispensations for all sorts of cases, as well contrary to the Law of God, as to the canons of the Church, subsidies exacted from time to time from the Clergy, for the occasions of the Holy See, crusades, benefices which are seldom bestowed without a previous bargain with the Apostolic chamber; in a word, simony openly practised by many Popes, some of whom were accused and

convicted, were inexhaustible fountains which maintained the affluence and Luxury of the Court of Rome.

It was almost impossible, that purity of life and true religious principles should be preserved undefiled, amidst so much grandeur and riches. On the contrary, the Popes were the more liable to make an ill use of their power, as most of them were not born for so high a station.

Accordingly we find in history, that Rome and Avignon were the centre of pride, avarice, luxury, sensuality, and all the most scandalous vices. The popes were neither learned nor religious, Hardly was there one found that might pass for an honest man, even according to the maxims of the world. And yet, all the preambles of their Bulls were only expressions of their zeal, their charity, their humility, their justice; whilst for the most part what they enjoined was an authentic proof of their pride and tyranny. This is no aggravation, for the authors who writ before the Reformation, have said a hundred times more. Nay, it has even been publicly preached before the councils.

It may be easily imagined, that such Popes did not take much care to fill, what they called the sacred college, with persons truly pious and devout. It is true, during this century, there were cardinals of great repute, and eminent for their wit, their eloquence, their political virtues, and their capacity for temporal affairs. But these, for the most part, were men governed by the maxims of the world, and who considered religion but as a means to establish their fortune.

The Legates, sent to the several States of Christendom, were so many incendiaries, who sought only to sow discord and division among Princes, or excite them to shed the blood of their own subjects. In a word, they regarded only the interest of their master and the Roman See, making no conscience to violate all the rules of religion and equity, to accomplish their ends.

The rest of the clergy in general were not better. Most of the bishops were promoted to the episcopacy, purely for having rendered themselves commendable by their attachment to the interests of the Court of Rome, or for their services to Princes in their temporal concerns. They were persons educated at court, and instructed in the maxims of the world. cruelty, injustice, dishonesty, were but too common among them. Nay, they were considered as so many virtues, when employed in the persecution of such as were termed heretics, especially of those that dared to contest any of the Pope's or the clergy's pretended rights.

As for real learning, it was scarce heard of in this century. School-divinity, and the knowledge of the canon law made the whole merit of the ecclesiastics. It was the only thing by which they could hope to arrive at church dignities. On the other hand, the monks, who were crept into most of the professorships in the universities, had overwhelmed divinity and philosophy with such a heap of jargon, as served only to give their disciples false notions of learning, and teach them to wrangle.

Such was in general the state of the church in the century we are speaking of. As for the civil affairs of Europe, they were in this and the following centuries, as in the foregoing. The sovereigns divided among themselves by their different interests, thought only of supplanting one another, and making their neighbour's loss turn to their own gain. This drew them into bloody wars, which rendered their people miserable, and suffered neither Princes nor subjects to attend to the breaches in the Church, or think of means to heal them.

Corruption was so great in the world, and in the church, that God seem to have abandoned men to a reprobate sense, so blind and insensible where they grown. We may add, for the further representation of this sad estate of the church, the great progress of the Turks in Europe, during this unfortunate century. The Greek empire entirely destroyed, and several other Christian states overrun by the infidels, where plain tokens of the divine wrath against Christians, to move them

to search after the cause. But instead of seeking the Lord, they persecuted with fire and sword such as sought God alone, and refused to pay divine worship to creatures.

To accomplish a reformation in the church, which was so much wanted, all, or at least the chief Princes of Europe, should have joined their endeavours to promote such a project. But how was it possible, that so many Sovereigns who had religion so little at heart, should sacrifice their passions to so great a good? Or how could so many different interests be reconciled?

All Europe passionately wished that the church were reformed. Several bishops appeared to have the same desire. Nothing was talked of in the councils, but the necessity of executing so noble a design. Nay, it seemed, that the councils of Constance and Basil intended to set about it effectually. But the well-inclined had neither prudence nor resolution enough, to oppose the artifices and violence of the contrary party.

We shall see hereafter, that it was the Popes, the cardinals, and the principal clergy who opposed, to their utmost, the projected reformation, because they were sensible it would prove prejudicial to their temporal interests. On the other hand, when it is considered, with what eagerness and animosity they laboured to root out the pretended heresies, which combated the temporal grandeur of the clergy, no other inference can be made, than that they themselves perceived the necessity of a reformation which they would not admit, and that the fountain of corruption was in the principal members of the clergy, from whence it had but too great an influence upon the rest.

To represent to the life the state of the church of the XVth Century, and let it in its true light, it would be necessary to give a particular account of what passed at the councils of Constance and Basil. But this detail would lead me too far. Besides, the history of the first of these councils is lately published, and writ with that plainness, circumspection, and impartiality, that there is no room to suspect that the author[1] has suffered himself to be biased by passion or prejudice.

The history of the council of Basil by the same hand, is soon to appear[2] So, referring the reader to these two histories, I shall only relate in few words, the most remarkable passages of these councils. This knowledge will be of use to understand the state of the Church of England, which I shall presently speak of.

A Brief Account of The Council of Constance

The Schism, begun in 1378 by Urban VI, and Clement VII was continued to the beginning of the XVth century, by Boniface IX, and Benedict XIII, their successors. Boniface succeeding Urban VI, resided at Rome, and Benedict, successor of Clement VII, remained at Avignon, where he was kept by the King of France, for fear he should escape before the schism was ended.

The University of Paris had proposed a method to end this schism, namely, that the two Popes should resign the pontificate, which was called the method of cession Boniface IX, and Benedict XIII, pretended both to be willing to take this method, for restoring peace to the Church. But withal, they used so many evasions, that it was easy to see, they had no such desire. And therefore the King of France had thought fit to secure the person of Benedict.

This Monarch's illness afterwards placing the Duke, of Orleans his brother at the head of affairs, the young Prince was a great favourer of Benedict XIII, and in 1404, gave him an opportunity to make his escape. This same year Boniface IX died, and the cardinals of his party chose Innocent VII, who behaved like his predecessor, with respect to the cession.

To Innocent, who sat in the Papal Chair but two years, succeeded Angela Corario, who assumed the name of Gregory XII. Thus the schism still continued between Gregory and Benedict. These two Popes pretending a desire to end it by the method of cession, long amused the world with their dissimulation and artifices. In short, the schism having now lasted thirty years, without any

appearance that the two Popes would perform their promise, Gregory XII saw himself deserted on a sudden by his cardinals, who retired to Pisa. There remained but four with him.

On the other side, France, which was the principal support of Benedict XIII, being tired with his evasions, withdrew from his obedience, and the Pope having lost that protection, went and resided in Spain. But his Cardinals, refusing to follow him, chose to join Gregory's. Presently after, the cardinals of both parties, with one consent, called a general council at Pisa, to which most of the Princes of Europe sent their ambassadors and prelates.

This Council, held in 1400, deposed the two Popes and gave the cardinals leave to choose a new one, who assumed the name of Alexander V. But as Gregory and Benedict did not think themselves lawfully deposed, it happened, that instead of the two Popes before the council, there were now three.

Alexander V dying in 1410, John XXIII was elected in his room, who called a general council to meet at Constance in November 1414[3]. This Council found no better way to end the schism, than by removing the three Popes. John XXIII and Benedict XIII were deposed, and Gregory XII voluntarily resigned the pontificate. After that, the council elected Cardinal Odo Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. John XXIII, who was committed to the custody of the Emperor Sigismund, having made his escape, submitted to Martin V, who honoured him with a cardinalship.

As for Benedict XIII, he still kept the title of Pope, and retiring to the Castle of Reniscola, belonging to the Kingdom of Valencia, was suffered by the King of Aragon to live there in quiet. After his death, which happened not till 1424, his cardinals chose a canon of Barcelona, who took the name of Clement VIII. But in 1429 he quitted his dignity in favour of Martin V. Thus ended the schism at length, after a one and fifty years continuance.

This abstract, though short, will enable us to judge of the character of the Popes, who governed the Church during these fifty years. They were men who sacrificed the peace and tranquillity of the Church to their own private interests, and damned without mercy, as far as lay in their power, all that were not of their party.

They would without scruple have engaged all Christendom in a bloody war for their interests, if the Sovereign Princes had not been wiser than they. Surely, one cannot but form a very melancholy idea of the state of the church of those days, when it is considered that the Christians of both sides acknowledged for Christ's Vicars, Popes whom they abhorred, and who indeed were so little worthy of the station they enjoyed, that several were deposed for heresy, simony, and perjury.

But I have still one important reflection to make upon the conduct of the Council of Constance, the motive whereof is at first hard to be conceived. If the Council of Pisa was general and lawful, as that of Constance could not forbear owning, why were her decisions not observed?

