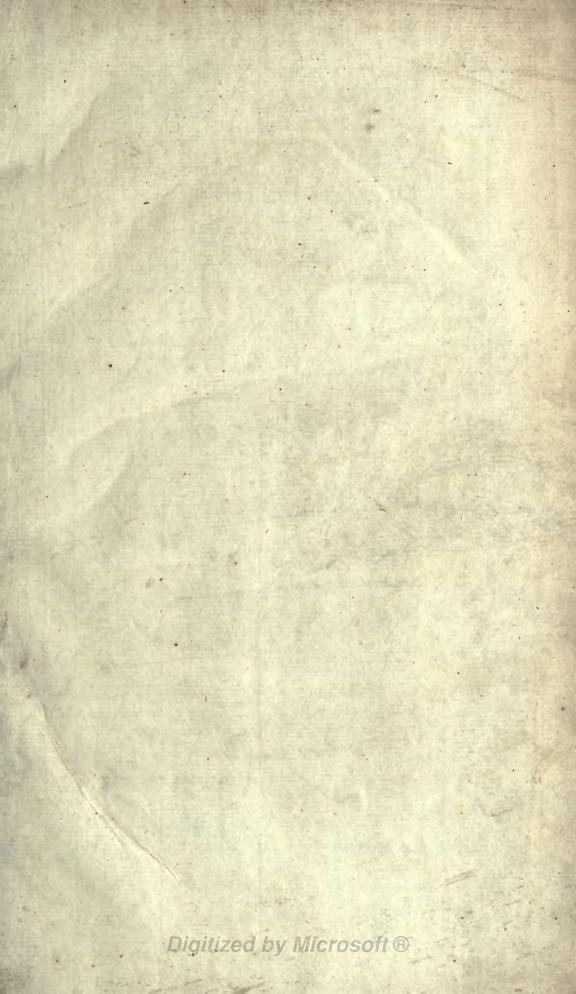


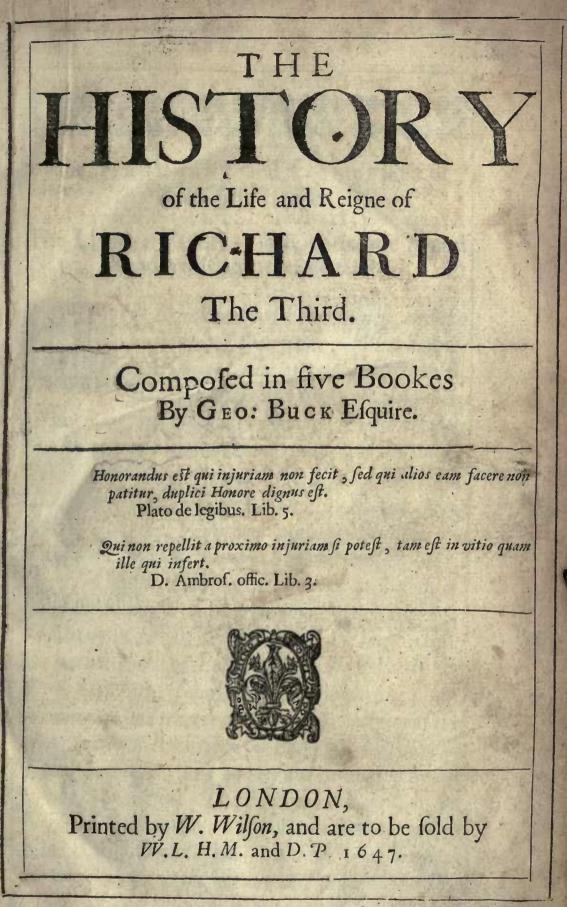


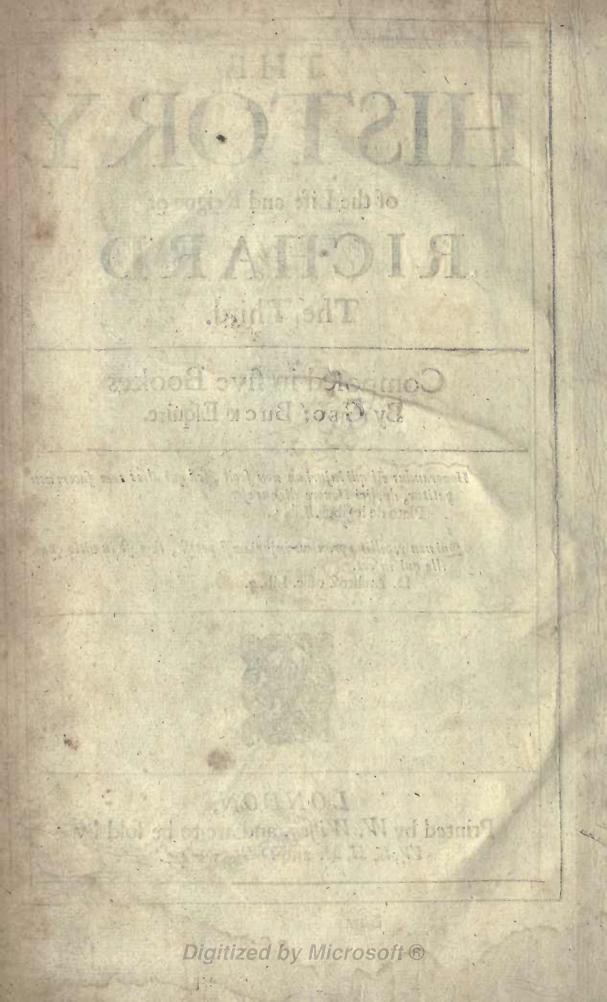


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JHE ARCHMENT I.ar. T The ARGUMENT and CONTENTS of the First Booke are said the First Booke are still : 94 ro 1 Magifirates; He bold that I arts incut mound is the The Linage, Family, Birth, Education, and Tirociny of King Richard the third sharver He Royall bouse of Plantagenest, and the beginningof that name; What Sobriquets were : The antiquity of Sirnames; Richard is created Duke of Gloucester, bis marriage, and his iffue; His martiall imployments; His Iourney into Scotland, and recovery of Barwick; The death of King Edward the 4th. The Duke of Gloucester made Lord Protector, and soone after, King of England, by importunate suite of his Barons and of the People, as the next true and lamfull beire. Henry Teudor Earle of Richmond practifeth against the King; He is conveyed into France. The Noble Linage of Sir William Herbert, bis Imployment; He is made Earle of Pembrooke. King Edward the 4th. first, and after King Richard, sollicite the Duke of Brittaine, and treat with him for the delivery of the young Earle of Richmond bis Prisoner. The successe of that businesse. The quality and title of the Beaufortsor Sommersets. The Linage and Family of the Earle of Richmond. The folemne Coronations of King Richard, and of the Queene bis wife, his first at Westminster, the second at Yorke. Nobles, Knights

THE ARGUMENT.

LIB.I.

Knights and Officers made by him; Prince Edward bis Son invested in the Principallity of Wales, and the Oath of Allegeance made to him; King Richard demandetb the Tribute of France; His Progreffe to Yorke; His carefull charge given to the Judges and Magistrates; He boldeth a Parliament, wherein the marriage of the King bis Brother with the Lady Gray is declared and adjudged unlawfull, their children to be illegitimate and not capable of the Crowne : The Earle of Richmond and divers others attainted of Treason; Many good Laws made; The K. declared and approved by Parliament to be the only true and lawfull beire of the Crowne. The King and Queene dowager are reconciled; He bath secret ad vertisemets of Innovations and practifes against bim; Createtb a vice-Constable of England. His sundry treaties with Forraigne Princes. Doctor Morton corrupteth the Duke of Buckingbam, who becometh discontent, demanding the Earledome of Hereford, with the great Constableship of England; He taketh Armes, is defeated and put to death by marshall Law.

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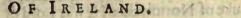


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FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF RICHARD THE THIRD, OF ENGLAND, AND OF FRANCE, KING, AND LORD

THE

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fter, and King of England, and of France, and Lord of Ireland, the third of that name, was the younger fonne of Sir Richard Plantagenet, the fourth Duke of Yorke of that Royall Family, and King of England, defignate by King Henry the fixth, and by the most noble Senate, and uni-

verfall Synod of this Kingdome, the High Court of Parliament. The Mother of this Richard Duke of Glocefter, was the Lady Cecily. Daughter of Sir Ralph de Neville, Earle of Westmerland, by his wife Ioane de Beaufort, the naturall Daughter of Iohn Plantagenet (alias) de Gaunt, Duke of Guiene and Lancaster, King of Castile and Leon, third Sonne of King Edward the third, for in that order this Duke is best accounted, because William of Hatfield, the second Sonne of King Edward the third dyed in his infancy, and this Duke of Yorke, and King defignate, was propagated from two younger fonnes of the fame King Edward the third, whereby he had both Paternall and Maternall Title to the Crowne of England and France : But his better and nearer Title, was the Maternall Title, or that which came to him by his Mother the Lady Anne de Mortimer, the Daughter and heire of Phillippa Plantagenet, who was the fole Daughter and heire of Lyonell Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence, and fecond Sonne of King Edward the third, according to the account and order aforefaid.

And this Lady Phillip was the Wife of Sir Edmond de Mortimer, the great and famous Earle of March, and that Duke Richard, King defignate, by his Father Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York (firnamed B 2 alfo

The House and Title of Torke.

3

The History of the Life and Reigne

LIB. I.

alfo de Conningsborrough) iffued directly, and in a masculine line from Edmond Plantagenet, alias de Langley, the first Duke of Yorke, and the fourth Sonne of King Edward the third, who was the most renowned The Linage of and glorious Progenitor to those Princes of Yorke and Lancaster.and the first King in a Lineall descent from that great Henry, firnamed Plantagenet, famous for his great Proweffe and many victories, King of England in the right of his Mother the Empresse Matilda, or Mand, daughter and heire of King Henry the first, and stiled Anglorum Domina, sometime wife of the Emperour Henry the fifth, by which he was also firnamed, filius imperatricis .: The French men called him, Henry du Court Mantean, or Court Mantle, because he wore a cloake shorter then the fashion was in those times. By his Father Galfride, or Geoffry Plantagenet, he was Earle or Duke of Anjou (for then Dux, & Comes, and Ducatus & Comitatus, were Synonomics & promifcuous words.) he was also Earle of Maine, of Torraine, and hereditary Sencschall, or High Steward of France, and by his marriage of Elianor Queene of France Repudiate, Daughter and heirc of William Duke of Gascoigneand of Guiene, and Earle of Poictou: He was Duke and Earle of those Principalities, and Signiories, 11fo by the Empresse his Mother Duke of Normandy : He was Lord of Ireland by Conqueft, and confirmed by Pope Adrian. But these were not all his Seigniories and Dominions; for after he was King of England, he extended his Empire and Principate in the South to the Pyrerean mountaines. (The Confines of Spaine and France) in the North to the Isles of Orkney, and in the East and West with the Ocean, as Giraldus Cambrensis, Gal. Neubrigensis, & Ioannes Sarisburiensis, grave and credible Authors affirme, who filed him, Regum Britannia maximus ; and doubtleffe he was the greatest King of Brittaine fince King Arshur. .

> But it is controverted amongst the Antiquaries and Heralds, which Earle of Anjou first bare the firname and Sobriquet of Plantagenest. or Plantagenet after the vulgar Orthodoxe, by what occasion, and for what caule it was taken and borne, and from what time and age it had beginning : Some would have the forenamed Geoffry Plantagenet, Father of this Henry, the first Earle of Anjou, which bare it. But we shall finde stronger reasons to derive it from a much more ancient Earle of Anjou, and better caufes then can be found in him, if we flep but a little backe to their stories, and compare the men and their times. Geoffry Plantagenet being a man of a gallant and active fire, disposed to the Courts of Princes, to Justs Turnaments, &c. and to the Courtship of faire Ladies, those of the highest ranke, and had so amorous a Star, That Philippe le Groffe K. of France, suspected him for too familiar commerce with his bed. But it was of better influence when he atchieved and married the Empresse Matilda, by which we may very well calculate, he neither had, nor would be intent or at leifure for fuch a mortified and perilous Pilgrimage to Jerufalem. But if we would know the man, let us looke upon the first Fulke, Earle of Anjou,

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The Empire of K. Henry.2.

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Edward 3.

Girald. in Topog.Hibernie. Sarisbur, in Pol. Newbrig. Lib.2.

> Falk Earle of Anjon.

of King RICHARD the third.

LIE.I.

Anjou, who lived about an hundred yeares before the Norman Conquest of England, and was Sonne of Godefray, or Geoffry Grifeg onell the first Earle of Anjou (according to du Haillon) Ancestor and Progenitor to the forelaid Geoffry Plantagenet, some seven or eight degrees in the afcending Line, as Paradin accounteth, a man tailed upon the foundation of a great courage and ftrength (two of the beft Principles when they have good feconds, and make too a glorious man, where they ferve his vertues, not affections, as in this Prince they did) whofe disposition on the other fide being let out into as valte an ambition and covetousnesse, ne're looked upon the unlawfulnesse of his defires, how horrid foever (which amongst the many rest) run him upon the fhelves of wilfull perjury, and murder; the one for defrauding & fpoiling a Church of certaine Rights, and the other for contriving the Tragedy of his young Nephew, Droge, Earle of Brittaine, to make himfelfe Lord of his Countrey and Principallity. The fecret checke and fcourge of those crimes had a long time to worke upon his confcience, and of a great finner made a great Penitent, being old and having much folitary time, and many heavy thoughts (which naturally accompany old age, and fuggest better confiderations of our former and yourhfull finnes.) he opens the horrour of them, and his afflicted mind to his Confessor, (as great Constantine to Egyppus) who en. joyned him to make the fame confession before the holy Sepulcher. at Jerufalem, which Pilgrimage the Earle performed in all lowly and contemptible manner, paffing as a private and unworthy perfon, without traine or followers, fave two of his meaneft, which he tooke rather for witneffes then fervants, whole fervice was, when they came neare Jerufalem, the one with a cord (fuch as is used for the strangling of Criminals) thrown about his Masters neck, to draw or leade him to the holy fepulcher, whilft the other did aconstreand ftrip him as a condemned person, and with extremity scourge him untill he was prostrate before the facred Monument where he gave evidence of his unfained contrition and forrow. Amongst other devout expressions. uttering this, Mon dien & Signeur recoy a Pardon le perjure & homicide & miferable Foulque; And after this pilgrimage he lived many years of prosperity in his Country honoured of all men. To justifie this, there be many Examples of other Princes and Noble Perfons, who lived about the yeare of our Lordone thousand, and somewhat before, and in three or foure ages after, who under went the like Pilgrimages impoled under bale and mechanicke nick-names and perfons, as of a Carpenter, a Smith, a Fisher-man, a Mariner, a Shepheard, a Woodman, a Broome-man, &c. In my Inquiry after that of Plantagenet, I met with an ancient Manuscript, that afforded me a large Catalogue of many fuch, by the French| called Sebriquets, from whence I have transcribed these few for a taste. Vil. Mr. and Ard from Lever 1

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From this example Henry s. fubmitted his body to be fcourged by the Monks of Canterbury for the death of Tbb. Becket. ftd

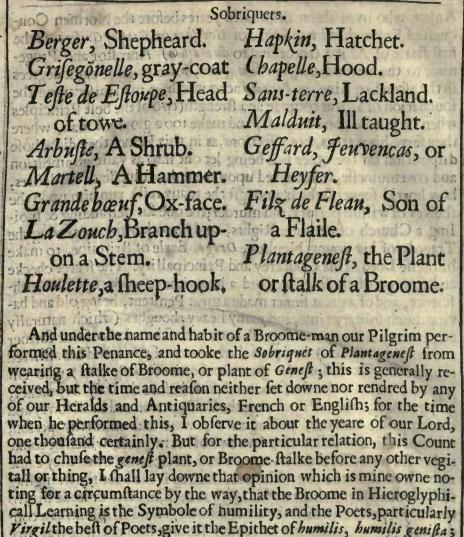
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The History of the Life and Reigne LIB. 1.

After this manner and long after K. H.2 the heire and fucceffour of this Earle, *Fulko* was injoyned by the Pope to go to the Holy-Land, and to fight againft the laftdels, and Hovenden Rival. &c.

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Leen, Pichim.

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lo is bodi Plin.Lib.z.f.

Strabo, Lib.16.