Why was Gregory XII's resignation accepted, a resignation which supposed him still to be Pope notwithstanding his being deposed? Why were terms offered him to induce him to quit the Pontificate? Why was Benedict XIII once more deposed, when he had been already deposed by a general Council? In short, why was John XXIII deprived of his dignity, for not keeping his promise to resign the Papacy, since it could not be questioned that he was really Pope and his mission lawful? Was not the authority of the Council of Pisa sacrificed by these proceedings?

Let it not be objected that John XXIII was not deposed for any defect in his mission, but for his crimes. It is certain, when his promise to resign the pontificate was required, it was solely with a view to put an end to the schism. Had he resigned with a good grace, he would never have been accused, much less condemned for the crime for which he was afterwards deposed.

It will be said perhaps, that this inconvenience was not so great as that of perpetuating the schism. But should the striking at the authority of a general council be deemed a slight inconvenience? Did not the Council of Constance give occasion to have her own authority disputed? For, there is no reason why the deposing of Benedict XIII and of John XXIII by the Council of Constance should be more valid, than the deposing the same Benedict XIII and Gregory XII, by the Council of Pisa.

However, through all this intricacy, the motive of the Council of Constance's proceedings is discoverable. The schism manifestly tended to the dissolution of the Papal dignity, which served for basis and foundation to most of the clergy's privileges, and to the hierarchy itself.

Castile, Aragon, Navarre, Portugal, had been neutral some years, without owning any of the contending Popes. France had withdrawn her obedience from Benedict XIII, without transferring it to Gregory XII. In a word, the whole world in general began to contemn their excommunications, which they so visibly abused. There was danger therefore that by degrees a Pope would be thought useless, and thereby the foundation of the hierarchy would have been undermined, and perhaps a new form of government introduced into the Church.

The cardinals and prelates of whom the Council of Constance was composed, were so highly concerned to avoid this inconvenience, that their sacrificing all to that end, is not surprizing. This is the true reason of their conduct. But they took care to proceed very differently with regard to the pretended heretics, who openly contested the privileges of the clergy. To extirpate a heresy so prejudicial to them, they made use of fire and sword, rather than sacrifice the least of their interests. This is what we are going to see in the manner they went to work in this respect.

All the world knows that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt alive at Constance. But every one has not been at the pains to examine, for what errors they suffered that rigorous punishment. They were then, and still are to this day, charged with maintaining impious, horrible, and damnable tenets. They were condemned as seditious, obstinate, and incorrigible followers and defenders of Wickliff; hardened, crafty, malicious, and convicted heretics.

Had there been yet stronger terms to express the abhorrence of these heresies, they would have been used without scruple. But, wherein consisted these heresies? In their being disciples of Wickliff? If the authors who speak of their sentence be consulted, scarce one will be found that says more.

John Huss and Jerome of Prague; were followers of Wickliff and consequently abominable wretches, deserving to be burnt. In the opinions of Wickliff then we are to search for their errors. Now herein is an ambiguity, which has been constantly used to justify the condemnation of these two doctors. It is hardly to be questioned, that the Council of Constance had that same ambiguity in view, when she caused the errors and memory of Wickliff to be first stigmatised, before John Huss and Jerome of Prague were brought upon their trial.

Wickliff's opinions were of two kinds. Some concerned the principal doctrines of faith. Others related to the hierarchy, the clergy, their jurisdiction, power, and riches. Wickliff did not believe transubstantiation. He rejected the invocation of saints, the adoration of the cross and images, pilgrimages, and relics. On the other hand, he thought the hierarchy had no foundation in scripture. From whence he drew several conclusions against the excessive authority usurped by the popes, the cardinals, the bishops.

Moreover, he taxed the clergy with leading very immoral and dissolute lives, and maintained that the revenues of the Church were greatly misapplied. From these principles his enemies interred numberless consequences, some whereof had never perhaps entered into his thoughts. There were at last found in his writings two hundred and sixty capital errors. His followers added many more which he had never taught, and the whole was imputed to him, as if he had maintained

them all in express terms.

However it be, John Huss embraced Wickliff's opinions, but it was only in what concerned the hierarchy and clergy. It is certain, he believed transubstantiation, and died in that belief. As for images, his opinion was that a man might honour them, kneel to them, light up wax-tapers before them, kiss them, because the intention referred that worship to the originals. So, it is a thing out of doubt, that he was not burnt for maintaining errors in the principal doctrines of faith, but for opinions which combated the exorbitant power and riches of the Church, that is to say, of the Clergy.

All possible endeavours were used to make him confess, he believed not transubstantiation; but he could never be brought to such a confession. And yet, by the advice of the cardinal of Florence, the council condemned him upon the deposition of the witnesses, who accused him of rejecting that Doctrine, without regarding his own express declaration to the contrary. It is not very difficult to conceive the council's aim, in causing that article to be inserted in Huss's sentence.

The Council was sensible, it must have appeared very strange, that a person should be burnt, whose principles tended to a reformation, in the head and in the members of the Church, which all Christendom required, and which the council itself feigned to believe necessary. It was requisite therefore to justify the sentence, by rendering this man odious, as rejecting a fundamental article of faith.

For this reason, without distinguishing Wickliff's errors, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned as followers of that Arch-heretic. It was thereby insinuated, that they embraced all the opinions of their master.

But to shew, by an unexceptionable testimony, that these two men were burnt for their opinions concerning the clergy, I need only quote what Æntas Sylvius, alias Pope Pius II, says in his *History of Bohemia*. The deputies of the council having admonished the accused to forsake their errors, and conform to the Church's sentiments, they answered:—

THAT they were indeed lovers of the Holy Gospel, and true disciples of Christ:

THAT the Church of Rome, and all the other churches in the world were far swerved from the Apostolic traditions:

THAT the clergy ran after pleasures and riches:

THAT they lorded it over the people, affected the highest seats at entertainments, and bred horses and dogs:

THAT the revenues of the church, which belonged to the poor members of Christ, were consumed in vanity and wantonness:

THAT the Priests were ignorant of the Commandments of God, or if they did know them, lightly regarded them.

The fathers of the council, continues the historian, perceiving and knowing the invincible obstinacy of these People, judged that the corrupted members of the Church that were incurable, ought to be cut off, lest they should infect the rest of the body.

Accordingly sentence was passed upon them, all the fathers unanimously agreeing, that persons who rejected sound doctrine, approved by the church, deserved to be burnt.

This account most evidently shews, wherein consisted the heresy of John Huss and Jerome of Prague; namely in their accusing the clergy of corruption. It was therefore to destroy these enemies of the clergy, that the council made no scruple to violate the safe-conduct given by the Emperor Sigismund to John Huss, or at least to allow him to violate it himself.

Moreover the Council had no regard to the promise they had publicly given to Jerome of Prague, in order to draw him to Constance. It is true, the council had inserted these words in their engagement:—

Without prejudice to justice, and as far as the Catholic faith requires it,

A captious clause, if ever there was one. For was not the Catholic faith the very point in question; and of what use could the council's promise be to Jerome of Prague, unless against justice? Did he run any hazard, or stand in need of such a promise, if he had not held the tenets he was charged with?

Let us proceed now to the decree of this council, against communion in both kinds. We shall see in this, as well as in the foregoing article, that the authority of the church or the clergy was the sole point in question. The fathers of Constance condemned not communion in both kinds as sinful in itself.

On the contrary, they owned, it was practised in the primitive church, and that the church had power to grant it to the laity, if they thought proper. But they anathematised such as maintained, the Church had not a right to abolish this practice. What did they mean then by the church? Did they nor mean the councils composed of the several members of the clergy? It is so true, that, in this decree, the council's sole view was to support the authority of the church representative, that, some years after, another General Council made no scruple to allow the Hussites the liberty of communicating in both kinds, without any apprehension that the faith was therein concerned, when they were willing to receive that liberty as a favour from the Church.

As to other opinions which appeared at the same time, but which attacked not the clergy, the Council of Constance behaved with an astonishing coldness. John Petit, advocate of the Duke of Burgundy, maintained, it was lawful for any private person to kill a tyrant, even by surprise.

This tenet being brought before the Council, how did they proceed? After much solicitation, they declared it erroneous, without naming the author, or coming upon his person, though they had ordered Wickliff's bones to be dug up thirty years after his burial. The sect of the scourgers broached several capital errors. But the Council was content with the bare proposal of finding some gentle means to restore them to the unity of the Church.

What reformation could be expected from a council, which so rigorously prosecuted such as contested the privileges of the Pope, the cardinals and the clergy? The reformation must have begun with the suppression of most of these prerogatives. Indeed, before Martin V's election, the reforming of the Court of Rome was talked of in the Council; and a list of the abuses to be redressed, was drawn up. But by the artifices of some, and particularly of the Cardinals, this noble design came to nothing.

A Pope was elected, and the Pope elect found means to have this article deferred to a more convenient season.