103

T

fter amongst them saith, Gewista tusca, cum, &c. genua delentia fanat. But the confiderable reason is, as I conceive it, from the use he was constrained to make of the twigges of Broome when he came to be scourged at Jerusalem, the place necessitating the use of them to that purpose, being (as Strabe relates) a stony, sandy, and barren soyle, only naturall and gratefull to the geness, as the watry and moist to the Birch, Willow and Withy, of which there could be none there, for that reason. And from hence it must most conjecturally rake the begin-

and the Etymologists derive it from genu the knee, the part most ap-

plyed, and as it were dedicate to the chiefe Act of Reverence, knee-

ling, to which the naturall Philosophers fay, there is fo mutuall a

correspondency, and so naturall a sympathy between genu and genista.

that of all other plants or vegitals, it is most comfortable and medi-

cinable to the paines and difeases of the knees. Pliny a great Ma-

ning of that Honour, which afterward his Princely and Noble Pofteries continued for their firname, who became Dukes & Princes in fundry

of King RICHARD the third of T LIB.I. 2 fundry places, and fome of them Kings of England; France, Scotland and Ireland; and (as the pious people of that Age verily believed by their observation.) were the more prosperous and happy for his Da Haillon. fake. fected by conveyed ber two yous for four For the continuance of the Name, fome (who pretend to fee further and better in the darke then others as cleare fighted) would have it taken of late time, and not used by the Kings and Princes of England, of the Angeume race. But there are many proofes to be adduced at gainst them ; Let us looke into Master Brookes genealogies of Engr In his Caraland, we shall find nothing more obvious and frequent in the dedulogue of Hoctions of those Princes of the House of Anjou, then the addition and nour. firname of Plantagenet; Edm, Plantagenet, Geo. Plantagenet, John Plantagenet, Edward Plantagenet, Lyonell Plantagenet, Humphry Plantagenet, &c. In the French Hiftorians and Antiquaries, Ion de Tillet, Girard du Haillon, Claude Paradin, & Ican Baron de la Hay, we shall often meet with Geoffry Plantagenet, Arthur Plantagenet, Richard Plantagenet, and diverse the like, all of the first Age, when the Angeume Princes first became English, and some before. Master Camden also in Lib. manuel. in his Immortall Britannia, mentioneth fome very ancient, as Richard guarto apiel D. Plantagenet, John Plantagenet, Sc. And witneffeth, that the forenamed Reb. Catto .. Gcoffry Plantagenet used to weare a Broome-ftalke in his Bonnet. as Comes, i. Frafes. many Nobles of the Houfe of Anjou did, and tooke is for their chiefe firname. It might be added, that these Eatles of Acjou were defeended out of the great house of Saxon in Germany, which hath brought forth many Kings, Emperors and Dukes 3 and that they were of kindred and alliance to the ancient Kings of France, and fundry other Princes. But I will close here for the high Nobility of King Richard, as the good old Poet did for another Heroicall Perfon:

Laies by eir hour the Lais viele Presente. Die hter ut

Pine aprile

And come to the other matters of his private ftory. And first for his Birth and native place, which was the Castle of Fotheringay, or as fome write, the Castle of Birkhamsteed, both Castles and Honours of the Duke his Father, about the years of our Lord 1450, which I discover by the calculation of the Birth, Raigne, and death of King Edward his brother, who was borne about 1441, or 1442, and raigned two and twenty years, dyed at the age of one and forty, Anno 1483. The Dutchesse of Yorke their Mother had five children betwixt them, so that Richard could not be less then seven or eight yeares younger then King Edward, and he survived him not fully three yeares.

This Richard Plantagenet, and the other children of Richard Duke of Yorke, were brought up in Yorke-fhire, and Northampton fhire, but lived for the most part in the Castle of Midelham in Yorke fhire, untill the Duke their Father, and his Sonne Edmund Plantagenet Earle of Rutland were flaine in the battell of Wakefield, Anne Dom.

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The History of the Life and Reigne

LIB. I.

I this Cacales coi Ho-JUNC.

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Dev. i. Rez

146n tothe upon which the Dutcheffe of Yorke their Mother (having caule to feare the faction of Lancaster, which was now growne very exulting and ftrong, and of a mortall enmity to the Houfe af Yorke) fecretly conveyed her two younger fonnes, George and Richard Plan. tagenet (who was then about fome ten yeares old) into the Low-Countries, to their Aunt the Lady Margaret, Dutcheffe of Burgundy, Wife of Charles Duke of Burgundy and Brabant, and Earle of Flanders. They continued at Utrich, the chiefe City then in Holland, where they had Princely and liberalleducation, untill Edward Earle of March their eldeft Brother had revenged his Fathers death, and taken the Kingdome and Crowne (as his right) from Henry the fixth, when he called home his two Brothers, and enters them into the practife of Armes, to fealon their forwardneffe and honour of Knighthood which he had bestowed upon them; and foone after invefts George into the Dutchy of Clarence, and Earledome of Richmond, which Earledome he the rather bestowed upon him, to darken the young Earle of Richmond, Henry Teudor. Richard had the Dukedome of Glocefter, and Earledome of Carlile, as I have read in an old Manulcript flory, which Creation the Heralds doe not allow. But whether he were Comes thereof after the ancient Roman understanding, that is, Governour, or Comes, or Count, after the common taking it by us English, of others ; that is, for a special Titular Lord. I will not take upon me to determine, but affirme I have read him,

-DiAnd after the great Earle of Warwicke and Salisbury, Richard de Neville, was reconciled to the Kings favour, George Duke of Clarence was married to the Lady I Roell, or Elizabeth, the elder Daughter of that Earle, and Richard Duke of Glocefter to the Lady Anne, which Ladies by their Mother the Lady Anne de Beauchamp, Daughter and heire of Sir Richard de Beanchamp, Earle of Warwicke, were heires of that Earledome. But Anne, although the younger fifter, was the better woman, having been a little before married to 'Edward' Plantagenet, Prince of Wales, and Duke of Cornwall, only Sonne of King Henry the fixth, and was now his Princeffe and Dowager, by whom Duke Richard had a fonne called Edward, created Prince of Wales when his Father came to the Crowne.

The imployment of this Duke was for the most part in the North, as the Countrey of his birth, fo more naturally affected by him according to the Poet : Down in polor in or ind sh

Matale folum dulcedine cunctos mulset. Ovid. 22

And there lay his Appanage and Patrimony, with a great Effate of the Dutcheffe his Wife, of which the Signiory of Penrith, vulgo, Perith in Cumbetland was part, where he much refided, and built or repaired most of the Castles, all that Northerne fide generally honouring and affecting his Deportment, being magnificent, (to apply Sir

Camden 3x comberland.

of King RICHARD the third.

LIB.I.

Sir Thomas Moore fomething above his ability , which he express most in his hospitality. And furely, if men are taken to the life best from their actions, we shall find him in the circle of a Character (not fo commaculate and mixt, as paffionate and purblinde pens have dasht it) whilft we fouint not at those vertues in him, which make up other Princes absolute; His wiledome and courage, had not then their nicknames and calumny, as now, but drew the eyes and acknowledgment of the whole Kingdome towards him; and his brother had a found experience of his fidelity and conftancy in divers hazardous congreffes and battels, through which he had faithfully followed his fortune, and return'd all his undertakings fucceffefull : as at Barnet, where he entred to farre and boldly into the Enemies Army, that two of his Efquires, Thomas Parr and Iohn Milmater being nearest to him were flaine ; yet by his owne valour he quit himfelfe, and put moft part of the Enemies to flight, the reft to the fword. With the like valour he behaved himselfe at the battell of Exon, Doncaster, St Albans, Blore-heath, Northampton, Mortimers Croffe, and Tewkefbury. And it was then confest a very confiderable fervice to the State, his taking of the famous Pyrate, Thomas Nevill, alias, Faulkonbridge, Earle of Kent, with whom complyed Sir Richard de Nevill, Earle of Warwicke, a neare kinfman to the Earle of Kent his naturall Father, which held him up in the better effeeme, and whetted him to any Attempt. For this haughty Earle, who had drawne him from the Houfe of Yorke (to which he had done valiant fervice not long before) to the party of Henry 6. and his Lancastrian faction ; and fearing what forces and aid King Edward might have from beyond Sea. provides a warlike Fleet for the narrow Seas, of which this Faulconbridge was appointed Admirall, with Commission to take or linke all Ships he met, either of the Kings friends or Subjects; who did not under act it, but made many depredations on the Coafts, and put many to the Sword becoming an Enemy, the more confiderable, King Edward finding (as the cafe flood then with him) his Attemps by Seawould be of 'too weake a proofe to furprife him, which the Duke of Gloucester contrived by an advertisement he had of his private stealth into feverall of the parts, fometimes where he had recourse to some abetters of that Faction, and comming too shore at Southampton; by a ready Ambush feized and apprehended him, from whence he was conveyed to London, fo to Middleham Caftle. and after he had told fome Tales, put to death. And whilf he continued in the Northern parts, he governed those Countries with great Wildome and Juffice, preferving the Concord and Amity betweene the Scots and English, though the breaches were not to be made up with any firength and continuance, the borders living out of mutaall spoyles, and common Rapines, ever prompt for any cause that might beget braules and feuds. And in the laft yeare of the Reigne of the King his brother, the Quarrels grew fo outragious and hoftile, that nothing could compose them, but the Sword and open War arifing

Sin william Haward.

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purblind Quasi partblind.

The Baftard Faulconbridge.

Gron, Cr.y.

" thister

The History of the Life and Reigne

An Army fent into Scotland under the D. of Gloceftor.]

Anno 24.Ed.4.

10

arifing from an unjust deraining the Tribute, King *Iames* was yearly bound to pay, as *Polidore* thus writeth.

LIB. I.

King Edward tooke it very ill at the hands of James fourth King of Scotland, that he refused to pay the Tribute whereunto he was bound by Covenant; And therefore refolved by Armes to compell him to it : But King Edward being distracted with a jealous care and watching of France, neglected that bufineffe of Scotland, and in the meane time Alexander Duke of Albany, Brother to King lames, pretending earnest businesse in France, makes England in his way, and instigates King Edward to put on Armes again & his Brother, promifing to returne shortly out of France, and raise a power in Scotland for his aide : Hereupon the King refolved it, and fent the Duke of Glocester with a good Armie into Scotland, who marched mafter of the field neare to Barwicke, having a little before fent thither Thomas Stanley to beliege it, and soone after tooke it himselfe. But the Duke of Albany failed him, and had underhand ftrooke up a peace with his Brother of Scotland; yet Richard of Gloucester accomplished the expedition very honourably and happily : Thus Polidore. But to enlarge what he reporteth defertively, and abridgeth;King Edward, notwithfanding that negligence (noted by him) levied ftrong forces (the King of Scotland being as vigilant in that bufineffe) and made the Duke of Glocester his Generall, 'under whom went Sir Henry Perrey Earle of Northumberland, the Lord Stanley after Earle of Derby, the Lord Lovell, the Lord Gray of Greftocke, the Lord Scroope of Bolton. the Lord Fitz hugh, Sir William Parre of Rose a noble and valiant, Gentleman, Father of the Lord Parr of Rofe, Kendall, and F. 12 bugb, and Grandfather to Sir William Parr Earle of Effex, and Marqueffe of Northampton, Sir Edward Woodville Lord Rivers Brother to the Queene Elizabeth, with many other of Eminency and Noble quality. The Duke marched first with his Armie to the borders and frontieres of Scotland, giving the overthrow to fuch as refifted, then made up to the ftrong Towne of Barwicke, which at that inftant the King of Scotland possefied by the furrender of Henry 6, and had the like fucceffe with those Troopes of the Enemies he met and found about the Towne. After a short siege the besieged upon Summons and Parlee (finding themfelves too weake to make good the oppofition) were eafily perfwaded to be at quiet, and fafely rendring the Towne and Ca-Ale vpon very flender conditions, as is recorded in the Chronicle of Croyland, Having plac't a Governour and Garrison in the Towne, he continued his march towards Edenborough, with a purpose to befiege and facke it, but was met in the halfe way by Embafladours from thence, who (after a favourable audience and accesse craved) in the name of their King and Nation implore a League, or at least a Truce betweene the Kingdomes, offering to faire conditions for it, that the Generall after a deliberate confultation, granted to fulpend or intermit all hoftile proceedings, with a faire entertainement to their perfons, and a publike Edict throughout the Army, that no English should

Chron, Croy.

LIB.I.

of King RICHARD the third.

fhould offer any violence or offence to any Scot or their goods, and by this provident truce, that ruddy florme (which feemed terrible to impend) was diverted and made a calme preface to the famous League, afterward concluded by him when he was K. and *Iames* the 4th of Scotland. But whilf thefe imployments flaid him there, newes arrived of King *Edwards* death, and was muttered very doubtfully by fome who had confidence and ground to fuppofe it haftened by treachery. The Nobles at London, and in the South parts fpeedily call the Duke home by theirprivate letters and free approbation, to affume the Protection of the Kingdome, and two Princes committed unto him by the King. *Rex Edwardus* 4. *filios fuos Richardo Duci Gloceftria*, *intutelam moriens tradidit* : as *Polidore* teftifieth.

The Army and affaires of those parts disposed, he came to Yorke, where he made a few daies stay to pay fome religious Offices and Ceremonies to the manes and exequies of the deceafed King, fo haftned to London, having in his Traine (befides his owne, ordinary Retinue) fixe hundred voluntary Gentlemen of the North parts, brave Horfemen and gallantly mounted, upon the way he dispatched certaine feguall meffengers to the young King (who was then at Ludlow Cafile in Wales) to provide for his honourable Condust of London where he arrived not long after the Lord Protector, and was magnificently received and lodged at the Bishops Pallace; his Brother the Duke of Yorke was then with the Queene Mother in the Pallace at Westminster, who out of a pretended motherly care (rather indeed her pollicy) would not let him ftirre from her to fee the King, who had defired his company, but instantly takes Sanctuary with him in the Abbey. The Lord Protector follicites her by fome Noblemen to fend or bring him to the King, which the peremptorily flood againft. untill Cardinall Bourfer; Archbishop of Canterbury, was made the Meffenger, who fo gravely and effectually perfwaded with her, that the delivered him the Duke: After fome dayes refpite in London-Houfe. the King (according to ancient cuftome) was to remove Court to the Tower of London, the Castle Royall, and chiefe House of fafety in the Kingdome, untill the more weighty affaires of the State, and fuch troubles(if any hapned, as often interceeds the alterations of Raignes were well difpatched and composed (fome threatning evils of that kind being discovered and extinguished before the Protector came to London.) And untill all things proper to his Coronation were in preparation and readinesse, the Lord Protector still being neere unto him with all duty and care, and did him homage, as Honourable Phillippe de Comines, Le Duc de Glocester avoit fait bomage à son Nephen Comme a fon Roy & fonverain Seignear ; but this Testimony being avoucht by one who loved not the Protector may leave more credit; who fayes, when the young King approacht towards London, the Lord Protector his Unckle rode barehead before him; and in paffing along, faid with a loud voice to the Peoples Behold your Prince and Soverdigne, to which the Prior of Croyland, who lived in those dayes, reporteth, Richardus C 2

The doubtfull death of K.E.4 vid. lib.4.

II

The Duke of Gloucefter, made Lord Protector,

Phil. de comines in Lud. 11.

rads Ken.

Sir Tho. Moore,

12

The History of the Life and Reigne LIB. I.

The infolency of the Queens Kindred.

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Sir Thomas Moore, in Edward 5. Rich. 3.

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Richardus Protector mihil reverentia, quod capite nudato, genn Flecto aliove quolibet corporis habitur in subdito exigit regine poti se facere distulit ant reculavit : And why thould thele fervices and his constancy be judged leffe real to the Son then to the Father, his care & providence looking pregnantly through all turnes that concern'd him and his State; and therefore timely remov'd'fuch of Danger as were vehemently lusected for their Ambition and infolent affuming Power and Authoritie not proper to them, and fo flood ill-affected to their Prince, and turbulent Maligners of the Government. And thus his ftrict justice to fome, begat the envie of others, as it fell out in the time of King Edward, betweenethole of the blood Royall (with whom the ancient Barons fided) and the Reginists, who being stubborne, haughty, and incomputable of the others nearneffe to the King, ftir'd up Competitions and turbulencies among the Nobles, and became to infolent and publique in their pride, and Out-rages towards the people, that they forc't their murmurs at length to bring forth mutiny against them : But finding the Kings inclination gentle on that fide, they fo temper'd it, as they durft extend their malice to the Prince of the blood, and chiefe Nobilitie, many times by flanders and falfe fuggeftions, privately incending the King against them, who fuffered their infinuations too farre, whilft his credulitic flood abus'd, and his favour often alienated from those, whole innocence could understand no caufe for it." The Engines of those intrusions and supplantations, were the Grayes, the Woodvills, and their kinfmen ? who held a ftrong beliefe, to have better'd their power with the young King their kinfman, and then they might have acted their Rodomontades and injuries in a higher straine, removid the Prince of the blood, and fet up what limits they pleafed to their Faction and Power during the minoritie of the King, and after too, whilft the Queene Mother could usurpe or hold 'ny superintendency upon the Soveraigntie,' or her Sonne. These things, and the milchiefes that feem'd to superimpend the State, equally poiz'd, and confulted, by the Lord Protector, and others of the principall Nobilities it was refolved, to give a timely remedy or period unto them; all which Sir Thomas Moore acknowledgeth, and confelletly the Nobles of the Kingdome had reafon to fulpect and feare the Queenes Kindred, would put their power more forward when their Kinfman came to be King, then in his Fathers time, although then their infolencies were intollerable. And this Author further acknowledgeth there had bin a long grudge & heart-burning betweene the King and Queenes Kindred in the time of King Edward ; which the King, although he were partiall for the Queenes Faction, was carnelito reconcile, but could not: And after he was dead, the Lord Gray, Marqueffe Dorfer, the Lord Rich. Gray, and the Lord Rivers made full accompt to first the young King; and having learn'd, it was best filling in a troubled streame, threw all occasions of differtion amongst the great men of this Kingdome, that fo, whill the other Nobles were bufie in their owne quarrells, they Brin edest might

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might take an opportunitie to affault and fupplant where they hated. And for provision towards the Deligne, the Marqueffe had fecretly gain'd a great quantity of the Kings treafure out of the Tower; and the Weedevills made good preparations of Armes; of which, fome were met with by the way as they were conveighed close packed in Carts. It was therefore high time for the Protector and ancient Nobilitie to looke circumspectly about them, and fasten on all occasions that might prevent fuch growing Treacheries, which could be no way but by taking off their heids. Which being refolved, the Marqueffe of Dorfet, the Lord Richard Gray their Uncle, Sir Anthony Woodewille, Lord Rivers, and some other of that kindred and Faction were apprehended, and at Pomfret executed (onely the Marqueffe, by fome private notice given him, fled, and tooke San Sturry) At the lame time the Lord Haftings' (who much favoured the Queene and her partie, efpecially the Marqueffe (therefore the more to be fufpe-Aeddangerous) was Arrefted for High Treafon, and in the Tower upon the Greene had his head chop't off; an Act of more ftrange and fevere appearance then the other, having the effecting of a good Subject, and generally supposed much affectionate to the Protector ; and the Duke of Bucking ham. And Sir Thomas Moore, reporteth, that the Protector was molt unwilling to have loft him, but that he faw him joyning with their Enemies, and fo his life had ill requited them and their purpole; this was a Dilemma; But what that purpole was, and what they had in Agitation at that inftant is not difertly faid, onely from other places of the Story." And those which follow Sir Thomas Moore, it may be conceived, they doubted him for his affectation of the Soveraigntie, & fome practice against the King and his Brother, for those be the charges they preffe upon him, although it is neither faid, nor made good by any direct and just proofe. But admit he was now growne jealous of him, and fent Sir William Catfeby, a man ingreat credit with the Lord Hastings, to found what opinion he held of that Title and Claime he might lay to the Crowne, who (prefuming upon Catfebies gratitude and truft that had been c advanced by him) without circumstance, and even with indignation exprest an utter millike thereof, and engaged himselfe, his uttermost power and abilitie against it, peremptorily adding, he had rather fee the death and deftiuctions of the Protector and Duke of Buckingham, then the young King deprived of the Crowne: Which reply Catfeby, (being more just to his employment then honour in this poynt) returnes the Protector, who layd hold upon the next occasion to feize his head, which is the greatest and bloodiest Crime that brings any proofe against him; and yet not fo cleare, but that there may be fome other State millery of fraud fuspected in it. Let us leave it up on that accompt, and but confider how much more wee forgive the fames of H. 1. E. 3. H. 4. E. 4. H. 7. because they had their happy Starres and successe; and then, Prosperum scelus virtus vocatur, there is applaule goes with the Act and Actor : Inlius Cafar, was, and ever will

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Lord Haftings.