This is the sum of the most remarkable transactions in the Council of Constance. A very full account of these things will be found in the fore-mentioned new history, to which the reader is referred. Let us see now what the Council of Basil acted with respect to the Hussites, and the quarrel of Pope Eugenius IV, with the same council. Nothing is more proper to shew the state of the church of those days.

History of The Council Basil

The Bohemians, who for the most part had embraced the opinions of John Huss, highly resented the usage he had met with. This severity serving only to confirm them in their tenets, they resolved to maintain them in spite of the council's decrees. Communion in both kinds was the principal doctrine.

This occasioned terrible commotions in Bohemia, which Martin V greatly inflamed by his haughty treatment of the Hussite's. In the midst of these troubles, Wenceslaus King of Bohemia dying, Sigismund his Brother, who was Emperor, pretended to the succession. But the Bohemians rejected him, because he would not consent, they should live in the faith they professed.

Martin V supporting Sigismund, published a crusade against the Hussites, and thereby obliged them to arm in defence of their lives. It is needless to inquire here, whether Sigismund had any right to mount the throne of Bohemia without the consent of the states.

This is a query which would lead me too far. However that be, Zisko a Bohemian, heading the Hussites, defeated Sigismund several times, and made him as well as the Pope despair of extirpating these pretended heretics by arms. This war lasted till the Council of Basil, without Sigismund being able to take peaceable possession of the Kingdom of Bohemia.

The Council of Basil, which met in 1431, finding that the arms of Sigismund and the Croises had not the success that was expected, resolved to make peace with the Hussites. Probably, their aim was to set Sigismund at any rate on the throne of Bohemia, in order to enable him the better to take proper measures to extirpate these People. For that purpose, they sent deputies into Bohemia, to invite the Hussites to come and produce their reasons before the Council.

They agreed to it, and their deputies being arrived at Basil, required these four things, for which they offered to be reconciled to the Church:—

First, That Communion in both kinds should be administered to the Bohemian Laity.

Secondly, That offenders should be punished according to the Law of God, and by those whose proper business it was.

Thirdly, That the word of God should be preached by able Priests.

Fourthly, That the clergy should have no temporal jurisdiction.

These were the sentiments of the Hussites, for which so bloody a war had been made upon them, even to the exciting all Europe against them. But it was not so much for their doctrines that they were thus cruelly persecuted, but for their obstinate refusal to submit to the decisions of the church, and for their contempt of the clergy. The Council used all possible endeavours to persuade the Bohemian deputies to an unconditional submission to the Church.

But at last, perceiving they insisted upon the four articles, the council thought fit to grant them upon this condition, that they should be first explained, because being couched in general terms they might give occasion to fresh disputes. The Hussites consenting, the council explained the four articles as they judged convenient. After that, an agreement was drawn conformable to the four articles and their explication.

This affair being thus settled, Sigismund demanded to be received for King of Bohemia, and was so accordingly, after signing certain conditions; namely, the approbation of the agreement, and some others relating thereto. It seemed that the persecution against the Hussites was there by to cease. But Sigismund was no sooner on the throne of Bohemia, but he disappointed them.

On the other hand, the Pope pretending, they observed not the conditions on which the four articles were granted, positively refused to approve of the agreement. This occasioned in Bohemia fresh troubles, which were always fomented by the Court of Rome, and which properly ended not till the middle of the last century, in the utter ruin of the Hussites.

Before we leave this subject, let us make one reflection. Let the Hussites be inveighed against as much as you please: Let them be accused of holding impious and detestable errors, yet these same errors must be reduced to the four articles exhibited by themselves to the Council of Basil. For this, crusades were published against them, and John Huss, and Jerome of Prague were burnt. But a general Council, owned by all the world, when the agreement was granted them, judged, these articles might be suffered without prejudice to the Catholic faith.

It follows therefore, that war was made upon them solely for the support of the church's authority. That was the main point of religion. But why were they persecuted afterwards? It was because the Popes would never stand to the agreement, though the Hussites frequently offered to submit to the Church upon that condition. It is therefore evident, that the war from the beginning to the end, was wholly founded upon this principle, That the Church has a despotic power, and that it is unlawful to bind her to any conditions.

But what church is this, invested with so high a prerogative! It cannot be a general council, since such a council has not judged that article unquestionable. It is therefore the Pope alone which must be meant by the church. It will be said, perhaps, that the authority of the Council of Basil is not acknowledged by a great part of the church; but this will be groundless. For, the agreement with the Hussites was made before the Council was removed to Ferrara, and the council of Basil is owned by all the world for lawful before that removal.

We are now going to see a quarrel of another nature, not of the church with her heretical enemies, but of the Church with herself, of the members with the head. Till the Council of Basil, the Popes and the councils were very well agreed to improve the church's authority, and cause it to be absolutely obeyed. By the help of the equivocal word church, an entire submission was required of Christians, sometimes to the Pope as the head, sometimes to the councils as representatives of the body, according as occasion offered to improve that term, for the benefit of either.

As for the Christian laity, they had been long excluded out of the meaning of the word church. However, though in confining the signification of the word church to the clergy alone, there still remained some ambiguity, it had not yet been removed, by deciding whether the authority of the Church was lodged in the body of the clergy, or in the Pope as head.

The Councils of Pisa and Constance had taken some steps towards assuming this authority, in deposing the Popes themselves. But Martin V, after his election, had artfully evaded the decision of this important point, either by breaking up the council, or by confirming whatever was done with regard to the doctrines, without meddling with any of the other articles.

He knew, it would be very prejudicial for him, if the question was decided by the council, as it would be for the council the moment they broke up. At length, the Council of Basil had occasion to take this question into consideration.

The Council had been called by Martin V, who had now appointed Cardinal Julian Cæsarini to preside as legate. Martin dying in 1431, before the Council was assembled, Eugenius IV was chosen in his room. The new Pope opposed not the opening of the council, but intended it should not continue long. For some time, the necessity of reforming the church both in the head and members, had been every where talked of.

Now as such a Reformation must have been made by a General Council, such a Council could not but terrify a Pope, who had not yet had time to taste the sweets of the Pontificate. The Council

of Basil was no sooner assembled, but Eugenius sought means to dissolve it. He found a pretence in the Council's invitation of the Hussites to Basil, during the first session. He affirmed, these heretics having been condemned in the Council of Constance ought not to be allowed a re-hearing. Upon this frivolous pretence he published a Bull for dissolving the Council.

Instead of submitting to the Pope's pleasure, the council resolved to continue their sessions. Hence sprung a quarrel, which produced a real schism, some maintaining, the authority of the council, and others remaining attached to the Pope. The Council made several decrees, which placed the authority of a general council above that of the Pope, and the Pope annulled these decrees, affirming, the body could act but by the directions of the head.

The Emperor, the King of France, and most of the other Princes declaring immediately for the council, Eugenius saw himself under a necessity to approve the council, and consent that the sessions should be continued. But having sent other legates to preside in his name, the council refused to receive them as presidents.

This was a fresh occasion of dissension. The Pope threatened to dissolve the council, and the council threatened to suspend the Pope. Accordingly, they made some advances to accomplish it. Whereupon Eugenius finding himself the weakest, was obliged once more to approve and confirm the Council.

The forced compliance of the Pope appeased the quarrel for some time. But in 1435, the council having shewn, they would seriously endeavour a reformation of the church in the head and members, and made, for that purpose, decrees to abolish the first-fruits, and settle the rights of the apostolic chamber, the Pope saw himself ruined, unless he found some way to stop their proceedings. On the other hand, the cardinals easily perceived, that since the Pope was begun with, their turn would soon come.

There were bishops too, who were sorry to see a reformation going forward, which would be to their prejudice in many things, though they might hope to be gainers by it in some respects. This occasioned the forming of two opposite parties in the council; but however, the reformers had the majority. Meanwhile, the Pope continued to gain ground, since the cardinals, and several bishops thought it for their Interest to support him.

Another thing helped likewise to set the Pope's affairs upon a good foot. Some time since, (John Emanuel Palisologus) Emperor of Constantinople, had been vigorously attacked by the Turks. As he wanted assistance, he imagined, if he could unite the Greek Church with the Latin, the Pope and Princes of Europe would assist him with all their forces, in defence of his Empire. This affair had been already proposed to Martin V, and it was chiefly with design to accomplish this union, that Pope Martin had called the Council of Basil, where the Greek Emperor was to come in person, with the bishops of his Church.

Eugenius IV failed not to improve this opportunity to strengthen his party. He sent nuncios to this Emperor, to acquaint him, that the time was come to perform his promise; but, as it might be inconvenient for him and his attendants to repair to Basil, he promised to remove the council to some good town in Italy, provided he would engage to be present.