Sir Thomas Moore.

13

14	The History of the Life and Reigne	LIB. I
	will be reputed a wife and a great Captaine, although his	Emulati-

on cost an infinite quantitie of excellent humane blood, and his Nephew, OETA. Augustus, never ceased proscribing banishing and massacring, untill he had dispatched all his proud Emulators : Iulius Casar thought it, Crimen facrum vel crimen Regale; or, Crimen sacrum. Ambitio : whose rule was,

> Si violandum est jus, regnandi grati à Violandum est, aliis rebus pictatem colas.

If right for ought may e're be violate, It must be only for a Soveraign State.

Drawing it from that rule (though Apocrypha) in Euripides.

Eurip.in Phoenist.

cic. lib. 3. de offic. & Suet.

in vitâ Julii

Cafaris.

Einep 38 ádisár Ai weinside siei Kávises ádisár réinds Worlir Alarij

Si injuste agere oportet, pro tyrannide (aut regno) pulcherrimonm est injuste agere, in aliis pietatem colere expedit.

And Antonins Caracalla, alledged the Text to justifie the killing of his Brother Geta his Collegne, in the Empire. Polynices, the Brother of Eteocles was of the fame Religion, and faid, A Kingdome could not be bought at too high a rate, put in Friends, Kindred, Wife, and Riches: *Via ad potentiam est tollere Emplos & premere Adversarios*, which the great Master of Axiomes allowed, hath beene countenanced by many great examples of State-reason, and policie in all times, even fince the Ogygian Age for an old observation, and generall in all forraigne Countries faith,

Senecin trag.

Axiom. Polit.

Et fraude ademptum antiquum est specimen imperii.

So King Atrem, by his owne experience could fay;

vlas, Regnum docebit.

Artes imperii.

But what those Ages call'd Valour, Wisedome, and Policy, in those great Schollers of State, who with credit practised their Artes Imperit, and rules of Empire, comes not under the license or warrant of our Christian times; yet we may speak thus much for Richard (to those who cry him so deepean homicide) that he had either more conficience or lesse cruelty then they attribute to him, that by the same Act of power could not secure himselfe of others he had as just cause to seare, especially Insper Earle of Pembroke, his Nephew Rishmond,

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and

of King RICHARD the third. LIB.I.

and the fubtill Doctor Morton, who was extreamly his Enemy, and the Chiefe Instrument that secretly mov'd against him. And although the King had no certain notice which way his Enginswrought, yet he knew enough to fuspect him for; and to remove him from the Councell-Table unto the cuftody of the Duke of Buckingham, the man he had reason to suppose nearest to his trust, though his expectation leaned on a broken Reed there; for the Duke was now fecretly in his heart' defected from the King, and become male content; Morton but toucht his pulfe, and knew how the diftemper lay, which he irritated into fuch sparklings as gave him notice where his conflictution was most apt and prepared; yea, fo fubtilly mastered it, that he had leave to steale from Brecknock Castle to Ely, fo for good store of Coine found fafe passage into France whither his defires vehemently carried him, in hope to fashion the Earle of Richmond to his Plot; and under pretence of a Lancastrian Title, to stirre him to take up Armes and invade England, with the Affurance of many mightie friends here, which would make the Defigne of an eafle and quick dispatch; nor forgot he how much Artificiall and Eloquent perswasions adde to the Blaze of Ambition, knowing the Earles tem. per like other mehs in that, and observing him with a kind of pleafute listen, he gave such a studied glosse and superlation to the Text, that the Earlewas now fo full of encouragement and hope for the invalion, that their purposes spread as well into England as in France. The Protector having also certaine intelligence of some particular Defignes, dilposed himselfe in his actions more closely, and knew what Friends and Confederates had engaged themfelves to Richmond, who yet kept a face of love and fidelitie towards him, as did the Duke of Batkingham, and the Counteffe of Richmond, who appeared at this inftant an earnest Sutor to reconcile her Sonne into favour and that the King would bee pleafed, to beftow on him any of King Edward the fourth his Daughters. But this took not the vigilancy of his eye from him and his partie, the caufe being of greater danger and apprehension now, then in King Edwards time; for the Earle had drawne unto him many of the English Nobilitie and Gentry; and fome Forraigne Princes had in favour to him promifed their aydes. But in the time of King Edward, his Title and he, was fo little underftood by his blood of Lancaster, that the better judging-fort of the English Nobilitie and Gentry, King Lewis the eleventh of France, Francis the second Duke of Brittaine, and other Forraigne Princes looked very flightly upon it. And yet, as John Harding observed, the King might be jealous of him , being given out for an Heire of the House of Lancaster, and Nephew to Henry the fixt :: With this he confidered, that fome Forraigne Princes ftood not well-affected to him; or that fome at home, envying his Houfe and Posteritie, would catch at any sparke to trouble his peace, and kindle'a Sedition; therefore he had good reason to thinke, that as his libertie might make these beginnings more popular, so their ends more dangerous and in-

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The flight of Richmont with his Vncle Pembrooke.

The Earle of Rich.borne in Pembrooke Caftle.

This flight of theirs was in Anno 11. E. 4. Iohn Stow.

gratefull (the vulgar tafting all things by the eare, and judging by the noyle) which he fought earely to prevent. For Phillip Comines reports, When he first came to know this Earle, he was then a Prifoner in Brittaine, and told him, he had beene either in Prison, or under strict command from five yeares old, which is not unlikely; for I find him but young when he was committed to the cuftody of Sir. William Herbert, Lord of Ragland Caftle in Montmouthshire, where he continued not long; for Iafper, Earle of Pembrooke, who was Uncle unto Him (being then in France, whether he had fled after the overthrow of the Lancastrians at Tewkesbury, (as Iohu Stow) having advertisement that his Nephew was under Sir William Herberts cuftody, with whom he had Alliance and friendship, came secretly out of France into Wales, and at Ragland Castle found onely the Lady Herbert, her Husband being with the King; in whofe absence, the Earle practifed to cunningly with her, that he got his Nephew from thence, and conveighed him to his owne Caftle of Pembrooke, (the young Earles native place) prefuming upon the ftrength of it and the peoples affection, but over-weaned in his opinion and hope. For fo foone as the King received notice of the escape, Sir William Herbert was commanded to Levie Forces, and make towards them, a man of a wife and valiant disposition, descended from Herbertus, who was Chamberlaine and Treasurer of the Kings, William Rafus, and Henry Beauclerke, and was created Earle of Pembrooke afterward : from this Noble Herbertus, are descended the Herberts, Earles of Pembrooke and Montgomery; and many other Welch Gentlemen of that Sir-name and Family.

The two Earles being informed of his approaches and ftrength, diftrufting their owne, fled by night, and posted to the Port of Timby, where they kept close untill a fit opportunitie, offered them transportation for France, intending to see the Court there, where the Earle of Pembrooke had not long before received a very favourable entertainment. But a violent ftorme diverted their course, and runne them upon the coasts of Little Brittaine, which fell out as a sa fad difaster, and cross of Little Brittaine, which fell out as a fad difaster, and cross of Little Brittaine for a long time after, the Duke of Brittaine being no friend to it; but at the Port of St. Malos theymust land. What successful they met with in this flight (and other Noble Englishmen which followed the unluckie partie of *Hemry* the fixt, being constrained when he was overthrowne by *Edward* the fourth to fly) will fall into our discourse hereafter: there is this memoriall in the Stories of Brittaine.

Plusieurs du Seigneurs d'Angleterre qui tenoyent la partie du Roy H.6. fen fairent par mer hors du Royaulme & entr' autres le Conte du Pembrooke faisant sauue un jeune Prince de Angleterre nommé Henry Conte du Richmont.

Earle of Rich. Priloner in Brittaine. Whilft these Earles made some stay in Saint Malo to refresh themselves, Francis the second, Duke of Brittaine had notice of their landing, who sent as speedily a Command to the Governour to arrest

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reft them both into fafe cuftody, an act, as it appeared, both ftrange and injurious, being subjects to a Prince with whom the Duke had league. But for a better gloffe, he had found a confiderable claufe to detaine the Earle of Richmond untill he had received fatisfaction of him for usurping and holding the Title and Estate of Richmond, belonging to the ancient Dukes of Brittaine (whole heire and fucceffor he was) though difeifed by the space of thirty years; now he would expect either reftitution or compensation for it; and the better to affure himfelfe, he conveyes them with a good guard to the Caffle of Vanes, where himfelfe often refided, continuing a more cautious and strict eye upon the Earle of Richmond, as Nephew to Henry the fixt, and he that laid claime to the Title and Crowne of England, by the bloud of Lancaster : For which he made their imprisonment more honourable, as Philip Comines faith, Le Duc les traitte doucement pour Prisonniers. And Iean Froisard cals it, Prison Courtoise; for the Duke had well confidered what expectation and use he might raise by them, and knew the newes could not be diffastefull to the King of England, whofe Throne had been threatned fo much by the Earle of Richmonds liberty; and therefore, from hence he hoped an answerable benefit, and to contract the King in a firme amity and acknowledgment unto him; nay, which is further, (if we may beleeve lac. Nyerus) he thought by this occasion to beare the reines to hard upon King Edward, as that he should not dare to make any breach with him, propter Henricum Richmontia Comitem non audebat Anglus ab amicitia Brittani discedere.

Nor was this Author much mistaken, for the King would have accorded to any reasonable thing to purchase the Earle into his hands, and it was no little perplexity to him when he heard of their flight, but was the better calmed when he underftood where they were, the Duke of Brittaine being his friend and Allie, in whom he supposed fo neare an interest (set off by some other conditions) that he saw a faire encouragement to demand and gaine them both; whereas had they false into France, he must have expected the greatest difadvantage could have been contrived out of fuch an occasion. For Lewis, though he were then in truce and league with him, was meerly a Politician, and studied only his owne ends, yet feares him as a King famous for his Proweffe and Victories, and as ably supplyed in his Coffers for all undertakings : Bur (which did equally quicken the hate afwell as feare of France) had threatened to enter it with fire and fword, for the reconquest of the Dutchy of Normandy and Aquitaine, the Counties of Poictou and Turaine; wherefore we may beleeve that beares the credit of an Oracle, which good Ennius faid :

> Quem metuunt oderunt, Quem oderunt, periisse expetunt.

The laft D. of Brittaine, who was Earle of Richmond,& possed of the Earledome, was John de. Montfort, who flourished An. Dom. 1440, & had fons, but nor Earles of Richmond, as Rob. Glou. writeth, & now this Francis 1. renewed the claime which was about 30 yeares afrer John de Montforz, Dukcot Brittaine.

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Jac. Nyerus in Annal.Fland, lib.17.

King Edward treateth for the delivery of Richmond."

Ennius apud Cicer.inOffic.

And doubtleffe in his heart he was favourable to any chance that D might

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K.E.4 fends for Richmond.

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Hift.de Brit.

D.Stillington fent for Richmond.

might have ruined or infefted England, and could have wifht the Earle of Richmond and his Title under his Protection. King Edward feafonably prevented this, that fuch attempts, though at first they appeared but like the Prophets Cloud, might not spread after into spacious stormes. And to prevent all underhand Contracts with the Duke of Brittaine, dispatcht Letters unto him, further interpreted by a rich Prefent, and richer promifes. The Duke receives both with as Honourable Complement, protefting none could be more ready to doe the King of Englands Commands then he. But where he treated for the delivery of the Earles, he hoped to be lawfully excused, being an Act would caft a staine and scandall, not only upon his credit and honour, but upon all Princely and hospitable Priviledges, and could appeare no leffe then a meere impiety to thruft fuch distressed perfons as fled to their protection, into the Armes of their enemies; and it was his opinion, if any malice or violence fhould be acted upon them, the guilt must reflect on him. But that the King might believe he was forward to come as near his defires, as in honour could be, he engaged himfelfe to keep fo carefull and vigilant a watch upon them, that they should have no more power to endanger him, then if they were in ftrist Prison. This being returned, though not agreable to the Kings hope and wifnes, yet bearing fuch a Caution of Honour and Wildome, he remained fatisfied; and fo it pauled for the space of eight yeares, (as I conjecture) for the King made this demand in the twelfth yeare of his Raigne 1472, all which time he was very intent to preferve the League with good Summes of Mony, and costly Presents. In the twent ieth of his Raigne 1480, he received intelligence, that the Earle of Richmond had ftird up fresh Embers, and new friends in the French Court to blow them, and that the French King had dealt by folicitation of the Earle of Pembrook, and others privately, to get the Earl of Richmond, and offered great Sums to the Duke of Brittaine. This gave new disturbance, and the King must now by the best meanes he could, renue his former fute to the Duke of Brittaine; for which employment, he intrust Doctor stillington Bishop of Bath, his Secretary, a man of a Wise, Learned, and Eloquent endeavour, of good acquaintance and credit with the Duke of Brittaine, who gave him an honourable and respective entertainement. The Bishop (after he had prepared him by the earnest of a very rich present) tenders the Summe of his Employment, not forgetting what he was now to A&, and what to promise on the Kings part. And (for a more glorious infinuation) tells him how the King had elected him into the noble Society of St. Georges Order (as the most honourable intimation he could give of his love;) to qualificall exceptions too, and jealoufies, affures him, the King had no intent to the Earle of Richmond, but what was an swerable to his owne worth, and quality of the Kings Kinfman; having declared a propenfity and purpole, to beftow oncof his daughters upon him. The Duke well mollified and perfwaded, delivered the Earle by a ftrong Guard to the Bifhop at Saint

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St. Maloes Port : a change of much paffion and amazement to him, whole fufferings tooke hold upon the affable disposition of the Noble Peir de Landois Treasurer to the Duke, who had the Earle in Charge and Conduct, to St. Malo. He urges the caufe from him of his fo altered and present condition, with Protestation of all the aide he could : The Earle thus fairely and happily provoked (and perceiving the sparkles of his forrow had hapt into a tender bosome) freely expofed himfelfe, and with fuch an overcomming Countenance, of teares and fighes, framed his own Story, and preft Landois, that it fo wrought upon his temper, he perfwaded the Earle to put on clearer hopes, affures him there should fome meanes be found to shift the Tempest : thereupon writes a fad Relation to the Duke, to move his compation and favour, and knowing the Baron Chandais, (a great man in credit with him) well affected to the Earle by a long and reciprocall affection, he repaired to his house neare Saint Malo, and prevailed with him to use his power with the Duke, for returning the Earle; who posted to Vanes, where the Court was then, and tooke the Duke at fuch an advantage, by fuggefting his credulity abused, and cunningly drawne into this contract by the King, that there was a Post dispatcht to flay the Earle. In that interim, Landois had not been Idle, to find a way to let the Earle escape into the Abbey Church of St. Malo, where he claimed the benefit of the holy Afyle, which was eafily contrived, by corrupting his Keepers. But the Duke to ftand cleare of the Kings fuspition fent over Maurice Brumell to fatisfie him, that the Earle according to promife was fent to Saint Malo, there delivered to his fervants deputed, whole negligence let him escape; and that he had demanded him of the Covent; who denyed to render him without fecurity & caution; & that he should be continued a prifonerin Vanes, wich as much courtefie as formerly. Now being it was false into those strift and peremptory termes, and within the contumacie of fuch lawleffe perfons, where he could not use power, he yet faithfully protefted no juite from the French King, or any other, should draw. him from his former promife : All which, he religiously performed. whilft King Edward lived, the space of twelve yeares (after Phillip de Comines) in which circle of time, it may with admiration be observed, through what changes and interchanges of hazards, dangers, and difficulties, he was preferved. Soone after King Edwards deceafe; King Richard renewed and continued the Treaty by Sir Thomas Hutton of Yorkeshire, receiving the same satisfaction in Answer, but was fail led in the performance, and fo difhonourably, that it then appeared, the Duke had kept in with Edward, more for feare, then for love or honour(the name of Edward, and the Earle of March, being (indeed) accounted terrible, where his victorious fword was drawne) which breach of the Dukes was not left unpunished (at least as that age then gueffed) by a divine revenge; for having married Margaret, Daughter and Co-heire of Francis de Mountford, Duke of Brittaine, the dying without iffue, he married Margaret, Daughter of Gafton de Foix, King of D 2

K.R. reneweth fuit to the D.of B.for the Earle of Richmond. E.4. Fulmen belli, ut Selenc. Rex inde super. th, i. fulmen dictus. claud. Paradin

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of Navarr, by whom he had one only daughter Anne, married to the French King, Charles 8. Thus Duke Francis dyed without iffue male. the Dutchy being fwallowed up, and drowned in the Lillies or Crau pands of France, and with his Family of Brittaine irrecoverably loft The first of the second s and abforpted.

Thus much for the jealoufie and feares of those two Kings, now to the progreffe of our Story, where the Barons and Commons with one generall diflike, and an univerfall negative voice, refused the fonnes of King Edward, not for any ill will or malice, but for their difabilities and incapacities; the opinions of those times too, held them not legitimate, and the Queene Elizabeth Gray, or Woodvill, no lawfull Wife, nor yet a Woman worthy to be the Kings Wife, by reason of her extreame unequall quality. For these and other causes, the Barons and Prelates unanimoufly caft their Election upon the Protector, as the most worthiest, and nearest, by the experience of his owne defervings, and the strength of his Alliance, importuning the Duke of Buckingham to become their Speaker, who accompanied with many of the chiefe Lords,, and other grave and learned perforis, having Audience granted in the great Chamber at Baynards Caffle (then Yorke-house) thus addrest him to the Lord Protector. r tie Earle e's pe inte lie

B. Mort. Sir Th Moore, Hollingled, Grafton, Stow, Hall, Virgill, Oc. Parliament.

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The Duke of Buck.to the L. Protector in the behalfe of the 3 Estates.

The common published ftories have Eliz. Lucy, but that is falle,

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QIR, May it pleafe your Grace to be informed, that after much Ograve Confultation amongst the Noble Barons, and other worthy perfons of this Realme, it flands concluded and refolved, that the fons of King Edward fhall not raigne; for who is not fenfible, how milerable a fortune, and dangerous eftate that Kingdome must be in, where a childe is King, according to the Wife man, Vietibi terra cujus Rex of Puer. But here, Sir, there is exception of further confequence against them, That they were not borne in lawfull Marriage, the King having than another Wife living, Dame EliZabeth Butler. Befides, the great difhonour and reproach he received by difparaging his Royall bloud, with a woman to far unmeet for his bed. These Confide. rations have refolutely turned all their eyes, and Election towards your Grace, as only worthy of it, by your fingular vertues, and that interest in the Crownes of England and of France, with the Rights and Titles, by the high Authority of Parliament, entailed to the Royall bloud, and iffue of Richard Duke of Yorke, whole lawfull begotten Sonne and heire you are; which by a just course of inheritance, and the Common Lawes of this Land, is divolv'd and come to you. And unwilling that any inferiour Bloud, fhould have the Dominion of this Land, are fully determined to make your Grace King to which, with all willing neffe and alacrity, the Lords and people of the Northerne parts concurre. And the Maior, Aldermen, and Commons of this City of London, have all allowed, and gladly embraced this generall Choice of your Grace : and are come hither to befeech you to accept their just Election, of which they have chosen me their unworthy Advocate and Speaker. I must therefore againe crave leave

of King RICHARD the third. I od I

leave in the behalfe of all, to define your Grace will be pleafed, in your noble and gracious zeale to the good of this Realme, to caft your eyes upon the growing diffrefles and decay of our Effate, and to fet your happy hand to the redrefle thereof; for which, we can conceive ho abler remedy, then by your undertaking the Crowne and Government, which we doubt not fhall accrew to the laud of God, the profile of this Land, and your Graces happinefle? It bas allound your of the start happy hand to be the redrefle there and be allound your be the start of graces happinefle? It bas allound your be the start of graces happinefle?

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This speech of the Duke is recorded by Dottor Monton, Sir Thomas Moore, and other Chronicles and Historians, to which the Protector gave this reply:

IR, I muft now, by the Priviledge of this I ap' on Y most noble Lords, and my most toving friends, and deare Country-men, Albeit I must confeste, your request most respe-Give and favourable, and the points and neteflities alledged and ur, ged, true and certaine; yet for the entire love and reverend respect [owe to my Brother deceased, and to his Children, my Princely Couzens, you must give me leave, more to regard mine honour and fame in other Realmes's for where the truth and certaine proceedings herein are not knowne, it may be thought an ambition in meto feeke what you voluntarily proffer, which would charge to deep a reprodel and flaine upon my honour and fincerity, that Pwould not beare for the worlds Diademe, Belides, you muft not thinke me ignorant (for t have well observed it) there is more difficulty in the Government of a Kingdome, then pleafures cipecially to that Prince, who would use his Authority and Office as he ought. I must therefore defire, the this (and my unfained Protestations) may assure you, the Crowne was never my ayme, nor fuits my defire with yours, in this; yet I fhall. thinke my felfe much beholding unto you all, in this Election of me, and that hearty love I find you beare me, and here protect, that for your fakes it shall be all one, whether I be your King or no; for I will ferve my Nephew faithfully and 'earefully, with my beft counfels and endeavours, to defend and preferve him and this Kingdome; nor shall there want readineffe in me, to attempt the recovery of that hereditary right in France, which belongs to the Kings of England. though of late negligently and unhappily loft. There the Protector became filent, and thought it for fafe in his differention, or policy, to open all the difgufts he had of the Soveraignty, for that would have been matter of Exprobation of the Barons, and toucht too neare the quicke, though he had well observed, by fundry experiences of the leading times, and moderne too, the inconstant ebbing and flowing of their dispolitions, how variable and apt they were, to take up any occasion of change, purfuing their Kings (if once ftirr'd) fo implacably, that many times they never left without death or depoling. Examples he had in the Raignes of King Edward his Brother, and Henry the fixth; not long before that in the time of Rithard the fecond, and his Grandfather Edward the feconds more anciently the extreaine troubles,

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TheProtectors Reply to the Dukes laft Suit,

The History of the Life and Reigne

troubles and distreffe of King *Iohn*, and *Henry* the third, all by the Barons, being dreadfull warnings and infolent monuments of their haughtineffe and Levitie; and this was *Alta mente repoftum* with the wife Prince.

LIB. T.

But the Duke of Buckingham, thinking the Protector fet too flight a confideration upon fogreat a Concernment, and the affection tendered by himfelfe and the Nobilitie (and over hearing fomething, he privately fpake to the Lord Maior and Recorder, tending to his millike) for an Epilogue or clofe to his former Oration, he thus freely addes.

The bold and round conclufion of the D. of Buck.

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CIR, I must now, by the Priviledge of this Imployment, and in the behalfe of those and my Countrey, adde fo much freedome unto my dutie, as to tell your Grace, It is immoveably refolved by the Barons and people, that the Children of King Edward shall not Reigne over them. Your Grace hath heard fome caules; nor need I intimate, how these Estates have entred and proceeded so offensively to other men, and fo dangeroully to themfelves, as is now too late to recall or retire. And therefore, they have fixt this Election upon you, whom they thinke most able and carefull for their faferic. But, if neither the generall good, the carneft Petitions of the Nobility and Commonalty, can move you, wee most humbly defire your Anfwer, and leave to Elect fome other that may be worthy of the Imperiall Charge; in which, (wee hope) wee shall not incurre your difpleafure, confidering the desperate necefficie of our welfare and Kingdome, urges it. And this is our last Suit and Petition to your Grace.) is shot w 17 829

The Protector toucht by this round and braving farewell, which made him very fenfible: For (as Sir Thomas Moore difertly confeffeth) the Protector was for much moved with these words, that otherwise of likelyhood he would never have inclined to their Suit: And faith, That when he faw there was no remedy, but he must either at that inftant take the Crowne, or both he and his heires irrecoverably let it passe to another; paradventure, one that might prove an Enemy to him and his, especially if *Richmont* stept in; betwixt whom, and this Prince, the hatred was equally extreame: Therefore, it behoved the Protector to Collect himselfe; and fixing his Consideration upon the effect of that necessitie they last urged, gave this Reply:

The Protectors Reply to the Dukes laft Suit, MY most Noble good Lords, and most loving and faithfull friends, the better fense of your loves and most eminent inconveniencies infinuated by your Noble Speaker, hath made me more ferious to apprehend the benefit of your proffer and Election. And I must confesse, in the meditation thereof, I find an alteration in my felfe, not without fome diffraction, when I confider all the Realme, so benr against

of King RICHARD the third. I ad

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LIB.I.

against the Sonnes of King Edward. And therefore being certaines there is no man to whom the Crowne by just Title can be fo due as to our selfe, the rightfull Sonne and Heire of our most deare, and Princely Father, Richard Duke of Yorke; to which Title of blood and nature, your favours have joyned this of Election, wherein wee hold our feife to be most strong and fafe And having the lawfull power of both, why fhould I endure my profeffed Enemy to infurpe my right, and become a Vaffall to my envious Subject > The neceffitie of these causes (as admitting no other remedy) urges me to accept your offer, and according to your request, and our owne right, we here aflume the Regall Præheminence of the two Kingdoms, England and France, from this day forward, by us and out heres, to Govern and defend the one, and by Gods grace, and your good aydes; to recover and establish the other, to the Ancient Allegeance of England ; defiring of God to live no longer then wee intend and endeayour the advancement and flourishing Estate of this Kingdome; at which they all cry'd, God fave King Richard : And thus he became King. But yet his Detractors flick not to flander and accuse all that was faid or done in these proceedings of State for meer diffimulation: by which justice they may as well centure ? (At fit Reverentia diction) all the Barons, worthy and grave Commons, which had their Vores therein, which would fall a most impudent and intolerable Scandall upon all the High Court of Parliament, for in thort time after, all that was alledged and acted in that Treatic and Colloguy was approved, and ratified by the Court of Parliament, fo that their Cavills onely difcover an extreame malice and envy. For it was not poffible, therefore not credible, he could upon fuch an infedit (as it were) by any practice anameto that power and credit, with all the Barons, Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons, to procure and perswade them from the Sonnes of King Edward, so unanimously to become his Subjects, and put the Crowne upon his head with fuch Solemnitic and publicke Ceremonics. Whilft those matters had their current, the Northerne Gentlemen and his Southerne Friends joyned in a Bill Supplicatory to the Lords Spirituall and Temporall, earneftly expressing their defires for the Election of the Lord Prore-Aor, with the former caufes urged; Alfo, that the blood of the young Earle of Warwicke was attainted, and his Title confifcate by Parliament. This Bill was delivered to the Lords, Affembled in the great Hall at Westminster, the Lord Protector sitting in the Chaire of Marble amongst them, upon the 26 of June, some fix or leven dayes after he was Proclaimed; the tenor of the Bill was thus written in the Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland :

PRotector codem die, quo Regimen sub titulo regii nominis sibi vendicavit (viz) 26° die Junii, Anno Dom. 1483. se apud Magnam Aulam Westmonasterii in Cathedram Marmoream Imi-

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Immisit & tum mox omnibus proceribus tam Laicis quam Ecclesiasticis & Cateris assidentibus, astantibus & c. ostendebatur rotulus quidam, in quo per modum supplicationis in nomine procerum & populi Borealis exhibita sunt, Primum, quod filii Regis Edwardi erant Bastardi, supponendo, illum pracontraxisse matrimonium cum quadam Domina Elianora Boteler, antequam Reginam Elizabetham duxisset in uxorem: deinde quod sanguis alterius Fratris (Georgii Scil: Clarensia ducis) suisset Attinctus. Ita quod nullus certus incorruptus sanguis Linealis ex parte Richardi Ducis Eboraci poterat inveniri, nis in persona Richardi Protectoris, Ducis Glocestria, fiam eidem Duci suplicabant, ut jus suum in Regno Anglia sibi assumeret es Coronam acciperet.

But the Barons were all accorded before this Bill came, both fides moving with an equall and contented forwardneffe; And in July next following 1483. was Crown'd and receiv'd, with as generall Magnificence and Acclamations, as any King in England many years before. For as a grave man writeth, (Fuit dignissimus regio & c. non inter males (ed bonos principes Commemorandou; That he was most worthy to Reigne, and to be numbred amongst the good, not bad Princes. The Queene his Wife was Crowned with him, and with no leffe State and Greatneffe; Accompanied him from the Tower to Westminster, having in their Traine, (besides the Nobilitie of the South parts) foure thousand Gentlemen of the North. Upon the 19. of June 1483. in the 25. yeare of Lewis the French King, he was named King of England, the morrow Proclaimed, and rode with great Solemnitic from London to Westminster, where in the feat Royall, he gave the Judges of the Land a frickt and religious charge for the just executing of the Lawes ; then departed towards the Abbey, being met at the Church doore with Procession, and the Scepter of King Edward delivered to him by the Abbot; fo Afcended to Saint Edwards Shrine, where he offered; the Monks in the meane time finging Te Deum : From thence he return'd to the Palace, where he lodged untill his Coronation.

Üpon the fourth of July he went to the Tower by water with the Queene his Wife, and the next day, Created Edward his onely Son, (about ten yeares old) Prince of Wales: He Invefted Sir Iohn Howard (who was made Lord Howard, and Knight of the Garter, 17. Edward 4.) in the Dukedome of Norffolke, in a favourable admiffion of the right of the Lady Margaret his Mother, Daughter of Sir Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norffolke, and an heire generall of the Mowbrayes, Dukes of Norffolke, and Earles of Surrey, defeended from the Lord The. Plantagenet of Brotherton, a younger Sonne of King

cambden.

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LIB.I. of King RICHARD the third.

King Edward the first, and Earle of Norsfolke. This King also made him Marshall and Admirall of England; he was as rightfully Lord Mewbray, Lord Segrave, Lord Bruce, as Lord Howard, as I have seene him Stiled by Royall Warrant, in a Commission for Treatie of Truce with Scotland. 26

His eldeft Sonne, Sir Thomas Howard, was at the fame time Created Earle of Surrey, and made Knight of the Garter; Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, was made Conftable of England for terme of life, but he claimed the Office by inheritance.

Sir Thomas Moore writes, That Sir Thomas Howard Executed the Office of Conftable that day; William Lord Berkley was Created Earle of Nottingham, Francis Lovel Viscount Lovel, and Chamberlain to the Kingsthe Lord Stanley reftor'd to liberty and made Steward of the Houshold, Thomas Rotheram Chancellour and Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, having beene committed for delivering the Great Scale to the Queene Widow, receiv'd to grace, and many Knights Addubbed of the old Order, and fome of the new, or habit of the Bath, whose names I have set downe, to shew what regard was had of their Family, and in those times accused of so much Malignity.

Sir Edward Desla-Poole, Sonne to the Duke of Norfolke.

George Gray, Sonne to the Earle of Kent: William Souch, Sonne to the Lord Souch: Henry Nevil, Sonne to the Lord Abergaveny, Christopher Willowby. Thomas Arundel. Henry Bainton. Gervoife of Clifton. Thomas Bullen. Edmond Beddingfield. William Say. Tho. Leukenor. William Enderby. John Browne: Thomas of Vernon. William Berkley. William Barkley. i. Another Berkley.

The fift day of July he rode from the Tower through the City in Pompe, with his Sonne the Prince of VVales, three Dukes, and nine Earles, twentie two Vifcounts and fimple Barons, eighty Knights, Efquires and Gentlemen, not to be numbred, befides great Officers of the Crowne which had fpeciall fervice to doe. But the Duke of Buckingham carried the Splendour of that dayes Bravery, his habit and Caparifons of blew Velvet, imbroidered with golden Naves of Carts burning, the trappings fupported by Foot-men habited coftly and futable. On the morrow, being the fixt of July, all the Prelates Miter'd in their Pontificalibus, receiv'd him at Weftminfter-Hall towards the Chappell; the Bifhop of Rochefter bare the

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Signifying mercy.