On the other hand, the council sent likewise ambassadors to Constantinople, to dissuade the Emperor from coming to any other place than Basil. But the Emperor had already resolved to repair wherever the Pope should appoint. The fathers of Basil plainly perceiving, the Pope intended to remove the Council elsewhere, made haste and pasted several decrees, which very much lessened the Papal Authority, and at length cited the Pope before them.

Eugenius little regarded the proceedings against him at Basil. When he heard the Greeks were arrived at Venice, he published a Bull for translating the Council of Basil to Ferrara. The council

refused to comply with the Bull, and by a majority of Votes suspended the Pope till he should come in person and make his defence.

Meanwhile, Cardinal Julian President of the council, and the rest of the Cardinals, except one, left Basil, carrying with them a good number of bishops, and repaired to Ferrara, where the Pope opened his council the 10th of February 1438. Thus arose a new sort of schism between the councils, which both called themselves general, and mutually condemned each other. But the Pope had soon a considerable advantage of the other, by the arrival of the Greek Emperor at Ferrara, with a great many prelates of his nation.

The next year Eugenius translated the Council to Florence, where a sort of union was made between the Greeks and Latins, which lasted not long[5].

Meantime, the Council of Basil still continuing their proceedings against Eugenius IV, came at last to depose him, and elect another Pope in his room, namely, Amadeus Duke of Savoy, who having resigned the Government of his dominions, was retired to the solitudes of Ripaille. The new Pope assumed the name of Felix V.

Hence was formed in the church a double schism, between two general councils, and two Popes, who thundered their anathema's against one another, to the great scandal of Christendom. It was no small embarrassment to most people, to see thus two Popes and two councils condemning one another, and each excommunicating the adherents of the other party, without sparing even those who thought to escape by standing neutral.

Charles VII, who then reigned in France, caused a synod to be held on this occasion, in which it was resolved, that France should own the Council of Basil for lawful, but should remain however in the obedience of Pope Eugenius. Another embarrassment to the French. Indeed, it is pretty hard to conceive, how two such opposite things could be reconciled.

In 1441 was held in Germany another such assembly, where no better expedient was found, than the calling a new council somewhere else than at Basil and Florence; and that Germany should remain neuter till this new council was assembled. A diet held at Francfort, in 1442, approved of this expedient, and the council of Basil consented to it, though with reluctance. But obstacles occurred, that prevented the execution of this design.

Meanwhile, Felix V, not being pleased with the Council of Basil for taking so much upon them, resolved to withdraw to Lausanne, on pretence that Basil air did not agree with him. On the other hand, Eugenius translated the council of Florence to Rome, in the Church of St. John of Lateran, where they began their sessions in 1444.

At length, in 1446, the Princes of Germany, assembled at Francfort, unanimously resolved, that if Eugenius would not redress the grievances complained of, they would all recognize Pope Felix. Eugenius demurred at first. But the Emperor telling him, he must comply, or resolve to lose all Germany, he granted whatever the Germans desired, whereupon an agreement was made.

This was a terrible blow to the Council of Basil, who had now lost Italy, Aragon, and several other States. As for France, they could not much rely upon her, since she still continued in obedience to Pope Eugenius. England had likewise so far declared for that Pope, as that we find, in the *Collection of the Public Acts*, Henry VI sent an Embassy to make a league with him. Eugenius IV died whilst these things were transacting, and had for successor Nicholas V.

The council of Basil losing great part of their authority, and Felix V having but very few friends, the King of France held a synod at Lyons, to seek means to put an end to the schism. Felix V sending legates thither, it was resolved, with his consent, that if Nicholas V would grant him certain conditions, he would resign the pontificate. This was the subject of a negotiation, which

lasted the whole year 1448. Meanwhile, the Council of Basil, finding themselves forsaken by almost all the world, and despairing of farther protection at Basil, since the Emperor and Germany had declared for Eugenius resolved to remove to Lausanne.

At last, Felix having obtained most of his desires, resigned the Papal dignity in 1449. But it was with the consent of his council, who found means to preserve still some remains of authority. By their last decree, they approved of Felix's resignation, created him cardinal and *Legate a latere*[6] in Savoy and the Tarentaise, and allowed him to wear the papal habit all his life. Nicholas V confirmed this decree according to agreement.

Thus ended at length the schism, in which there was a complication of three schisms: First, between Eugenius IV, and the Council of Basil; then between two general councils; and lastly, between two Popes. The first may be said not to be yet ended, since the dispute which occasioned it, still subsists. The Court of Rome's adherents perpetually inveigh against the council of Basil, for decreeing, that a general council is above the Pope. On the other hand, their opposers rest upon the decrees of this council to support their opinion. Very probably, this question will remain long undecided.

I have a little enlarged upon what passed in the two famous councils of Constance and Basil, because nothing, in my opinion, is more proper to discover the wretched state of the Church of those days. From the close of the last schism, to the end of the XVth century, the papal chair was filled with Popes cruelly bent upon the destruction of the Hussites, contrary to the faith of the agreement, or wholly employed in maintaining the exorbitant power usurped by their predecessors, and generally to have an opportunity to satisfy their avarice.

Calixtus III, successor of Nicholas V, so oppressed the Germans, that they were forced at length to break the concordat[7] made with Eugenius IV, plainly perceiving it was entirely useless.

Pius II, lately canonized, was so far from consenting to a reformation in the head of the Church, that he excommunicated by a Bull, all persons that should dare to appeal from the Pope to a general council.

Paul II was no sooner chosen, than he broke the oath taken before his election, concerning the redress of certain abuses, which himself, with the rest of the cardinals, had deemed necessary. Never were the *Gratiæ Expectativæ* (or Bulls for church preferments before they become void) more frequent, than whilst he sat in the papal chair. He spent the whole time of his pontificate in striving to abolish the pragmatic section[8] in France, which debarred him of the liberty of doing there whatever he pleased.

1471. Sixtus IV, raised, by one of his bulls, the hierarchy to the highest degree it could be carried, at a time when the excessive power usurped by the clergy was generally complained of.

1484. Innocent VIII, quarrelled with Ferdinand of Aragon, King of Naples, and by his solicitations inclined Charles VIII, to carry his arms into Italy.

1492. Alexander VI, was one of the most corrupt men of his age. It is of him a famous Roman Catholic writer gives this fine character, that he would have been the wickedest man in the world, if his bastard Son[9] had not been more wicked than himself.

I pass over in silence the cruel eagerness of all these Popes, to persecute the Bohemians, contrary to the faith of their concordat. The crusades against the Turks, in which they would have engaged all the Princes of Europe, appeared very specious; but sovereigns were so well satisfied, that in publishing crusades, the Popes had only their own private interest in view, that they could never

confide in them.

Such in general was the state of the Christian Church in the XVth century, upon which I shall make but one single remark, leaving my readers at liberty to add as many as they please. What I would observe is, that the abstract I have given, evidently shows, how trifling their opinion is who say, it is not the business of private persons to endeavour a reformation of the Church, but it must be left to the care of the Church herself.

What then is this Church, from which we are to expect this happy reformation? Doubtless, this is not what is meant by the word Church. It is the Pope with his cardinals? But these are the very Men who have all along hindered it, and very probably, will, to the utmost of their power hinder it for ever. Shall a general council undertake this reformation? But what has hitherto passed in these Assemblies, affords no room to expect so great a benefit.

Besides, who shall call this general council? of whom shall it be composed? who shall preside? Can the Pope be persuaded to convene a general council to reform the Church? will he give the precedence to another, that himself and court may be with more freedom reformed? In a word, will it not be the Pope, the cardinals, the prelates, that will have the deliberative vote in this council, but these are so many persons concerned to leave things as they are.

Will it be said with some, that the Church has no need of reformation? That she is innocent and pure, without spot or wrinkle, or any thing like it? That all the prerogatives enjoyed by the Popes, the cardinals, the bishops, belong to them by divine right? That the Pope exercises only the power committed to him by Christ? That his decisions are infallible, as well in point of fact, as of right; and the same obedience must be paid to his decrees, as to those of God himself? But if, pursuant to this principle, the Popes should unhappily enlarge their phylacteries, and every day form new pretensions, as it has but too frequently happened, how shall they be stopped, if it is confessed, the Church has no need of reformation, or must be left to reform herself?

After viewing the state of the Church in general, it is time to proceed to that of the Church of England in particular. England, with regard to religion, was in the same condition with the rest of Europe. The people passionately wished for a reformation of sundry abuses crept into the Church. The clergy strenuously opposed it, as every change would be to their prejudice. As for the Kings, they made religion subservient to their interest.

When they imagined they wanted the clergy, they found ways enough to evade the people's desires. But when the Parliament's favour was requisite, they assented to the statutes, by which the encroachments of the Pope and Clergy were restrained.

In the beginning of the century, Henry IV, whose chief aim was to fix himself in the throne, and who thought he could not effect it without the clergy, seemed throughout his whole reign to have a great deference for them. Hence proceeded all the statutes passed in those days against the Lollards. Henry V, showed at first great inclination to strip the clergy of their riches, according to the Parliament's desire; but afterwards, turning his thoughts to the conquest of France, carefully avoided that religion should cause any troubles in his Kingdom.