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Signifying Iuftice to the Temporalty. Iuftice to the Clergy. Peace. Monarchy.

the Croffe before him, the Cardinall and the Earle of Huntington followed with a pair of guilt Spurres, and the Earle of Bedford with Saint Edwards Staffe for a Relique. After the Preceffion, the Earle of Northumberland beares a poyntleffe Sword naked, the Lord Stanley, the Mace of the Constableship (but waited not for Constable) the Earle of Kent bare the fecond Sword naked with a poynt, upon the right hand of the King, the Viscount Lovel another Sword on the Kings left hand with a poynt. Next came the Duke of Suffolke with the Scepter, the Earl of Lincoln with the Ball and Croffe, then the Earle of Surry with the Sword of State in a rich Scabbard, in place of the Constable of England, the Duke of Norfolke on his right hand with the Crowne : After him immediately, the King in a SurCoat and Robe of Purple, the Canopy borne by the Barons of the five Ports, the King betweene the Bishop of Bath and Durham, the Duke of Buckingham bearing up his Traine, and ferved with a white Staffe for Senethall, or High Steward of England.

In the Front of the Queenes Traine, the Earle of Huntington bare the Scepter, Viscount Liste the Rod with the Dove, the Earle of Wilt (hire her Crowne, and next to him followed the Queene her felfe (in Robes like the King) betweene two Bishops, the Canopy borne by Barons of the Ports, upon her head a Coronet fet with precious Stones, the Lady Margares Somerfet, Counteffe of Richmond, carried up her Traine, followed by the Dutcheffe of Suffolke, with many Countesfes, Baronesses, and other Ladies. In this manner the whole Procession passed through the Palace, and entred the West doore of the Abbey, the King and Queene taking their leats of State, flayed untill divers holy Hymnes were fung, then alcended to the high Altar shifting their Robes, and putting on other open and voyded in fundry places for their Anoynting; which done, they tooke other Robes of Cloth of Gold, fo teturned to their feats, where the Cardinall of Canterbury and the other Bishops, Crowned them, the Prelate putting the Scepter in the left hand of the King, the Ball and Croffe in his right, and the Queenes Scepter in her right hand. and the Rod with the Dove in her left ; on each hand of the King stoodla Duke, before him the Earle of Surrey, with the Sword as aforefaid; on each hand of the Queene flood a Bifhop, by them a Lady kneeling; the Cardinall faid Maffe and gave the Pax; then the King and Queene defcending were both housiled with one holt parted betweene them at the high Altar : This done, they offered at Saint Edwards Shrine, where the King layd downe Saint Edwards Crowne & put on another, so returned to Westminster-Hal in the same State they came, there dispersed, and retired themselves for a feason. In which interim, came the Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, mounted upon a brave Horfe, trapped with Cloth of Gold downe to the ground, to submove the presse of people and void the Hall. About foure of the clocke the King and Queene fat to Dinner, the Kingat the middle Table of the Hall, and the Queene on his left hands

of King RICHARD the third.

LIB.T.

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hand; on each fide a Counteffe attending her, holding a Cloth of Plaifance (or rather of Effuyance) for her Cup: On the Kings right hand fate the Arch-Bifhop of Canterbury, and all the Ladies were placed on one fide of a long Table in the middle of the hall againft them, at another Table, the Lord Chancellour, and all the Nobles; at a Table next to the Cup-board, the Lord Maior of London and the Aldermen.

Behind the Barons of the Kingdome fate the Barons of the Ports; there were other Tables for perfons of qualitie. After all were feated, came the Lord Marshall againe, the Earle of Surrey Constable (Proilla vice tantam) the Lord Stanley Lord Steward, Sir William Hoptos Treasurer of the Houshold, and Sir Thomas Piercy Controler, they ferved the Kings boord with one dish of Gold and another of Silver. The Queene was ferved all in guilt Vessells, and the Cardinall Arch-Bishop in Silver Dishes.

As foone as the fecond courfe was ferved in, Sir Robert Dimock the Kings Champion makes Proclamation', That whofoever would fay, King Richard the third was not lawfully King, he would fight with him at all gutterance, and for gage thereof threw downe his Gauntlet, then all the people cryed, King Richard, God fave King Richard; And this he acted in three feverall parts of the Hall, then an Officer of the Cellar brought him a guilded Bowle with Wine which he dranke, and carries the Cup away as his ancient Fee. After that, the Heralds cryed Large fe thrice, and returned to the Scaffold. Laftly came the Maior of London with the Sheriffs, with a Voyder, ferving the King and Queene with fweet Wines, who had each of them a covered Cup of Gold for reward: By which time, the day began to give way to the night, the King and Queene departing to their Lodgings.

And this is a briefe and true Relation of his Coronation, teffified by all the best Writers and Chroniclers of our Stories, publicke and allowed, which may confute the boldneffe of that flander that fayes, he was not rightfully, and Authentically Crowned, but obfcurely and indirectly crept in at the Window. But all times have Detractors,' and all Courts their Parafits, and many that have admired Princes to their graves, even there have turn'd from them, with ingratitude and murmur. Soone after this the King difmiffed, and fent home all the Lords, Spirituall and Temporall, with a straight charge and direction to them, the Judges of Oyer and Terminer, with all other Magistrates and Officers in generall and particular, for the Equitable and just Government of their Jutifdictions and Circuits : And it is observed, those times were under as happy an expectation of Law and Justice; as those; either before or after more flatter'd; which tohn Hide (a Learned man, and Doctor of Phylick) implyes in a Manufcript Poely of his, sils of bright 101. flice and the more facine rous Males

iffigre inclinations of his had elecisfolemn affect ions and define been

Moore: Grafton. Polidore. Hall. Croyland. Hollingfhed: Stow, &c.

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LIB. I.

Solio juris reëliq; Minister, Ille sedens alto, tali sermone profatur; Moses concilio soceri persuasus Iethro, Solus quod Populi nequist componere lites, Constituit populi prasectos atq; tribunos; Sic cum me pracels premant fastigia Regni, Ardua magnarum teneatis munera rerum; Et primum, à vobis pravos secludite motus Aquis Institia trutinis appendite causes; Ob paupertatem miseros ne spernite cives, Nec vota in cassum fundat pupillus in auras, Denig; largitio, ne vos Corrumpat iniqua, &c.

All things thus in a happy prefage and good order, the King with the Queene departed from London, and makes Windfor the first gift in his Progreffe for fome few dayes : From thence to his Mannor of VVoodstock, then to the Universitie of Oxford, where the Muses Crown'd their browes with fragrant VV reathes for his entertainment. Next he visited the circular Citie of Glocester, and gave the Citizens, (for the love and loyaltic they express, in holding the Castle and Towne fo constantly against Queene Margares and the forces of Henry the fixt, for him and his Brother the King) large Priviledges and Immunities.

And here the Duke of Buckingham takes his leave for Brecknock, conftantly disposed and affected in all outward appearance. The King making small stay any where, (fave at Coventry) untill he came to the goodly and ancient Citie of Yorke; the scope and goale of his Progreffe, which received him with all honour and Festivitie, and was there the second time Crowned by Dr. Rotheram Arch-Bishop of that Sea, in the Cathedrall Church, and his Sonne invested in the Principalitie of VVales, as the Prior of Croyland reporteth; Eodem die quo Richardus Coronatus est Rex in Ecclesia Metropolitana Eboracenfi, mox filium Edwardum in Principatum Wallia cum insignits virga amrea & c. evexit & Pomposa & sumptuosa festa & convivia ibi fecit.

And indeed, it was a day of great flate; for (as *Polidore* faith) There was then three Princes in Yorke wearing Crownes, the King, Queene, and Prince; In acclamation whercof, there was Stage-Playes, Turneaments, and other Triumphall Sports', as Sir *Thomas Moore* relates. At this time the King Knighted *Richard* of Glocefter his bafe fonne, who was after Captaine of *Calice*, and many Gentlemen of those parts. But (albeit this was an intermission as it were of all busie and ferious agitations) yet the King, ftill where he travall'd had a just regard to the Administration and Execution of Juftice and the more facinerous Malefactors : And furely these respedive inclinations of his had their folemn affections and defires Naturalized

Chron. M.S.in Quar.apud. D. Ro. Coston, and Rob. Fabiane Rich. the Baflard of the D. of Gloc. Captaine of Calice.

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LIB.I. of King RICHARD the third.

ralized in him, witneffed by the fcope and integritie of those just Lawes which after followed.

The Progreffe thus spent, he returnes to London; and having confulted fome matters of State, declares his first resolution for the Tribute detain'd by France, which he had formerly by a friendly Meffage demanded, but now fends flout menaces and threats for it. The French would not have it cal'd a Tribute, but a Penfion, as Philip de Comines infinuates, though it had beene rays'd and payd to King Edward the fourth, in lieu of the Dutchy and Countries of Aquitaine, Normandy, Poictou, and Maine, &c. whereof the the French had defeis'd the Crowne of England, which King Edward the fourth forced Lewis to acknowledge, and to Covenant and agree, That he, his heires and Succeffors, should pay unto the Crowne of England, the fumme of fiftie thousand Crowns, with caution and securitie to be payd in the Citie of London, or after Ican Tillet and Iohn Maierus, feventy five thousand Crowns to be payd into the Tower; with which the French King alfo granted, in the name of Annuall Penfion, fixteen thousand pounds to some Noblemen and others of speciall credit with the King: As to Sir Thomas Gray, Marqueffe of Dorfet, William Lord Haltings, Chamberlaine to the King, Doctor Thomas Rothram, Bishop of Lincolne, and Lord Chancellour of England; John Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyney, Mafter of the Horfe ; Sir Thomas Mountgomery, Master Challoner, and to the Master of the Rowles ; The chiefest of these had two thousand Crownes apiece per annam. Befides which Penfions, he gave rich Prefents, and fent rewards to fuch Lords as flood most for this accord. Enguerannt de Monstrolet avoucheth, that the Lord Heward, and the Mafter of the Horfe, were the chiefest of the mediators in it; his reason is, that they were the men most in favour with King Edward. Ican Tillet, with Philip de Co. mines, tells us, the Lord Howard in leffe then two yeares had the value of twentie foure thousand Crownes in Plate, Coine and Jewels, over and above his Annuall Penfion; the Lord Haftings at one time to the value of two thouland markes in Plate, befides his Penfion. And if their owne Stories speake truth, Richard de Nevil, the great Earle of Warwick, had of the Kings of France much more then any other English Nobleman, which the Chronicle of Brittaine feconds. And doubtleffe, King Richard had ftill compel'd him to continue it, had not eruptions of State and tumultuary practifes fatally deterr'd his Sword : For as Kings have vafter limits, they have higher bounds then others. If our vulgar paths be rugged, theirs are flippery, and all their mighty refolutions and ambitions have their fate and circle. hither they must, and no further; yet as envious as fortune thew d her felfe, he brought King Links to termes of faire promifes and mediation fortime of payment, as Comines obfcurely implyes. g. 1.11

This yeare the King kept a very magnificent Christmas at Weftminster, and was reconciled to the Queene Dowager, who left Sanctuary, and to congratulate the Kings favour, fent her five daughters to

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The fone of K. E. living in fan & Felmaf De de fine inder Faber.

TheQ. Mother & King Rich. reconciled.

Court,

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30

Court, where they were received with all Princely kindneffe. On the three and twentieth day of January, in the first yeare of his Raigne, he fummon'd a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, in which (after the enacting of many good Lawes) the marriages of King Edward were debated, that with the Lady Gray adjudged unlawfull, and her children illegitimate, there being proofe of a former Contract and Marriage with the Lady Elianor Talbot, daugher of the old Earle of Shrewsbury, and Relict of the Lord Butler of Sudely, then and long after living, and all that had been inferred by the Duke of Buckingham, or contained in the Bill fupplicatory, demonstrated, was againe confulted, and judgement given against that Marriage, and incapacity of the Children alfo, of the Earle of Warwicke and his fifter, the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, all decreed and confirmed by Act of Parliament; fo that here to taxe fo generall an Affent, were to fay there was not one honeft nor just man in that High Court, and what greater fcandall to the whole Kingdome?

There was likewife notice taken of the Earle of Richmonds pretence to the Crowne, by a Title derived from the House of Lancaster, who was at that time in France, labouring to engage the King and the Duke of Brittaine in the quarrell. Oh the infinite windings, and perplexed fleepes we labour through, to get that we must bid goodnight to to morrow: And yet the true and rightful Lancaster had no finger in it, for this Earle was not then granted to be of the House of Lancafter, untill the Pope by his Bull had given him that file, and himfelfe (after he was King) by his Prerogative affumed it. In this Parliament he was attainted of High Treason, and with him Iohn Earle of Oxford, Thomas Marquefle of Dorfet, Jafper Barle of Pembroke, Lionell Bifhop of Salisbury, Peirce Bifhop of Exceter, the Lady Margaret Counteffe of Richmond, Themas Morton Bishop of Ely, Thomas Nandick by the file of Themas Nandick of Cambridge Conjurer, William Knevet of Buckingham Imeared with the fame pitch, George Browne of Beechworth, Thomas Lukenor of Tratton, John Guilford, John Fogg, Edward Poinings, Thomas Fierics of Cherstmonceur. Nicholas Gaineford, William Clifford, John Darrell, with others of Kent and the Weft Countrey. There was further enacted for the approbation and confirming the true and lawfull Title of King Richard, this clause or sentence.

It is declared, pronounced, decreed, confirmed and effablished by the Authority of this present Parliament, that King Richard the third is the true and undoubted King of this Realme, as well by right of Confanguinitie and Heritage, as by lawfull Election and Coronation, &c. And in a place of the Rowle of this Parliament, there are Arguments to be gathered, that the two sonnes of King Edward were living in the time of this Parliament, which was at the least nine moneths after the death of their Father, and fixe moneths after. King Richard; which will import thus much, That if King Richard then, lawfully and quietly possesses.

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The friends & confederates of the Esof Rich.

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The fons of K. E. living in Jan. & Febr. after the death of their Father.

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LIB.I.

of King RICHARD the third.

long, there is no reafon why, he fhould after make them away, for their lives could not rectifie their Bloud, or Titles, nor their deaths advantage him, neither can Bastards be dangerous, or prejudiciall to the true and titular Lord, or lawfull proprietary, be he Prince or Subject; Witnesse Forraigne Countries, and England it felfe, which holds Bastards uncapable of Heritage, Honour or Offices: In the Month of February, towards the end of this Parliament, the King in his providence to establish the Regall fortune and Succession in the Prince his Sonne, and to fasten the affection of the Nobility and People unto him with the Crowne, procures them to meet him in the Pallace at Westminster, and there (Interiori Canaculo, as mine Author faith) tendred by the Duke of Norfolke unto them, an Oath of Fealty and Allegeance in writing, to be taken to the Prince of Wales; which they tooke and fubscribed most willingly; the occasion of this, was his jealoufie of that new League struck up between the Earle of Richmond and the Duke of Buckingham, who was now difcovered more apparantly, and the reft of the engagement: To oppofe and fuppreffe them therefore, and stifle the Confederacy before it should grow more threatning; The King makes a Commission by Letters Patents, in the name of the Vice Constable of England, unto Sir Rulph A lbton, A Coppy whereof (the Prefident being unufuall, and the Office great) I have Transcribed verbatim from the Records in the Chappell of the Convertits. Laster and the second

Vice Conftable of England.

31

Vice Constabulario Anglia Constituto.

R Sciatis, quod nos de fidelitate, circums pectione, & probitate, EX dilecto (5 fideli suo, Rudolpho Ashton militi, salutem. vestrà plenius confidentes, assignavimus deputavimus 25' ordinavimus vos bac vice Constabularium nostrum Anglie; ac Commissionarium nostrum, dances & concedentes vobis tenore presentium potestatem & authoritatem generalem, & mandatum peciale ad audiendum & examinandum as procedendum.contra quascunque personas de crimine las nostra regia majestatis sufectas & culpabiles tam per viane examinationis testium quam aliter prout vobis melius vilum fuerit ex officio vestro: nec non in caufis illis judicialiter. & sententialiter juxta casus exigentiam & delinquentium demerita omni firepitu & futur a Iudicij appella ione quacunque remota, quandocunque pobis videbitur procedendum, judicandum et finali executione de mandandum cum omnibus etiam clausulis, verbu, et terminis (pes cialibus

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The History of the Life and Reigne

LIB. I.

cialibus ad executionem istius mandati et authoritatis nostra de jure vel consuetudine requisitis, qua etiam omnia hie expressa habemus, assumpto vobiscum aliquo tabellione side digno, qui singula conscribat unà cum alijs qua in pramissis vel circa ea necessaria videbuntur seu qualitercunque requisita; mandantes U sirmiter vobis injungentes, quod alijs quibuscunque pratermisis circa pradicta quoties U quando opus suerit intendatis, causas que antedictas audiatis, examinetis, U in eisdem procedatis ac eas judicetis U sinali executione ut prafertur demandetis. Damus etiam omnibus U singulis quorum interest in bac parte tenore prasentium sirmiter in mandatis, quod vobis in pramissis faciendis pareant, assistant U auxilientur in omnibus diligenter, in cujus, Sc. Teste Rege apud Covent. 24. die Octobris, Anno regni primo; per ipsum Regem ore tenus.

What fucceffe this Commission, and new Office had, I find not reported, but it might come too late, or the new Officer forget what he was to execute, for the faction loft none they could corrupt or winne; yet furely, the inftitution of it was very politicke and important, as a plaine Image and pourtraict, of theOffice and Authority of the great or High-Constable of England, which in the execution of a wife and valiant perfon, is of a high and great use.