It was highly necessary, in order to execute his grand projects, that his subjects would be ready to assist him with their purses. But on the other hand, he was no less concerned to live in a good understanding with the court of Rome, least she should hinder his enterprise. He knew what she was capable of, when she thought herself injured.

So, artfully managing both the Pope and his subjects, he prevented the first from abusing his power too much, without depriving him, however, of what he possessed. By this prudent conduct, he made his reign peaceable, with respect to religion. We must except, however, what he did in the beginning against the Lollards. He had suffered himself to be prepossessed, that they had

conspired against his life; and that belief made him at first a little severe. But as he was endowed with an excellent judgement, he soon discerned the interests of the clergy from those of religion, and put a stop to the persecutions of the unhappy Lollards. Henry VI, was a weak man, ever ready to receive the impressions that were given him.

Had he held the reins of the government himself, very probably the clergy would have gained much ground in his reign. But the directors of his affairs, as well during his minority, as after, were men of a very different character. Besides, the French war, the disturbances at court after the King's marriage, and the civil wars which quickly followed, gave those at the helm no time to think much of religious affairs.

For the same reason, the reign of Edward IV, was not disturbed either by the Lollards, or their adversaries. It is true, Edward showed a great condescension for the clergy, in granting them a favour constantly denied by the former Kings. But his complaisance did not go so far as to indulge persecution.

The reigns of Edward V, and Richard III, were wholly spent in domestic trouble, which had no influence upon the affairs of the Church. As for Henry VII, he made it a rule, to keep the Church upon the same foot he found it when he mounted the throne. He ever avoided, as a rock, all innovations which might obstruct the execution of his two sole designs; namely, to secure the crown to himself and his heirs, and to heap up money. Such was, with regard to religion, the disposition of the Kings that reigned in England during the fifteenth century.

As for the English nation, it is certain, it was generally Wickliffite in some respects. Wickliff's opinions manifestly tended to these two principal ends: First, to reform the government of the church, and to set bounds to the power of the Pope and clergy. Secondly, to alter the church's creed concerning some doctrines long since received, and which he thought contrary to scripture.

Now as he found it almost impossible, that Christians should return to what he believed the antient faith of the church, because the clergy were concerned to maintain the established errors, he strongly insisted upon the first point, as being absolutely necessary to the attainment of the second. It is certain, that with respect to his general aim, in the first of these two articles, not only his professed followers, but all the rest of the People did, as it were, join with him.

For many ages the English had felt the oppression wherein the Pope and clergy had kept them. In all Christendom no nation had more experienced the rigour of this dominion. The history of England shows it so manifestly, that a man would be blind not to see it. But though the history were suspected, the Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, so frequently revived, leaves no room to question, that the English thought themselves oppressed. So, it may be said, that in general the English nation was Wickliffite as to the first point, though many believed, Wickliff would have carried the reformation a little too far, and, to correct the abuses of the hierarchy, had run into the contrary extreme.

But the nation was not generally Wickliffite, with respect to the second article; namely, the alteration of belief concerning the doctrines. Indeed, Wickliff had in this respect many followers, but they were not the majority.

Thus the name of Wickliffite, or Lollard, was an equivocal term, capable of being understood in two different senses. Some times it signified a man, who separating from the Church, embraced all Wickliff's opinions. It might likewise be understood of one, who remaining in the Church, as it was then, and adhering to the received doctrines, was, how ever, of Wickliff's opinion concerning the temporal and spiritual jurisdiction of the clergy.

In this last sense there were more Lollards in England than can be imagined. This distinction may serve to account for divers proceedings of the Parliaments in the beginning of the XVth century, which seem to be contrary one to another.

Sometimes they were seen to speak and act like Lollards, earnestly demanding, that the clergy should be stripped of their riches, and sometimes to condemn these same Lollards to the flames, when they considered them in the first sense before mentioned. The clergy knew how to take advantage of the ambiguity of that term.

When a man was so hardy as to show that it were to be wished, some alteration were made in the government of the church, he was infallibly accused of being a Lollard, and charged with all Wickliff's opinions. Hence he became odious, because the true Lollards maintained doctrines repugnant to the faith of those days. The first Parliament which petitioned Henry IV, to seize the church lands, could not escape that imputation, which made a deep impression in the King's mind.

Thus it often happened, that people did not dare openly to approve Wickliff's first opinions, for fear of being taxed also with holding the others, and exposed to suffer for tenets they received not, as it happened to John Huss and Jerome of Prague. It was not without cause that the clergy prosecuted the Lollards with such animosity, since their principles tended to no less than to deprive them of all their prerogatives.

At this very day, the Church of England, though embracing Wickliff's opinions, concerning the doctrines, cannot forbear expressing very little esteem for that doctor, because he has combated the hierarchy, which she has thought proper to retain.

The Lollards were persecuted, sometimes more, sometimes less, according to the character of the Kings, the archbishops, and the rest of the prelates, but chiefly according to the circumstances of affairs. In general, the beginning of the XVth Century was much more severe for them, than the middle or the end. The reason is evident. For as their number continually increased, their enemies found much less support, and themselves more protection.

In the beginning of the XVth century, which, was the most troublesome time for them, there were, however, but very few burnt; of which three principal reasons may be given: First, as the statutes did not enact that all in general should be burnt, who held the tenets of Wickliff, but only such as preached or taught them publicly, the number of the guilty was not very great. These statutes were not observed after the manner of the inquisition, but agreeably to the liberties and privileges of the English nation.

In the next place, the idea which the clergy were pleased to give of the Lollards, was, that they entirely subverted religion. But often, in the examination of the parties accused as such, it appeared that they only believed, the Pope and clergy abused their power too much, which was the general opinion of the Kingdom.

It was well known, the Parliament had not that in view, in their statute against the Lollards. Lastly, the judges themselves sometimes happened to be of the sect, and this was the occasion of the statute in the reign of Henry V, obliging all magistrates, at their entrance into office, to swear to the execution of the laws against the Lollards. But I do not know whether that statute was ever punctually observed. If we believe Walsingham the monk, the judges and several bishops themselves were very remiss in the prosecution of the Lollards.

This he ascribes to the general corruption which reigned in England. But this corruption was nothing else but the inclination of the English for Wickliff's opinions; or, at least, their scruple to put people to death on account of religion. The most remarkable thing in England, concerning the Lollards, is the trial and punishment of Sir John Oldcastle, otherwise called Lord Cobham,

of whom I have spoken in the Reign of Henry V. We must now proceed to another subject; namely, the contests which England had with the court of Rome during the XVth Century.

Notwithstanding all the complaints frequently carried to the court of Rome, concerning her continual encroachments and the precautions taken by several Parliaments to screen themselves from the same, the Popes did not abate their pretensions.

The Acts of Parliament were to them but like thunders without execution, which reached not their rights. Upon every occasion, they made no scruple to act contrary to these statutes, as if they had not been made; and assert their apostolic power, without troubling themselves whether they prejudiced the King or his subjects.

The Parliament, willing to remedy the abuses flowing from the continual dispensations granted by the Pope without hearing the cause, passed in 1400 an Act:—

THAT all persons who purchased or executed any Bulls to be discharged from the payment of Tithes, should incur the penalties contained in the Statute of Provisors.

It was enacted by another statute passed at the same time:—

THAT if any person should procure a provision to be exempt of the jurisdiction of the Bishops, he should incur the same penalties.

These Acts being made chiefly with a view to the monks, were not capable of producing the intended effect, because the Pope, by the fullness of his apostolic authority, exempted the monks from the observance of these Parliamentary Statutes.

The Bishops whom this affair chiefly concerned, not daring to dispute the power assumed by the Pope, it was the Parliament's business to defend their cause, as well as their own.

To that purpose, the statutes upon this subject were revived, with an additional clause, prohibiting the monks in particular, to purchase or execute any such exemptions, upon the penalty comprised in the Statute of Præmunire. This Statute, which I have mentioned upon several occasions, was a terrible fence against the court of Rome's usurpations. Indeed, it did not directly attack the Pope, since the Parliament had no jurisdiction over him.

But as it hindered the English from applying to the court of Rome for things contrary to the prerogatives of the crown, and the laws of the Realm, it abridged the Pope of good part of the advantages which he pretended to reap from his apostolic power. It will perhaps be thought strange that the Popes should be silent, when, and long after, this statute was passed. But it is easy to discover the reason. The schism which began in 1378, and lasted till 1409, hindered them from stirring.

The Popes received by England, took care to give no offence at such a juncture. It is true, there was an interval of some years, during which Alexander V, and John XXIII, might have made some attempt against that law. But Alexander's pontificate was very short, and John was employed in affairs, as he thought, of more importance. Martin V considered not this affair with the same indifference.