Having made mention of these Offices, it shall not be a Parergue, between these Acts, to interadde the rest of this Kings Officers, both Chiefe and others i at the least such as were of Honour or Dignity: I have before named the High-Constable, the great Marshall, high Admirall, Lord Chamberlaine, the rest were Sir John Wood the Elder, L. Treasurer the first yeare, and Sir John Touches, Lord Andley during the rest of his Reigne, Doctor Russell Bishop of Lincolne had the great Scale, Thomas Barrow was Master of the Rowles, (which place Henry the seventh continued to him, and made him a Privy Counfellour) John Kendall was principall Secretary, Sir William Hopton Treasurer of the Houshold, Sir Thomas Peircy Controler, after him Sir John Back, John Ganthorpe Keeper of the Privy Scale, Sir William Hussey Chiefe Justice, Thomas Tremaine and Roger Townsend the Kings Serjeants, Morgan Kidwell Attorney Generall, Nicholas Fitz-William Recorder of London.

For matters of Treaty, betwixt this King and Forreigne Princes, I have feen a memoriall of one, for intercourfe and commerce, between him and *Philip* Duke of Burgundy, and the Estates of Flanders, who in the Record are called *Membra Flandria*: These Princes and States had each of them their Commissioners to treate and determine the Affaires, which I find they dispatcht with approbation of the Princes their Masters. There

Other Officens of King Richard 3.

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32

Treatics for League and commerce with Flanders,&c. In The/auro Scaccarij I R.3.

LIB.I. of King RICHARD the third.

There was also a Commission about these times, to heare and redreffe the complaints made to the King, by the Subjects of the King of France and of Denmarke, which was well expedited.

Anno Regni 2. That Treatie of Peace and League with Scotland, (began before) was continued, and finished by Commissioners fent from James the fourth King of Scotland, and by other Commissioners delegate for the King of England; those for Scotland, were Coli: Earl of Argile, Chancellor of Scotland, N. Bishop of Aberdene, the Lord Lifle, the Lord Dromonde of Stobhall, Master Archibald Quhitlan, Arch-Deacon of Lodion, & Secretary to the King, Lion King at Arms and Duncan of Dundas; they came to Nottingham in September Anno Demini 1484, and were honourably received in the great Chamber of the Caftle, the King fitting under his Royall Cloth of State; Mafter Archibald Quhitlaw Stepping before the rest, addrest a very Eloquent Oration unto him in Latine, which reflected upon the praise of Martialmen & Art Military, including much to the honour and praise of King Richard. This Treatic aimed partly at a Truce and Peace, partly at a Marriage; betweene lames the Prince of Scotland and the Lady Anne, Daughter of John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke, and Neice to King Richard.

Commissioners for the King of England, were Ishn Bishop of Lincolne, Richard Bishop of Afaph, John Duke of Norfolke, Henry Earle of Northumberland, Master John Guntherpe cuftes privati figilli, Sir Thomas Stanley, Lord Stanley, Sir N. Lord Strange, Sir N. Lord Powis, Sir Henry Lord Fitz-hugh, Sir Humphry Lord Dacres, Mafter Thomas Barrow Master of the Rowles, Sir Richard Ratcliff; Williams Catesby, and Richard Salkeld : The other for the Treatie of Alliance and Marriage, were Thomas Arch-Bishop of Yorke, John Bishop of Lincolne, John Bishop of Worcester, John Duke of Norfolke, William Earle of Nottingham, John Sutton Lord Dudley, N. Lord Scroope of Upfall, Sir William Huffey, Chiefe Justice of the Kings Bench; Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and William Catesby: But the fucceffe of that. and many other good intendments, were interpoled by the inconftancy and contraste of the times. The Lady Anne de la Poole, upon the the breach thereof, (refolving to accept no other motion) forthwith tooke a religious habit in the Monastery of Sion.

There was another Treatie of Peace and Truce in this fecond yeare, betweene him and the Duke of Brittaine, or at the leaft given out for peace, yet was indeed but a part and pretext of the Treatie : for the maine negotiations on the Kings fide, was, how to get the Earle of Richmond out of his cuftody into his owne, or be as well fecured of him there as his Brother King Edward was : And for this Treatic, the chiefe Negotiators, were the Bifhop of Lincolne and Sir Thomas Hutton for the King, the Bifhop of Leon and others for the Duke. The Treatie began Anno Domini 1484. and was finished and ratified in the yeare following, but the Duke violated his part immediately by giving ayde to the Kings Ehemics.

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The Lady Anne de la Poole a Nun.

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In Rowles Az.

An.Dom. 1484.

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Treary with the Duke of Brittaine.

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The History of the Life and Reigne LIB. 1.

Treatie with the King of France.

Treaty of marriage of King Rich. with the Lady Eliz.

Revolt of the D. of Buck.

The Duke of Buckingham fift rifch in Rebellion. The quarrell of the Duke of Buck.againft the King.

The Title of the Earldome of Hereford, T & of the Conftablefhip of England.

> Free y with the L ske of Lentaine.

Point carees.

In the fame yeare there were Letters made (which are yet extant in the Treafury of the Exchequor) that moved a Peace and Truce betweene King *Richard*, and *Charles* the eighth King of France; wherein it must be understood, the tribute before mentioned was Articled.

Alfo in this yeare, and the yeare before, there was a private Treatie, which we must not passe by, for the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with King *Richard* himselfe: what the fuccess of it was, and how farre it proceeded, will more apply present it felfe in another place, a

Wee are now to take notice of the Duke of Buckinghams revolt, for this was the preparative and fourrier of the reft: And to give it the more taking feature and specious pretence, it must be given out, That the caule was the Reformation of an ill Government and Tyranny, under which species, (for Treason is ever fairely palliated and feldome wants the forme of fome plea; though at the Barre) they must take up Armes against the King. And here (as fome Rivers deriv'd from the Sea, cannot fuddenly loofe their tafte of faltneffe) they discovered their ancient taint and inconstancy which the Prince wifely fuspected from the first. For the Duke of Buckingham (how affably soever he trim'd his countenance) it should seeme departed male-content from Court, yet made not that generall publick pretended caufe of the Kings Crimes all his quarrell, but challenged him by fome private grudges, as denying to give or reftore to him the Earledome of Hereford, and Constableship of England, (for they went together a long time) which he alledged belonged to the Partage that fell to his great Grand-mother the Lady Anne, Daughter and Heire of Thomas Plantagenet, alias Wood flock, created by King Richard the fecond Duke of Glocefter, and Earle of Buckingham, and of his Wife Elianor, daughter and co-heire of Humphry de Bohun Earle of Hereford, and Constable of England : Which claime, had he confiderately look't upon, could not rightly revolve to him, but rather was for the Kings part ; For Hamphry de Bohan, Earle of Hereford, of Effex and Northampton, Lord of Brecknock, and Confrable of England (in the time of King Edward the third, and the laft Earle of the Family of the Bohuns) had by the Lady Iane his Wife. Daughter of Richard Firz - Allan Earle of Arundel, two Daughters and Heires, Elianor and Mary : Elianor was Married to the fame Thomas Plantagenet, alias de Wood flock, youngeft Sonne of King Edward the third, Duke of Glocefter and Earle of Buckingham : Mary the fecond Daughter was Matried to Henry Plantagenet Duke of Lancafter, and after King of England by the name of Henry the fourth, and the Earledome of Hereford fell to his Wife : In favour whereof, he was Created Duke of Hereford by King Richard the fecond. and the Earledome (now a Dutchy) and the rights therof, remained in the King, and in the Kings Heires and Succeffors' untill the death of King Henry the fixt, who dyed without Iffue, So then all the Effate

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of

LIB.I. of King RICHARD the third.

of Lancaster (especially that of the Royall Family of Lancaster) escheated to King Edward the fourth, and from him it came to King Richard, as Heire to his Brother and all his Ancestors. But the Duke of Buckingham pretended Title to that Earledome by his faid Grandmother Anne, who was one of the Daughters and Heires of the aforefaid Lady Elianor (Wife of Thomas deWoodstock Duke of Glocester) and the Wife of Edmond Stafford Earle of Stafford, and Grand-father to this Henry Duke of Buckingham, who the rather prefumed to make this Claime, because the Islue of the other Sister Mary, being extinct, he tooke himselfe also to be her Heire. 35

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But King Richard relianing fomething in this, neare the difpolition and inclination of Bullingbrooke, answered, That the Earledome of Hereford was of the inheritance of Henry the fourth, who was alfo King of England (though by tort and usurpation) and will you my Lord of Buckingham Claime to be Heire of Henry the fourth? You may then alfo happily Affume his fpirits, and lay Claime to the Crowne by the fame Titles.

This was as bitter as fhort, and doubly ill taken : First, because it came with a Repulse : Next, because it seemed to proceed from a fuspition, and as a tax of his Loyaltie; and begets another pretence of exception in the Dukes bosome, which he called a breach of promife in the King, for not joyning the Prince his Sonne in Marriage with the Lady Anne Stafford his Daughter; but all those Colours were but to give complexion to the face of his defection, the true caufe was well devined and found out by the King; his Ambition and aime to be Soveraigne, rays'd by an overweening of that Royall Blood he fupposed to be in his descent from the faid Thomas de Woodstock, &c. Sonne of a King 5 and yet he was not refolutely determined to make his Claime to the Crowne this way, nor to attempt the Kingdome by Armes, untill those embers which (as it were) lay but luke-warme in his thoughts, were quickned and revived by the animation of Dofor Morton Bishop of Ely then a Privie Counsellour though he ftood in fome umbrage and difgrace in the Court with the King, for his practifes against him, and was at this time in the custody of the Duke of Buckingham as a Prifoner; more expressely, for that being a Privie Counsellour, he had given secret advertisement to the Earle of Richmond of what passed in the fecret Councells of the King; To this advantage, he applyes that which he had wittily drawne from the Dukes discontent and passionate discourses at times passed. By which, perceiving the glance of his Ambition, and that deriv'd from the great opinion of his Royall Blood, he pregnantly tickles and feeds that humour, untill he had foothed him paft his owne ftrength or retyrement; for his fecret drift was, to apt and prepare the Duke to'a Rebellion at any hand, though not to fet his owne Title on foot, yet layes open the advantage of the prefent times to it, propoling flat usurpation and tyranny against the King Regnant, and the strong likelybood of his Depofing. This lifts the Duke fomething higher in his F 2 owne

The History of the Life and Reigne

LIB. I.

Sir Tho. Moor.

This Margaret

Countefle of Richmond, was

Daughter and

Heire to lobn Beaufort Duke

of Somerfet,&

Margaret de

Beaufort, Mother of the D.

of Buck. was

Daughter of

Edmond D. of Somerfer; and

thus were the

E.of Rich. and the D.of Buck.

Rob. Glov.in Catal. & c.

The Confpi-

rators with the D.of Buck. for

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36

owne opinion. But comming to a paule, land perceiving Richmond was the man they had aimed at for this great blow (who had conditioned by Oath to marry the Lady Elizabeth, (for the Counteffe of Richmond, had by the meanes of Doctor Lewis, conciliated the friendship of the Queene Mother to that Alliance, and to draw as many of the Houfe of Yorke into the Action as were at her Devotion) that many Potent Lords and fome Forraigne Princes had promifed their ayds) he began to retreat, and conceive he had taken the wrong path to his journyes end, for his Title and Claime must be nothing, if those of Yorke and Lancaster were united: And that the Earle (who flood betweene him and his Aitnes) was not onely refolute to attempt, but strongly ayded for it, himfelfe not able upon fuch an inftant to raife a power able to encounter, much leffe give check unto his violent Ambition, therefore concludes all against himfelfe, and that it would fall out farre better to fide with the times; a confideration which doubtleffe would highly firre a spirit where fo much greatneffe of opinion and ambition was. And the Doctor difcerning this difgust, and that he was startl'd in his hope and refolution, to recover him an intire man, & not let him flandby, an idle spectator in so meritorious an action, he opens a private way of honour and fatisfaction, fuggesting him the first and greatest man, the Kingdome was to know next the King: And finding his particular diftafts to King Richard, of quickeft fense and argument to him, he freshly urges (and as it were) refricates each particle, to the greatneffe of his spirit and discontent; the Duke replyes not much at that time, but bufie in his thoughts leaves him, and prefently fashions a visite to the Counteffe of Richmond, (a Lady of a politick and contriving bofome) to know the credit of his intelligence, which the infinuates with arguments fo full of circumstance and honour, besides her Sons indearment to him, their nearneffe of blood, affirming the Dukes Mother'a Somerfet, the reciprocall affinitie betweene her Father and his, and then the bravery and Religion in the Caufe, that the Duke now forfakes himfelfe, and fully gives up his refolution and promife to her's thus prepard, he finds out the Lord Stanley, the Marqueffe of Dorfet, Edward Courtney Earle of Devonshire, and his Brother the Bilhop of Excter, Sir John Bowrchier, Sir John Wells, Robert Willowby, Edward Woodvill, Thomas Arundel, who had feverally railed forces, and intended their Rendezvous neere Glocester, fo to march for Dorfetshire, there to receive the Earle and the Duke, with his Welchmen : But the King was early in his preparation, to prevent them before they could unite, or the Earle of Richmond arrive there', else they had fastened a most dangerous Blow upon him. And at this full flop, in these progresses (methinkes) wee may obferve, how uncertainely, in our ftrongest valuations, we are our ownes and that our greatest Confidences; and humane Policies, are but heavie weights hung at trembling Wyers, while our expectations are apt to be flattered, and out-goe themfelves; but are over-2+2 taken

LIB.I. of King RICHARD the third.

taken in their Successe, and Fates, as was this great Mans; for their Forces neither met by Sea nor Land, the English being scatter'd by a sufudaine and huge inundation that so dangerously over-flowed all passes, they could not joyne nor passe the River Severne, while the fuddainnesse and strangenesses of it stroke the Souldiers with such alteration, that most part of them for soke the Duke and left him to himselfe : The Earle of Richmond was as unfortunately mer at Sea by a great tempest, upon the coasts of England.

The King took the advantage this accident offered, and purfued the Duke, not only with a galloping Army, but with Edicts & Proferiptions, that promifed a thou fand pounds in mony (where unto fome VV riters adde, fo much Lands as was worth one hundred pounds per annum) to any that fhould bring in the Duke, who was betrayed and brought to the King then at Salisbury, by Hamphry Banifter,) an eternall brand) having lived by this mans fervice, and now thought treacheroufly to fubfift by his Ruine. The Duke being examined, freely confeffed all, and for it loft his head in the field according to Marfhall Law ufed by Armies, in November An. Dom. 1484. An. 2 Rich. 3.

And here, if wee view him in the figure of his Ambition or Fate, wee thall find Doctor Morton his Caput Argoll, or the malignant Planet of his fortune; who, as Sir Thomas Moore confeffeth and affirmeth, by his Politick Drifts and Pride; advanced himfelfe, and brought the Duke to this ruine. The reft fled, fome into Sanctuaries, others into Brittaine to the Earle of Richmond, and fome into Flanders, all their Plots being now how to be fafe.

And thus farre King Richard, in the Voyage of his Affaires had a promifing Gale; wee will therefore here caft Anchor a while, and clafpe up this first Booke, with the Relation of his better Fortunes.

Explicit Lib. I.

The overthrow of the Duke of Buckingham,

37

Polidore lib.25

King Richard tharply reprehended Banifter for.betraying his Mafter, which argued a noble mind.

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OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

The Argument of the Second Booke.



LIB.2.

He Earle of Richmond practifeth with Forreigne Princes, and with the English Nobles for affiftance and Forces to make bis first and second invasions of England,

He came first to Poole with ill successe, secondly to Milford cum bonis ayibus.

What Baftards are, and whereof they are capable, who be of the House of Lancaster, how Lancaster and Beaufort or Sommerset differ.

Bastards of Kings must not take the Sirnames of the King or Kingdome 1 la una , ante 1 jo care 1

The bononrable priviledge of the name of Plantabow released out of prison, bis Gencology for tenes

Prince Edward, and Queene Anne, John de la Poole proclaimed Heire of the Kingdom by Richard the I hird.

Bastards of John Duke of Lancaster made legitimate 40

timate, and capable of Offices, Honour, and of Heritage by Richard 2, and the Parliament. What the Legitimation of the Pope is. Armes and Names of Princes Bastards.

LIB. I.

j.

The

The Nobility of King Henry 7^{th.} He affied not much in the Titles of Yorke and Lancaster.

The Pope giveth to him the Title, de jure belli, & de domo Lancastriæ.

The greatnesse of the Title of Yorke, of Counsell, and Connsellours.

The Prerogative of the King in Indgements and Controverfies.

The Earle of Richmond landeth at Milford Haven; His entertainment there, and inWales; His aptneffe for divers wives; he marcheth to Bosworth; King Richard and be fight, Richard is overcome and slaine, also the Duke of Norfolke by the Earle of Oxford (ut Creditur.) The Earle of Richmond is straight Crowned King in the field; The fatall Errour of King Richard; Kings loved Combate; The Titles of King Henry 7^{th.} Kings go not now to wars; Cruelties committed upon the body of King Richard; He was attainted of Treason, though against the Laws of Nature, and of Royall Majesty, with many of his followers and servants; The Earle of Surrey how released out of prison, his Geneology from Hewardus walter de Buck, and his Progeny.

Poole proclaimed Eleire of the Line dom by E. ichain

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of King RICHARD the third.



LIB.2.

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E left King Richard the Third in the growth of a flourishing and promising Estate, and his fate now, in the rife of a peacefull and prosperous Raigne, of a calme and hopefull prefage; But Fortune that lends her fmiles as Exactors do mony, to undoe the Debtor, foone cald for the Principall and Intereft from this Prince, to whom the was meerly Novercall, and he might well call her with 54I

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the expert Heros in Euripides fortuna diurna, i.e. fortune of a daies life, for in her belt mood, the is most flippery in her favours, and tedious in her milchiefes, as was aptly confidered by a grave man : Fortuna ad ver (as res cupido animo inducit, secundas parco'; she is a mother but a little while, a stepdame a long time, and for ever to some; here then, we are aggreffing into the turbulent and lustuall times, which were towards the end and period of his Life and Raigne; the formall and finall caufes, happening from the invalions attempted by the Earle of Richmond; I will begin the Second Booke there, and may fay invafions, because he twice invaded the Kingdome, though by errour or ignorance of our Vulgar Historians, they are confounded and made one, which corruptly maines the Story, and conceales and pretermits fomevery remarkeable agitations: particularly, the true caufe of the Duke of Buckinghams ill fucceffe and defeate, is misunderftood, or not at all known. To come to it therefore more certainly, we must take notice of the first preparation by the Earle of Richmond, who was refolved to advance his claime that way, and unbofomes himfelfe to the Duke of Brittaine, his poffibility and advantage by friends, if he could raife but sufficient strength to set him fafely in England. The Duke gives him all good withes to his undertaking, but oppofes (against all Arguments of drawing him in) first, his Amity and League with England, which in honour and justice he was not to violate: Then his wants by the long Civill and cruell Warres, with his Barons, that had so exhausted his Coffers, as durst he dispense with the

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the former cause, yet that might render him excused, being unable to furnish him, at least in so thort a time as his expedition required; beyond which answer, for the prefent, the Earle thought not fit to prefie him. But having a prompt and strong affiance in his good fortune, makes up to some of the Dukes most hopourable and powerfull Friends, to lay fiege that way to him by private advantages, for by his ingenious demeanour, he had won the inclinations of many great ones, being Master of a pleasant acute wit, which was well supplied in him by the straine of all Courtly Acts; to those he had the helpe of the French Tongue, which he spoke excellently well, and (to give all the more plausible accesse and influence) hee was tas Philip de Comines, who kney him, testifies) a very compleat and well featur'd Gentleman which makes the rule certaine, and well animating

Virgill.

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armong alan Gratior est pulchro veniens e corpore virtus.

bue The beauties of the mind more gratious are, When as the bodies features are more faire.

Jobn Froilard Paradin. Hifl de Brie. The Duke had by this Lady his daughter and heir Anne, who brought the Dutchy of Brittaine to France.

Hifl.de Brit.

In the number of those eminent perfons he had gained during his faire imprilonment : more fortunately he had applyed himself unto the Lady *Margaret*, Dutchelle of Brittaine, Daughter of Gaston de Foix, (a great man in the VV efferne parts of France, whole Ancesson were well affected to the English) and Madam de Bewier the Dutches, so fatre countenanced him in his designe, that the became an earness fuitor anto the Duke her husband, and prevailed both for his liberty and aide 5 for caution and pledge herein, hewas only to kneele at the High. Altar, before the blessed Sacrament, in the Cathedrall Church of Saint Hannes, there to make his religious Vow, justly and truely to observe what restitution he privately had promised to the Duke and Dutches; which protessation made, he had three Ships well rigged and furnished with Men, Armes, and Victuals, as my Author relates, more weat and the set of the se

Au Conte de Richmond furent aux despens du due trois groffes Navires de Brittannia, charges de gens de Armes, &c. & qui se misent in mer. But, by the favour of this Brittish Writer, the Earle staid many daies at Saint Malo, to receive and send intelligence, and made it the beginning of October 1484, before he came to Saint Poole in Dorset, where he lay some time at Anchor, to fend his Boates a shore as Explorers or Spies, for discovery of the Coasts, where the Kings Armie, or his friends lay, who returned without any particular staisfaction, but that there was many Armed men about the Country. The Earle (who in all things was circumspect, and cautiously timerous) resolved immediately to loose from thence; but the night following, a terrible tempest constrained them with all hast to weigh Anchor, and make into the Maine, the Storme and darkenesse of Brittaine,

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taine, but the Earle himfelfe to the Coafts of Normandy. And this was the fucceffe of his first invasion, which, though it bore an inauspicate face, it proved of a friendly event: For had he landed about Poole. or but stayed till the Kings Ships had come in, that lay waiting not far off, he had been a loft man every way; the King being not only active to meet their contrivements, but had fome advantage upon them. by the clofe intelligence of a friend, and knew that the Forces of the Duke of Buckingham, with the Earle of Devon, and others, were to meet neare Gloucester, and march in their full and united strength, towards the fea-Coafts of Dorfet, there to receive the Earle: But the King encountred with the Duke of Buckinghams Army, beate him, and cut off his head, before any of the reft could come at him daily putting the ordinary bands of these West Countries in a ready posture for guard of their Coafts; and that if the Earle of Richmond, or any of his French Forces came a fhore, they were to be entertained courteoufly by them pretending themfelves of the Duke of Buckinghams Army, who had routed the Kings Party, and were fent thither to receive and conduct the Earle with his men to London. This was the projected end : But it is of remarkeable note, to look into the various paths of this Earles fortune, and how they brought him to his journies end, when they appeared most doubtfull and threatning, not only gave him advantage by the good fucceffe of his Enterprifes, but made the most adverse accidents ferve as prosperous unto them; for was it not happy the storme at Poole drove him from the Coasts of England, and no leffe fortunate, that the Duke of Buckingham was defeated, whereas, had the Duke atcheived that day, the Earle of Richmond not being there, (who was to be prefent in perfon, and Generall of the field) we may with reason conjecture his Emulation and Policy, would have accumulated the honour and fortune of the Conquest to his owne pretended Title: fuch Spirits like the Sea, where they intrude or win. making their advantage their right, and not eafily furrender, fo much is the engagements of Ambition, too frong for all ties of faith and right.

The example is observable in the Earle of Richmond himfelfe; who although he knew the Children of the Duke of Clarence and others, had better right to the Crowne, yet once possel, would not refigne, no not to his owne Sonne, whils he could hold it; nor did he want his Presidents, as all men know, who know any thing. And to take all Relations in our way, that may be levell with our Story, betwixt this and his second Invasion, some other passages offer themfelves, as an interim, and not impertinent to supply the Readers obfervation.

Amongst other, the Death of the Kings deare and only Sonne (at least Legitimate) who dyed in the Castle of Middleham in Yorkeshire, in the Month of Aprill, Anno Dom. 1484 which newes gave fuch a pissionate Charge upon the Nature and Affections of the King and Queene (being then in the Castle of Nottingham) that as mine

The death of Edm.Prince of Wales, Sonne of Rich. 3. Chron. Croyland.

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Jobn Earle of

Lincolne, and

after Duke of Suffolke proclaimed Heire

Apparant.

Author faith, Subitis doloribus in fanire videbantur.

Yet the King, being a man of an equall moderation to his courage, puts it into the Scale of his other worldly encounters, and as it was faid of *Iulius Cafar*, that he foone paffed the death of his only daughter *Iulia* (most pretious in his affection) Et tam facile dolorers hune, quamomnia wieit; So King Richard tempered his griefe and business fo together, that the one made him not unsensible, nor the other negligent; but as the Prior of Croyland telleth, did all things gravely and discreetly as before.

Rex Richardus nihilominus tamen fuam partem defensione vacaverit: although the Queene could not hold fo proportioned a temper over her griefe, the tenderneffe of her Sexe, letting it breake upon her in a more paffionate manner, and with fuch an Impression, that it became her fickeneffe paft recovery, languishing in weakneffe and extremity of forrow, untill the feemed rather to overtake death, than death her : which was not long after the Princes, and added not a little to the Kings fufferings and forrowes, (though traducing Spirits have charged him with shortning her life by poylon, or some other practice, which are prestigious and blacke Comments, falsty plact in the Margent of his Story, and may mere nearely touch the credit of the Authors than his, if we judicioully take a view of him and his Actions ; and looke upon the indulgent and active care for his Country, which he gave a constant and fincere expression of, instantly after his Sonnes death, when by the deliberation and confent of the Barons, he was industrious to thinke of a Successiour, and to nominate fuch an one whose bloud and worth might make him equally Heire to the Crown and the peoples affection, (with the highest approbation of the Kingdome) and none more neare to either, then Sir Iohn de la Poole Earle of Lincolne, Sonne and Heire of John de la Poole Duke of Suffolke, and of the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, Ducheffe of Suffolke, the Sifter and Heire of this King Richard, who was declared and proclaimed Heire apparant to the Kingdome. This was a Contrecarre to the Faction of Richmond, and (indeed) what greater affront could thwart them, if those of the House of Lancaster or Beaufort, were next Heire to the Crowne, (as the pretenders affirmed for the Earle of Richmond) who would likewise have him to be Caput gentis Lancastria, & Princeps familie; though they could fcarcely prove him (not without question I am fure) Membrumillius familia, untill he came to be King; for it was a question in those times, and much disputed, whether the Beauforts or Sommerfets were of the Houfe of Lancaster, or no: most true it is, the Children of the Houfe of Lancaster being lawfully borne, and after Henry Plantagenet Duke of Lancaster, had Conquered and depofed Richard the Second, were to be held Princes of the Bloud Rovall, and capable of the Crowne in their naturall and due Order. But those of Beaufort or Sommerset, were as the Vulgar hath it, filij populi, or as the Imperiall Juris-confults fay, liberi vulgo quesiti, who by the old Greeks were termed Anamen, i.e. fine Patre, the Doctors of the Spiriruall

of King RICHARD the third.

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tuall Law, drawing the Originem of fuch children, ab illicito & damnato. coitu, of the polluted adulterous bed (and fo those Beauforts, three. males and one female, begotten by Iohn of Gaunt (as he believed) according to the Lawes were to be reputed, the children of Sir otho Swinford, begotten upon Katherine his Wife in his life time, who was daughter of Sir Payer Rovet a French-man, dwelling in Beauforts, and was Guven Herald to the Duke of Lancaster. His Dutcheffe Dona Conftantia, (a most noble and vertuous Lady, daughter of Don Pedro King of Castile) was living alfoin the time he kept this Kathen rine, and had those Beauforts, who were Sir-named to from the place of their birth, a Town of his own in Aniow. But to note transitu, how obnoxious this Duke made his frailties, that (thinking to put a fmoother face upon his fin) gave it but the fame blufh, by making this Katherine Swinford his Dutcheffe, again ft the liking of the King & all his noble friends, & direct Tenor of the common Laws, which pronounce marriages between fuch as have lived in Aldutery unlawfull : Nay to make him the more marvaile and imiling difcourfe of the Court, the glaffe of his age was turn'd to his laft yeare when he facrific'd thefe fcatterd embers of his defires and paffion. But he obtained those children to be legitimated : First, by the Pope Vibanue the fixt; next by the Charter of King Richard the fecond, and had both thefe indulgences afterward enlarged and confirmed by Parliament. Yet neither these foure legitimate children, nec qui nascebantur abillis, were permitted to the Princely familiar Title of Lancaster, fo long as that name flourished, much leffe of Plantagenet, for that was the peculiar Sir-name in chiefe of the Kings of England, and Princes of the blood Royall, fince the time of the fecond Henry, Sonne of the Empresse Matilda, the first founder of that name in the Royall Family of England. Of which honour were partakers, the Princely Family of Wales, of Brotherton, of Yorke, of Lancaster, of Clarence, of Woodstock, of Glocester, &c. And there are yet some Noblemen in Portugall, who defcended from John Duke of Lancaster, and are called and written de Lancastro, others of the like Origine and Title may doe as much. Neither would King Henry the fourth, Henry the fift, nor King Henry the fixt, all Kings of the Lancastrian race indure to let the Lineage of Beaufort (though they respected them as kinfmen, and advanced them to many honours) Affume the the Sir-name of Lancaster, holding it an Arrogation and Usurpation of Royaltic and Royall Rights, wherein they followed their Ancestors, who devised other names for their base children : As Fitz-Roy, Oxenford, Fitz-Herbert, Clarendon, Fitz-Henry Longue fee Cornwall; and fo they continued the name of Beaufort and Somerfets untill the Earle of Richmond came, and this was in imitation of the Kings of France as I conceive. For within the reach of my observation, fince the time of Hugh Capet, they never vouch fafed any of their bafe fons to be capable of the Crown of France, or to have the Adven (as they call it) nor the Sir-name of France ; but the illegitimate daughters may take

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Sir Tho. Walfin.

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Parl. ann. 20. Rich. 2.

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Don Duart de Lansastro a Nobie Gen, of Portugall, averred himfelf descended from the D. of Lan. Valodolid.

The peculiar Sir-names of the Baftards of the ancient Kings of England

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Armes of Baftards of the Kings of England.

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The.Gainsford.

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take the Sir-name France, or de France, because they can make no claime to the Crowne by a pretended permission of the Salik-law, which Iohn de Tillet witnesseth.

La troisiesme lignèe a du tout rejecte, les Bastards non seulement de la Coronne mais aussi de l'aduen, et Surnom de France, qui Concession est permis aux Bastards de roy de.

And as the Bastards of the Kings of England had other names, fo they tooke differenced Armes; or else were permitted to beare their mothers (if of any Family.) If tolerated to beare the armes of England; then they were diversified in a Checking, Debasing and Rebating manner, with Baftons, Bends, Sinister Barres, Bordures, Marks of Basenesse, Obscuritie and Noveltie, which any new Gentleman might beare, fuch as the Learned call files terra & novos homines ; and wee vulgarly, upftarts. But to object against the use of this in England, the example of Hamelin is brought in; and to credit it, his Armes forged by fome weake and negligent Heralds, who call him Hamelin Plantagenee, when the truth is, this Hamelin (base some of leoffry Plantagenet; Earle of Aniow) was fimply called Hamelin , and his sonne William tooke the Sir-name of his Mother Dame I (abel de Warren, daughter and heire of William de Warren Earle of Surrey, which their Posteri continued; as Ioannes de Warrena the first, and Ioannes de Warrena the fecond, both Earles of Surrey; and Isabella de Warren, and Elianor de Warren Oc. mentionedin the Charters and Records, but never Plantagenet, which is acknowledged by our best Heralds and Antiquaries; Master William Campden hath thesewords: I fabella filia sola Gulielmi de Warrena Comitis Surreia Hamelinum Nothum Galfredi Plantageneti Gre. titulo-Comitis Sarreia marisum exernavit. Hamelinus Gulielmum Surreie Comitem gennit, cujus posteri à Scito Warrenoru nomine eundem titulum gesserunt. And that the base sonne of King Edward the fourth, was commonly called Arthur Plantagenet proves nothing neither, well confidered: For in the times when this Arthur lived, the name of Plantagenet, being onely left in the house of Yorke (the Lancasterian Plantagenet being more extinguished) had not the former honour and reputation, but was darkned and fetting, rather drawing a contempt and hate to them that bare it, the White Rofe dayly fading and withering; and fo malignant was their Planet then, that, as a Learned Gentleman hath further observed, It was not safe in that time to be a Plantagenet; therefore the permission of those times can be no warrant for the objections, nor the ignorance of the Poeticall Heralds, who have strain'd this fable of Hamelin. Yet farther, not onely giving him and his Posteri a false Sir-name, but affign'd him by the like Fabulous Art, a shield of familiar Ensignes, the Armes of France border'd with an Orle of Normandy or Guyen : which he, nor yet any of the Antique Lineage of Aniow, or their Progeny ever bare, or could by just Title beare, either fimply, or compounded, or the Progenitors of our English Kings the Lillies of Gold in an azure field, untill King Edward claimed the Crowne of France,

of King RICHARD the third. I od T

France, and affumed them in the right of Queene Ifabel de V aloys his Mother, who was the first that bare them quarterly with the Armes of England.