In 1426, he writ a thundering letter to Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury, upbraiding him for his remissness, and enjoining him to exert his utmost that this statute might be repealed. Henry VI, who then reigned, not being above five years old, the Pope thought it a favourable juncture to compass his ends. It will not be perhaps unacceptable, to insert part of this letter, which shows the Pope's sentiments concerning the pretended privileges of his See:—

**MARTIN, Servant of A Servant of GOD,
To his Reverend Brother, the Archbishop of Canterbury**

Greeting, and Apostolical Benediction,

HAD you considered what a strict account you must give to Almighty God for the flock committed to your care:

Had you called to mind the obligations of your office, and how much you are bound to maintain the rights and honour of the Roman Church, of whom you hold your dignity:

Had you, I say, duly recollected these things, you would never have suffered your self to be seized with such a lethargy and negligence. No, you would have done your duty long since; you would have endeavoured to set right the misled, and opposed with all your power those who had sacrilegiously invaded the privileges granted by our Saviour to the Church. Was the authority of your character bestowed upon you only to enrich your self, and give you opportunity of seeking your own, and not the things which are Jesus Christ. If this be your opinion, you greatly mistake the instructions of our blessed Saviour, who, when he committed his sheep to St. Peter's care, only commanded him to feed them; neither received he this command, till he had given his Master repeated assurances of his love.

Is this then your manner of shewing your love to Christ? Is this feeding and taking care of the Flock? Will such conduct as this discharge your duty to the Holy See? Alas! your flock are running down a precipice before your eyes, and you are regardless of their danger, and make no attempt to save them:—

You suffer them to feed in dangerous pastures without warning them; and, which is horrible, you seem to put poison in their mouths with your own hands: You see the wolves scatter and tear them in pieces, and like a dumb dog, vouchsafe not so much as to bark. You can behold the authority of our Blessed Saviour and the Holy See despised and trampled on, without dropping one word of remonstrance.

One would have thought, you might at least, have whispered your dislike, though you had been so very prudent as not to have declared it publicly. Are you not sensible, you must one day account to the utmost farthing for all omissions and prevarications of this kind? Do not you think, if any of your flock are lost by your neglect, (and, alas! there are a great many) their blood will be required at your hands?

Consider and tremble what vengeance God denounces by his prophet Ezekiel: "*Son of man, I have set thee a watchman unto the house of Israel; If thou seest the sword come, and do not blow the trumpet, and any person is taken away, his blood will I require at thy hands.*"

To see this beginning, would not one think the point in question was some new heresy, tending to subvert the foundations of religion? At least, one should believe, the Pope had the Wickliffites in view. But it was not so. We shall see in the sequel of the letter what the affair was; namely, the Statute of Præmunire, which the Archbishop had not caused to be repealed, the Pope groundlessly supposing, it was in that prelate's power to annul the laws of the realm. He continued in this manner:—

I leave it to your self to consider, what abominable violence has been committed upon your province. Pray read that Royal Law, if there's any thing in it that is either

Law or Royal. For how can that be called a statute, which repeals the Laws of God and the Church? Or how can it deserve the name of Royal, when it destroys the antient customs of the Realm; and it is so contrary to these words of Scripture, The King loveth judgment? Tell me then, Reverend brother, whether you, who are a Catholic bishop, can think it reasonable such an act as this should be in force in a Christian Country?

In the first place, under colour of this execrable statute, the King of England grasps at the spiritual jurisdiction, and governs so absolutely in ecclesiastical matters, as if our saviour had appointed him his vicar. He makes laws for the church and clergy. In short, he makes so many provisions about clerks, benefices, and the concerns of the hierarchy, that one would think the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were put into his hands, and the superintendency of these affairs had been entrusted with him, and not with St. Peter.

Besides these hideous usurpations, he has enacted several penalties against the clergy. Such a rigor is the more unjustifiable, as the English government does not treat Turks and Jews with so great severity. People of all countries and persuasions have the liberty of coming into England. Only those who have cures bestowed upon them by Christ's vicar are excluded: Only those, I say, are banished, seized, imprisoned, stripped of their fortunes.

If any ecclesiastical person, charged with the execution of the mandates and censures of the Holy See, happens to set foot on English ground, and proceed in the business of his commission, he is treated like an enemy, thrown out of the King's protection, and exposed moreover to still greater hardships. Was ever such iniquity as this passed into a Law? Pray consider whether such statutes as these are for the honour of the Kingdom; and whether it becomes you to be silent under all this outrage. Is this an instance of filial obedience? Is that the English people's way of showing their regards to their mother church and the Holy See? Can that be called a Catholic Kingdom, where such profane Laws are practised; where application to Christ's Vicar is prohibited; where St. Peter's successor is not allowed to execute our Saviour's commission?

Christ said to St. Peter, and in him to his successors, feed my sheep. But this statute will not suffer him to feed them, but transfers that office upon the King, and pretends in several cases to give him apostolical authority. Christ built his Church upon St. Peter; but this Act of Parliament hinders the effect of this disposition, not permitting St. Peter's See to proceed in the functions of government, or to make provisions suitable to the necessities of the Church.

Our Lord has ordered, that whatever his high-priest shall bind or lose in Earth, shall be bound or loosed in Heaven: But this statute overrules the divine command: For if the immediate representative of our saviour thinks fit to delegate any priest to execute the power of the keys, contrary to the intent of the statute, he is refused admittance, forced out of the Kingdom, stripped of his effects, and made liable to farther penalties. If any discipline, if any apostolic censure, appear against this usage, it is punished as a capital offence.

And what does your prudence think of all this? Is this a Catholic statute? Can it be suffered with out dishonour to our saviour, without a breach upon the laws of the gospel, and the ruin of people's souls?

Why therefore did you not cry aloud? Why did you not lift up your voice like a trumpet? Show your people their transgression, and the House of Jacob their sins,

that their blood may not be required at your hands? If all persons who have the cure of souls, are bound to this duty, how much more are you, who have both the priests and people committed to your care by the Holy See, by whose favour you enjoy the privilege of primate and legate for the Church of England, and have the honour of being successor to that glorious martyr St Thomas, who, to remove the oppression of such statutes, scrupled not to sacrifice himself for the interest of the Church.

These things considered, you, who ought to have set up the church's standard, been most forward in the defence of religion, and animated your fellow bishops to a noble contest, are the first that turn your back, and decline the service. Thus, either by your great cowardice, or, as it is generally believed, by your downright prevarication, you discourage those who offer to make a stand. If therefore the Church complain of your conduct; if the whole be laid to your charge, be not surprised, but troubled at the imputation.

Let this reproach serve to put you upon reforming your conduct, and make you boldly perform the duties of your office; which, were you but inclined to make the most of your power would not be very difficult.

Exert therefore your character among the laity; inform their understandings in this point, and endeavour to reclaim them. Shew them what a snare this statute will prove, and how much guilt it will draw upon their consciences. Let your admonitions be pressing and sharp, and then the crooked will be made strait, and the rough ways smooth.

After so severe a reprimand, the Pope continues to tell the Archbishop, that he thought himself bound in conscience to deal thus plainly with him. Then he charges him, upon pain of excommunication, to go immediately to the Privy-Council, and make what interest he could, for repealing the *Statute of Præmunire*, to apply to both Houses of Parliament for the same purpose, and let them know, that all those who obey that statute were under excommunication.

Moreover, he orders him to enjoin all the clergy to preach publicly, and every where, the same doctrine; to take with him two grave persons to attest his diligence, and to certify him of the result of the affair.

If it be inquired what made Martin V, so very angry with Chicheley, who was not concerned in the *Statute of Præmunire*, passed long before he was Archbishop, and who had not the power to procure a repeal, the reason is this. Chicheley had opposed to his utmost, the Papal exemptions. He had dissuaded Henry V, from consenting, that Henry Beaufort his uncle should be made cardinal, Legate a latere for life, and hold the Bishopric of Winchester in commendam. Moreover, he had said publicly, that all the Pope's proceedings tended only to drain England continually.

The Archbishop willing to justify himself, did not do it to the Pope's satisfaction. On the contrary, he drew upon himself a still more thundering letter, and after that a third, directed to the two Archbishops, wherein, to mortify Canterbury, York is named first. Chicheley fearing the Pope's threats, got some Bishops to write in his behalf, but nothing was capable of pacifying him.

At length, he sent him a letter himself, telling him, he heard by common report, that his Holiness had proceeded to a sentence against him, which had never happened to any Archbishop of Canterbury since the days of St. Augustine. That however, he was not certain of the thing, because he was commanded by the King to bring all the instruments, received from Rome, with the seals whole, and lodge them in the paper-office till the Parliament sat.

Meanwhile, Martin V, resolving to push this affair, writ to the King and Parliament in a more haughty strain than he'd ever been used by any Pope. He admonishes, or rather commands them to repeal the *Statute of Præmunire*, otherwise he assures them they cannot be saved.

At last, the Archbishop, seeing the Pope thus obstinate, and not daring any longer to disobey him, went with several other bishops to the House of Commons, where he made a long speech, tending to persuade the House to repeal the statute, and put them in mind of the danger of an interdict upon the whole Kingdom. But neither his arguments nor threats, were capable of inducing the Commons to repeal, or even explain the Act. On the contrary, they addressed the King to take the archbishop into his protection, and to write to the Pope in his behalf.

Pope Martin's Letter, and his extraordinary endeavours for repealing the *Statute of Præmunire*, afford matter for three remarks. The first is, this letter is a demonstration, that the main of religion was then made to consist in the Pope's prerogatives, and the clergy's immunities.

Hence it also appears, how averse Martin was to consent to the least diminution of his pretended rights, and consequently to a reformation in the head and members of the Church, demanded with so much earnestness at the Council of Constance, where he was present himself.

The second remark is, that at all times the Popes, in their contests with the several states of Christendom, have always had great advantages. These advantages consisted, in that, by the threats of excommunication and interdict, they pushed matters so far, that there was need of great resolution not to be overawed, and lose ground, either by agreement, or otherwise. But if this resolution was proof against all attempts, and the circumstances of affairs were not favourable to the court of Rome, she had the power to stop when she pleased, in expectation of a better opportunity. They who had the misfortune to contend with her, always reckoned it a great victory not to be vanquished, being satisfied if she would but suffer them to live in peace.

The third remark, is a conjecture which I shall leave to the reader's Judgment. Though Henry VI, was then but five years old, and his minority seemed to countenance the Pope's design it is certain however, England had never been in a more prosperous condition. The English were quiet, and pleased with the Government, and the victories of Crevant and Verneuil had put their affairs in France upon a very good foot.

On the other hand, the affairs of Charles VII, were in such disorder, that there is as no appearance of their being ever restored; and therefore Martin V, could not deem it a proper time for him. Besides, the King's two Uncles were not disposed to suffer the prerogatives Royal, and the people's rights, to be trampled upon, when their affairs were in so flourishing a condition.

It is therefore something probable, that Martin V, who was much more inclined to France than to England, made then all that stir, only to excite troubles in England, which would be of service to King Charles, and give him time to breathe. If the Archbishop had punctually obeyed him, and the Clergy every were preached against the *Statute of Præmunire*, pursuant to the Pope's express orders, the Parliament would have been forced to support their Act, and punish the clergy's presumption.

Then the Pope would have had a pretence to put the Kingdom under an interdict, which would have greatly embroiled the affairs of the English in France. But Chicheley's prudence prevented the mischief which might have sprung from Martin's haughty proceedings. In short, Martin perceiving, he was supported neither by the King's council, nor the clergy, nor the people, dropped the affair, not thinking proper to expose his authority any farther.

This conjecture is built upon Martin's continual partiality to France, whether out of inclination, or because, indeed, it was not for the interest of the court of Rome, that France should be subject to England.

Before I leave the *Præmunire*, it will not be improper to observe, that this Statute had two principal clauses.

The first, containing the Statute of Provisors, made in the reign of Edward I, prohibiting to solicit and procure benefices from the court of Rome by way of provision, contrary to the rights of the crown or the patrons.

The second forbid to carry to the court of Rome, or elsewhere, causes belonging to the King's courts. The Clergy complained that by these words, or elsewhere, the King's judges pretended to deprive the ecclesiastical courts of numberless causes, which before they had the cognizance of.

They maintained, that these words, or elsewhere, inserted in the Act, had no relation to the ecclesiastical courts, but only to the several places where the Pope might reside. That nevertheless the judges understood them in the first sense, and if there was in a process the least point belonging to the royal jurisdiction, took occasion, from these two words, to remove it from the ecclesiastical court, as well as from the court of Rome.

In 1439, the convocation complained to the King of the explanation of these terms by the lay judges, pretending it was contrary to the intent of the law, for several reasons alleged in their address. For that time, the clergy had no answer, or, if they had, it was not to their mind. But in the reign of Edward IV, they obtained the King's Charter, prohibiting his judges to meddle with criminal matters where the clergy were concerned.

I do not know whether Edward granted this Charter out of policy, to gain the clergy's protection, or was convinced that the words, or elsewhere, were explained contrary to the Parliament's intention.

Besides the contests occasioned by the *Statute of Præmunire* between England and the court of Rome, there were also others which I shall but just mention. In 1403, in the reign of Henry IV, the Parliament passed an Act, forbidding all person that should have provision of any benefice, to pay into the apostolic chamber more than was paid in, old time. The penalty for offenders was, that they should forfeit to the King the same sum they paid the Pope.

The occasion as this Statute was a grievance introduced some time before by the court of Rome, which was, that no person should have provision of any benefice that was void, till he had compounded with the apostolic chamber, as well for the first-fruits, as for other lesser services in that court, and paid, beforehand, the sum agreed upon. But the greatest dispute between England and the Popes, was concerning the collation of the Bishoprics.

Though the Popes, when the first Anglo-Saxons were converted, had sent Italian or other foreign Bishops into England, it is certain that towards the latter end of the Saxon Monarchy, the Bishops were chosen by the chapters. The same privilege was continued to them after the Norman conquest, and confirmed by King John's Charter.

Meanwhile, the Popes having gradually extended their authority, assumed the power of bestowing Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, by way of provision, sometimes on one, sometimes on another pretence. This is what I have had frequent occasion to remark. They would have at once established this rule, that the disposal of all the Bishoprics belonged to them by Divine Right: but meeting with obstacles, bethought themselves of another expedient; and that was, to get possession by decrees, in order afterwards to plead prescription.

Thus being content at first with maintaining, that on certain occasions they had a power to fill the vacant Sees, they afterwards framed these occasions whenever they pleased. In short, they multiplied them so very fast, that hardly was there a vacant Bishopric but what they filled by

way of provision. Time and favourable junctures confirming them in this prerogative, there was no possibility to wrest it from them. Thus the privilege of the chapters was entirely destroyed.

Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, dying in 1413, the Monks of St. Augustine chose Henry Chicheley, Bishop of St. David's. But Pope John XXIII, annulled the election, declaring, that, for this turn, he had resolved to dispose of the Archbishopric by way of provision. However, to avoid disputes, he made choice of the same Chicheley; preserving thereby his pretended right, without detriment to the person elected.

But Martin V, dealt not so gently with England. He was no sooner seated in the Papal Chair, than he boldly disposed of all the vacant Sees, without any regard to the privilege of the Chapters. In two years only he filled, by way of provision, thirteen Bishoprics in the province of Canterbury. It was not only with respect to the Sees that England had cause to complain of the Pope; he disposed likewise of all the other benefices of the Kingdom, without troubling himself about the right of the patrons, or the instruction of the people.

The best preferments were generally conferred upon foreigners, who understood not a word of English, or resided not in England, and sometimes even upon children. For instance, he made Prosper Colonna, his nephew, who was but fourteen years old, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Henry V, a high spirited Prince, sent ambassadors to Rome to complain both of these, and other grievances. But Martin V, delayed his answer so long, that the ambassadors told him, the King their master, purely out of respect to the Holy See, had proceeded by way of request, to which he was not obliged; but for the future, he would use his prerogative: That accordingly they had instructions to make a solemn protestation before himself and the conclave, if his Holiness would not give them immediate satisfaction.

I know not what answer the Pope returned; but not long after Martin having translated the Bishop of Lincoln to the See of York, by way of provision, the chapter refused to admit him, and the Pope was forced to revoke his Bull.

In 1438, the University of Oxford complained, that church preferments were bestowed without any regard to learning or merit; That the colleges were thereby become empty, because there was no need of study or learning, to be qualified for a benefice. Whereupon the convocation, to whom this complaint was addressed, passed a canon, That none but graduates in the universities should be capable of benefices. But this was a weak fence against the Papal power.

Meanwhile, though the court of Rome made the Apostolic authority sound very high, the Popes now and then met with mortifications. For example, in the reign of Henry IV, the Parliament ordered, that the peter pence should be deposited in the King's hands till the schism was closed. In the reign of Henry V, the alien priories were suppressed without asking the Pope's consent.

Under Henry VI, Pope Nicholas V, demanding an extraordinary subsidy of the clergy of England, for the occasions of the Holy See, the King forbid the clergy to grant it.

The like demand, made some years after by Vicentini, a nuncio, was sharply denied by the clergy. The Papal power, formerly so dreadful to the whole Church, and particularly to England, began to be less feared. The schisms did the Pope irreparable damage.

During the whole XVth Century, it does not appear that national councils were held in England, but only convocations of the clergy, in the two ecclesiastical provinces of Canterbury and York. The condemnation of the Lollards was almost the sole business of these convocations. As for National Synods, they were become useless, since the Popes had engrossed the cognizance of all ecclesiastical affairs.

Besides, the least appeal to the Pope was sufficient to annul all the canons of a council. On the other hand, the Popes had so managed, that no national synods could be held without their licence. Now, as in these Synods there was but too frequent occasion to inquire into the extent of the Papal authority, they were grown so odious to the Court of Rome, that the use of them was insensibly laid aside.

At this very day, in the States which have not yet received the Reformation, national councils are no more talked of, or, at least, so very rarely, that it is plain the Popes allow them with reluctance and very great difficulties. Of this we have in France a late remarkable instance, in the transactions concerning the famous constitution Unigenitus of Clement XI. King Lewis XIV, though powerful and formidable, could never obtain the Pope's leave to call a National Council, except on such terms as rendered the thing impracticable, though that Monarch's sole aim was to cause the constitution to be approved,

The article of the eminent men, who flourished in the Church of England during this century, will not long detain us. Indeed, there were Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and other clergymen, very famous, but it was neither for their piety nor learning. Their posts at court, their Embassies, intrigues of the Cabinet, and share in the revolutions in the Court and Kingdom, were the only things by which they were distinguished. Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury was one of the best.

For which reason he obtained not the honour of the cardinalate, lavishly bestowed upon Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, upon Kemp, Bouchier, Morton, who were less worthy of it than he, if true merit had been regarded. But Chicheley wanted one indispensable quality of a namely, to be entirely devoted to the Holy See[10].

If there were any learned men besides, they were so with respect to the time they lived in, when true learning was not much in vogue. And therefore it would be very needless to speak of each in particular, since their fame hardly outlived them. Some were noted for their great animosity against the Lollards, and amongst the rest, Arundel Archbishop of Canterbury. This prelate, in his funeral sermon for Ann of Luxemburgh, Richard the second's Queen, highly commends her for spending her time in reading the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue: And yet, some years after, in the Reign of Henry IV, he condemned in Convocation the translations of the Bible, as very pernicious[11].

Notes to Chapter 2

1) Mr. L'Enfant, late Minister at Berlin.

2) It was published in 1714.

3) The deputies, of this council from England were, first the Bishops, Salisbury, Bath and Hereford, The Abbot of Westminster and prior of Worcester. But upon the death of the Bishops of Salisbury and Hereford, The English prelates understanding that other churches were represented by a more numerous delegation, sent Clifford Bishop of London, the chancellors of both universities, with twelve doctors to this council—Walsingham p. 387.—The deputies mentioned in Rymer's *Fœdera* were these, Nicolas Bishop of Bath and Wells, Robert of Sarum, John of St. Davids, William Abbot of Westminster, John Prior of Worcester, Thomas Spossord, Abbot of St. Mary at York; Richard Earl of Warwick, Henry Fitz-Burgh Lord Chamberlain, Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Ralph Rochford, John Honygham, Doctor of Laws., Tom. IX, p. 161, 167, 169.

4) Otherwise called flagellants. The sect first appeared in Perousa in 1260, having for its author a hermit named Rainerous. They carried a cross in their hands, wore a cowl on their head, and

went naked to the waste. Twice a day and once in the night, they lashed with knotted cords, stuck with points, which gave occasion to their name. They affirmed that their blood united in such a manner with Christ's, that it had the same virtue. They persuaded the people, that the Gospel has ceased, and suffered all sorts of perjuries.

5) The Emperor in order to compass his ends, compelled the Greek fathers to assent to the four articles: **1.** That there is a Purgatory. **2.** The Pope is head of the Church. **3.** That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son. **4.** That unleavened bread may be used in the Eucharist. But when they came home, they declaimed against the council, and recanted their subscriptions.

6) *Legates a latere* are properly the Pope's extraordinary ambassadors to Emperors and Kings.

7) Or agreement whereby the Pope reserved to himself the collation of all benefices in Rome, and two days journey from it; The confirmation of metropolitans, Bishops, &c. The disposal of certain benefices; and the annates.

8) Thus an edict passed in the Council of Bourges, in the Reign of Charles VII. It was levelled against Papal provision, the payment of first-fruits, and other encroachments of the Court of Rome. In a word, it contains the privilege of the Gailican Church, and was taken out of the acts of the councils of Constance, and Basil.

9) Cæsar Borgia. See the History of them lately published by Mr. Gordon.

10) In 1439, he ordained, that vicarages should not be endowed with a less sum than twelve marks a year. Spelman Cone. Tom. II. p. 689.

11) As there was a scarcity of persons eminent in other parts of learning in this rude and illiterate century, so was there likewise no Historians. The most noted were:

Sir John Froissart, who wrote a General History of the affairs of France, Spain, &c. but chiefly of England. He was a Frenchman born, but was brought up in his youth in the court of Edward III, and familiarly conversant in that of Richard II. He wrote in his own tongue, which was then the court language of England. In the English edition, published by Sir John Bourchier, at the command of Henry VIII, the mistakes that had crept into the French copies are corrected. His account of matters seems to be plain and honest; and perhaps none gives a better of the affairs of Edward III and Richard II. Rapin has made good use of him.

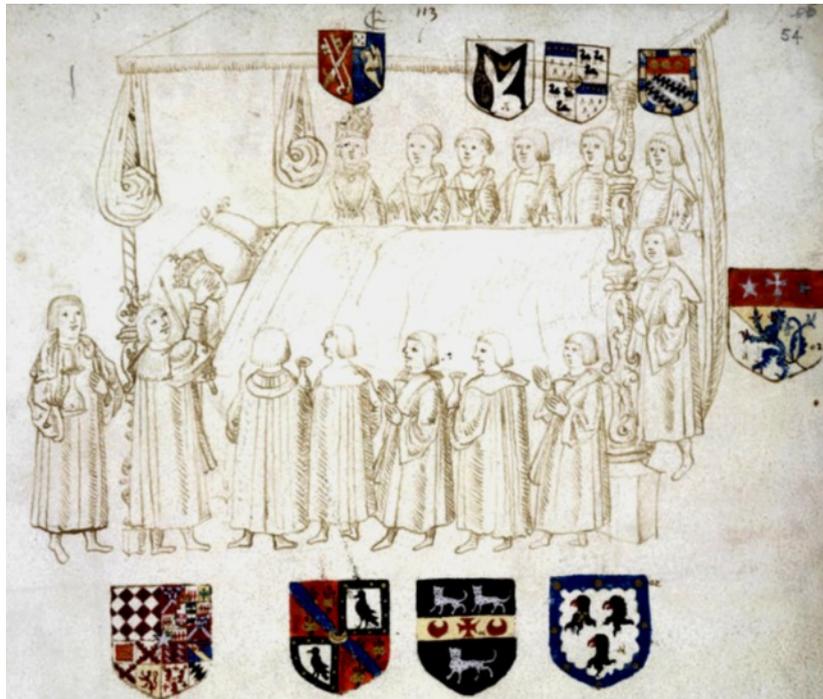
Enguerrand de Monstrelet, and **Philip de Commines**, may not improperly be called Froissart's continuators. They give a faithful and complete account of the affairs of England, as far as they are intermixed with, or have any relation to those of France, Burgundy, &c.

Thomas Walsingham, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans. His *Historia Brevis* (or short History) begins at the conclusion of Henry III's reign, where Matthew Paris ended his. The account he gives is well enough; and we are indebted to him for many things not taken notice of by any other writer of those times. His *Ypodigma Neustriæ* (as he calls it) gives an account of Normandy, from the time it came first into the hands of Rollo and his Danes, down to the sixth year of Henry V, wherein the readers will find many occurrences not elsewhere to be met with. Both these works were published by Archbishop Parker, in 1574, and reprinted at Francfort in 1603.

John Harding comes next, a northern Englishman, and an inveterate enemy to the Scots. He collected whatever might tend to the proof of the ancient vassalage of Scotland to the Crown of England; and hearing of an old record in that Kingdom which put the matter past dispute, he went in disguise, with much ado brought it away, and shewed it to Henry V, Henry VI, and Edward IV. To the last of these he dedicated his two books of chronicles in English Rhime. Printed at London, 1543.

William Caxton was a menial servant for thirty years together to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, (Sister to Edward IV.) in Flanders. Finding, as he says, after his return to England, an imperfect history, he continued it in English, under the Latin title of *Fructus Temporum*. It begins with the first inhabiting of this island, and ends (the last year of Edward IV.) 1483. Folio, printed 1515.

John Rosse, or **Rous**, travelled over the greatest part of England; and having made large collections out of the libraries where he came, he writ the *History of our Kings*, which it still extant in MS in the Cottonian Library, he died in 1491.



Scene at deathbed of Henry VII at Richmond Palace, 1509. Drawn contemporaneously from witness accounts by the courtier Sir Thomas Wriothesley (d. 1534), who wrote an account of the proceedings.

End of Book 14



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