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But the Armes of the ancient Earles of Aniow were a Scarboucle, (that is, a Golden Bucle of a military Scatffe or Belt, fet with precious Stones) not a Carbuncle or more precious Ruby; for the terme is erroneous and abfurd, if confidered ? The Princes of Aniow bare this Scarboucle in a Thield party per Chiefe , Argent and Gueules ; and the Heires of this Hamelin (who tooke the Sir-name of Warren) bare also the Atmes of the house of Warren in their Shields and Caparifons, but bare the Scarboucle of Anibw for their Creft, as they were defcended out of that House, as I have feene upon a Seal of Ioannes de Warrena Earl of Surrey, at a Charter, dated 20. E. 2. An. Dom. 1346. aprid Dom. Rob. Cotton, which hath given me occasion to speake thus much to cure the Blemish that mistake hath thruft into Hiftory, fuch abfurdities having their infection, and paffing by an Age or two upon the easie and common judgments, after grow up for tall and undeniable truths : For fome meerly reading the complexion of things, as they do men by their out-fides, or as boyes Poetry, with a tickled faith ; through fuch wide eares and obfervations, crept in that Paralitime on the one fide, and Pride and Ulfurpation on the other fide, that made the house of Lancaster and the Beanforts, alias Somerfets, all one ; which (whilft the house of York flourithed) was held to differ as much as Royall and Feudall, Soveraignty and Suzeraignty; for their modeffie at first was very well pleafed with that of Beaufort, and it feem'd honourable enough untill the children of Tohn de Beaufort, the eldest Brother (being Earle of Somerfet) affumed the name of their Fathers greatest honour and Earledome for their Sir name, and the reft following, quite left the name of Beaufort, and made the other Hereditary. From this, John de Beaufort Earle of Somerfet, and Marqueffe of Dorfet, defcended Henry Duke of Somerfet, Father naturall to Charles Somerfet, created Earle of Worcester by King Henry the eight. And it is worth the noting, that this Duke Hikin Teltithe Faction of Lancaster to follow Edward the fourth. The first Beauforts legitimated by the Pope, and Richard the fecond have no other Sir-names, but Beaufort in either of the instruments Apostolicall, nor any words to give or emure them to any capacitie of Royall Title, or fate of Soveraignty in the Crown. onely purged them by the Popes spirituall power from the foulenesse of Biftardy allowing them as children legitimate and lawfully born. but gives them no other title then loanna de Beaufort miles, Henricus de Beaufort Clerique, Thomas de Beaufort Domicellus, Ioannus de Beaufort Domicella, and more the Pope cannot doe. As the Doctors of Sorbone, and fome of the best Canonists hold, who peremptorily affirme, That the Pope cannot make Bastards capable to inherit the Hereditary Lands of their Father; neither can give them power to Constitute Succeffours or Heires, or hold Offices, Dignities, or Titles,

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Difference betweene the houfe of Lancafter and So-

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The Earles of Worcefter, from whom.

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LIB. 2.

The civill and imperiall Law againft Baftards. Sir Edw.Cook.

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DoctorStephen Gardiner. Sir Tho. Eger. Chancellors of England.

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tles, without the Princes speciall dispensation, to which the Civill and Imperiall Lawes agree, and is Authentick in England, as a Learned and eminent Judge reports, though others thinke it of too fevere a nature, and moderately agreeable to reason and Law (the Law much observing reason) That Bastards being honest and worthy men (the rather if they be avowed by their Fathers) may be admitted to Honours, Dignities, Titles, Feuds, and other Ornaments of rewards and vertue. Of this indulgence and connivence, wee have examples in England by two worthy and deferving men (flourishing in this Age) who, though Bastards held the greatest Offices in England, So Richard the fecond, in his Charter for the legitimation of the Beauforts, would have men of defert (and avowed by their Fathers) capable of Advancement and Honours. The Tenor of which Charter and Confirmation of it by Parliament I shall exhibite, as it is taken out of the Archives and Tower Records, opening the way by a short advertisement, That in this Act of Parliament, there is an Induction to the Charter, made by Doctor Edmond Stafford, Brother to the Earle of Stafford, and Bishop of Exeter, Lord Chancellour of England in the twentieth yeare of Richard the fecond; which intimateth, that Pope Vrbanus the fixt, at the earnest request of the King, vouchfafed to legitimate these Beauforts, the base sonnes and the daughter of the Duke of Guyen and Lancaster: That the King alfo, having power to legitimate and enable Baftards in the fame kind, and in as ample manner as the Emperour hath or had, for fo he pressed and avowed in the Act, was pleased at the humble request and fuit of the Duke their Father, to make them not onely legitimate, but also capable of Lands, Heritages, Titles, Honours, Offices, Dignities, &c. And that the King for the more authority therof, crav'd the allowance and favourable affent of the Barons in Parliament, which was granted : The Charter runnes thus.

Charta Legitimationis Spuriorum Joannis Ducis Lancastriz.

R Ichardus dei gratia Rex, Anglia, Francia, Dominus, Hibernia, charissimis Consanguineis nostris, Nobilibus virus Ioanni de Beaufort Militi, Henrico de B. Clerico, Thomæ de Beaufort Domicello & Nobili mulieri Ioannæ Beaufort domicella praclarissimi patrui nostri Nobilis viri Ioannis Ducis Aquitania & Lancastria Germanis natis & liegis nostris salutem.

Nos pro bonore & meritis zoc. Avunculi nostri, Proprio arbitratu & meritorum suorum intuitu vos, quia magno probitatis

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bitatis ingenio, ac vita ac morum Honestate fulgetis, & ex regaliestis profapia propagati Ec. binc est quod loannis Ec. avunculi nostri genitoris vestri precibus inclinati vobis (cum (ut asseritur) defectum natalium patimini) hujusmodi defectum & ejuldem qualitates qualcunque abolere prasentes, vos baberi polumus, pro sufficientibus, ad quoscunque honores, dignitatis praeminentias, status, gradus, & officia, publica, & privata, tam perpetua quam temporalia, atque Judicialia & Nobilia quibuscung; nominibus nuncupentur etiam h. Ducatus, Principatus, Comitatus, Baronia vel alia feuda fuerint, etiamh mediate vel immediate, à nobis dependeant seu teneantur prasici, pramoveris eligi, asfumi & admitti, illag: recipere proinde libere ac licite paleatis as fide legitimo thoro nati existeritis, quibuscunque Statutis, seu Consuetudinibus regni nostri Anglia in contrarium editis seu observatis que hic habemus pro totaliter expression, nequa. quam obstantibus, de plenitudine nostra regalis potestatis o de allenfu Parliamenti nostri tenore presentium dispensamus, vosque & quemlibet vestrum natalibus restituimus & Legitimanus, Die Feb. Anno regni 20. R. 2. 9 10 3 Ayd hamilao est and twentich day of December 3

Here wee find large Graces, Honours, and Priviledges, conferred upon those Beauforts; for the King calls them Confanguineos fuos, and not onely confirmes their. Legitimation, but makes them (by the helpe of the Parliament) capable of Baronies, Earledomes, Dukedomes, and Principalities, enableth them for all Offices publique and private, temporary and perpetuall; to take hold of and injoy all Feuds, as well noble as other, all Lands and Signiories Hereditary, as lawfully, firmly and rightfully, as if they had beene borne in lawfull matrimony, but yet conferres no Royall Title nor interest in the Crowne, at the leaft, to the observation of those who allow not the claime of the Beauforts and Somerfets, and fay, that to reach that, there must be words of a higher intent, words of Empire, Majesty and Soveraigntie, fuch as Regnisamma potestass Coronas Sceptrum, Diadema, Purpura, Majestas, and the like: Neither of thele, nor any inij porting their extent, being in this grant, fond Title to the Crowne nor Soveraigntie could paffe to them .. of patho which sorraign and and

To which the other fide replyes, That there is a word in the Chard ter that comprehendeth Empire, Raigne, and Soveraigntie, that is, *Principatus*; whereof the King and Parliament make the Beauforts capable, *Principatus* being the State of *Princeps*, a Title of the mole abfolute Soveraigne Power; for the Roman Emperours in their greateft height; were called *Principes*, therefore *Princeps* is thus defined 3 burger H 30 boold lie ve A bus to Princeps

Palid. Wing K. 2. So King K. 2. C lled Ishm of Gavat vious Recein Tower; Bur that was bur that was the that was the clicks, the difference the difference into Clicks, betweng the difference the difference the difference the difference the difference the difference the sense.

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The History of the Life and Reigne

LIB. 2.

The Charter, of H.4 for enrayling the Crowne.

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This Charter I faw in the hands of Sir Rob.'Cotton, & from it tooke thefe Summary notes. The Noblenes and Family of H.E. of Rich. Glover. 1413.

> Polid.lib.25. So King R. 2. called sohn of Gaunt Avunculum noßrum, Rec.in Tower; But that was the fault of the barbarous La, tine Clerks, not knowing the difference between patruos & avunculos.

Princeps est penes quem summa Reip. potestas est, & qui primus omnium dominatur; And Principates, and Dominatus are used, as Synonomies. But it is conceiv'd an errour now, to take Principatus for Regnum, or Supremus Dominatus, being the word Principatus long before, and in the age of Richard the fecond, also ever fince hath beene restrained to the Estate of Primogenitus and Heire apparant, not onely of Kings, but alfo of Dukes and Marqueffes, as well Feudallas Soveraigne. And the next King Henry the fourth, a wife, difcreet, and wary Prince, though he was much inclin'd to those Beauforts (as being his naturall Brethren by the Paternall fide, and willing to advance them all he could) yet he discovered clearely enough by that certaine Charter in which he entailed the Crowne fuccessively to his foure Sonnes, and to the Heires of their bodies, that he reputed not the Beauforts to be Lancastrians.or neare the Crown. Neither is there the least clause or miention to leave any remainder therein to them : First, he intaild the Crowne to his eldest fonne Henry Prince of Wales, after him to the Heires of his body; If they faile, then to Thomas of Lancaster his second sonne, and to the Heires of his body, foto his third fonne John of Lancaster, and to the Heires of his body. Lastly, to the fourth sonne Humpbrey, and to the Heires of his body, for still, and forevery estate : the words are, Post ipfam faccesive Heredibus suis de ipsius Corpore legitime procreandis, which is all, and implicatively an expresse exclusion of the Beauforts. This Charter was confirmed by Act of Parliament holden at Westminster the two and twentieth day of December, in the eight yeare of Henry the fourth, and fealed with his owne Signet. Upon the Dexter fide of that, hung the feales of fundry Lords Spirituall; on the left fide, the feales of the Lords Temporall witneffes. And albeit, the Earle of Richmond could not fo well and rightly beare the name of Beaufort or Somerfet, being a Tuador by his Father, and fo to be Sir-named, or of some other Welch-name (if there were any in his Family) by his Mother he was descended from the Beauforts; for the Lady Margaret, Counteffe of Richmond, was daughter and heire to Sir Iohn de Beaufort Duke of Somerser, and Grand-child to Iohn of Gaunt by Katherine the wife of Otho de Swinford, which Iohn de Beaufort, was created Duke of Somerfet by Henry the fift, his Wife was the daughter, and at length the heire of Sir Iohn Beauchamp of Bletfo, and the widow of Sir Oliver Saint-John when he married her : But the Earle of Richmond, by his Grand-mother Katherine Queene of England, was defcended from the Kings of France, and I have feene in a Pedigree (drawne after he was King) derived from the ancient Kings & Princes of Brittaine. Polidore faith, he was Ex fratre Nepos to King Henry the fixt, who cal'd him Nephew, and he the King, Avunculum nostruin (our Uncle) insteed of Patruum, as it is in the Records of Parliament, Ann. 1. of Henry the feventh, but not his Nephew, as wee erroneously now take it, that is his German younger Brothers Sonne, for then he had beene a true Masculine Issue of the house of Lancaster and Royall blood of England. But

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But he was Nephew to him by his Brother Uterine, Edmond Tender Earle of Richmond, the fonne of Owen Tender or Meridock, and of Queene Katherine, daughter of Charles the fixt King of France, and widow of Henry the fift King of England, which the French well knew, and gave him the better effecme for it, but those Honours were obscure Additions to him that must not goe leffe then for a Prince of the house of Lancaster, and so of England, which passed with such vulgar credit in France, that Du Tillet mistooke John Duke of Somerset, Father of Margaret Countess of Richmond, for the true and lawfull Sonne of John de Gaum, Gre. by his first Wise Blanch Plantagenet, Daughter and Heire of the Earle and Earledome of Lancaster. Philip de Cominess Lord of Argent, had better intelligence of his Pedigree and Title which he gives us thus.

Il n'avoit creix, ny pile, ne n'ull droit (Come Ie croy) a la Coronne d'Angleterre : And this expresses, he had no great opinion of either, though he were then King when this was writ. But let us suppose him lawfully from that Duke of Lancaster, his claime must stand ex. cluded whilst the house of Yorke survived, for Richard Plantagenet, Duke of Yorke, and King of England defignat, by Act of Parliament holden 39 years of King Henry the fixt, to whom these Titles of Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earle of Chefter, and Protector of England, were given by the three Estates in that Parliament, descended from the Daughter and Heire of the second Sonne of King Edward the third. (For as before, fo still I leave the Infant William of Hatfield without the Catalogue) and King Henry the fourth and his Progeny, descended from the third Sonne; and King Henry the fixt; being the best of the house of Lancaster then living, did acknowledge in that Parliament, the Title of Richard Duke of Yorke, the onely lawfull and just Title, fo confequently next and better then that of Lancaster or any other; and before any Beaufort or their Heires, the Issue of the two daughters of John Duke of Lancaster, Philip and Katherine (married to the King of Portugall and Cafile) were to be preferr'd if Forraigne Titles be not excluded by Parliament. But the Earle of Richmond, measuring his owne height, by the advautage of a tumultuary and indifpoled time, and finding his Lancastrian pretence, began to have a popular retinew, he was now incompatible of any others' precedency and propinguity for those great ones that led him by the hand unto the Action, layd the line by their owne corrupted hopes and feares of the fucceffe, therefore would not let the fortune of their expectation faint in him. Bishop Morton steered much in the course of their Affaires, and was a great Oracle to the Earle, who was noted too partiall and credulous, especially where he believed the persons of any honesty, vertue, or learning, for which his fame yet beares fome staines of Morton, Dudley, Empson, Bray, Frswike, Knevett, Grc. for there be two extreames observed in the Councells of Princes, one when the Prince is subject to follow the councells of evillmen; the other, when the Prince is too H

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too opinionated to confult with Counfell, fuch an one as was Charles, the hardy Duke of Burgundy, fo opinionated and overweening of his owne wifedome and judgement, that he under-thought all mens elfe, which wide conceit of his hath left this Monument.

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Carolus pugnax altorum confilta & rationes (ne dicam) fequi uix audire volebat, ignominia loco babens ab alijs difeere, & judicavit, fe proprio cerebro omnia concilia habere recondita.

And to give us yet further character of Bishop Morton, Sir Thomas Moore (fometimes his Master) tels us, his best inclinations were swaid to the dangerous positions and rules of pollicie, and Doctor John Hird in his metricall History of England, brings him in an Ambodexter and observer of fortune, one while yorkeizing another while Lancastrizing, thus delivering humfelfe:

Si Fortuna meis fauißet partibus olim, Et gnato Henrici sexti diadema dedisset, Edwards nunquam venissem regis in aulam, Sed quia supremo stetst hac sententia Regi, Henrico auferre, ac Edwardo reddere sceptrum, Tanta mea nunquam la sit dementia mentem, Vt sequerer partes regis visit atque sepult, Adwersus vivum Sc.

Which may be thought well faid by a meere Politician, But from a friend it wants fomething of a Christian, for true friendship and piery will owne us in the blackest adversity and filence of the grave, as the divine Artofte hath something neare observed in this elegant Stanza.

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Nessun puo super du chi sia amato Quando selice in sula mrota si ede; Pere ch' haiveri & isiniti amici alato, Chi mostrantuti una medessima sede, Se poi si cangia in tristo il he sto stato, Volta la turba adulatrice il piede, Et quel di cu or' ama riman' sorte, Et ama il suo amico doppola morte.

No man whilft he was happy ever knew Affuredly of whom he was belov'd, For then he hath both feigned friends and true, Whofe faith feemes both alike till they be prov'd, But he is left of all the flattering Crew When from his happy flate he is remov'd, But he who loves in heart, remaines ftill one, And loves his friend when he is dead and gone:

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of King RICHARD the third.

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Doctor *Mortous* aimes were drawne from other rules which with good *Alacrity*, made him Archbifhop, and Lord Chancellour of England, and put him the next lift into a Cardinallfhip, and then he ftood on tiptoes by the King, according to the Roman Marfhalling of ftates for in the Popes lift of ranges and prefence; his holineffe is the firft, then the Emperour, next a Cardinall, then a King : and in this, Sir *Tho. Moore* notes the extremity of his pride, to abufe his wifdome and piety, which otherwife might have kept him and his memory unfullyed in these preferments, fo much our vices impoftumate our fames, hypocrifie leaving the fcarre but of a deformed cure upon it at beft.

But Doctor Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, prefents him nearer (as it were) in his Domefticke nature, and reports when Doctor Morton was Archbishop of Canterbury, he exacted and extorted a far greater Summe of money from the Clergy of his Dioceffe then was ever before, and for his private Commodity (which he coveroufly fought) brought certaine Leames or bigger Ditches to his owne grounds about Wisbitch, from the River Nine, which was before navigable, and of much publike use, but hath fince ferved for little or none. And John Stow faies he was the ftirrer up of those great and grieveous taxes which raifed the people to Armes and Rebellion : Thefe notes of his naturall dispositions stucke like wennes upon the face of his Religion. and from that mind, where by affections justle Religion and confeience out, how hazardous may the Power and Counfell of fuch be, to the inclinations of a wife Prince: but this Prelate made his fo Canonicall, and fitted them to the times, and his Mr temper, that they deceived not his expectation, but brought him home to his ends, and to the favor of aprovident & wife Prince; that he was fo, the world must just ly avow, and in all his actions, we may see him, of a fafe and contracted wifedome, governed by a most cautelous spirit, as great a husband of those vertues he had, asofhis Glory, not too modest, (if I be not much niftaken) to heare of either; of both which he hath left us pious taftes. But the most furviving addition of memory, is that great example of Majefty, and her Sexe, Queene Elizabeth, who was faid to be like this King her Grandfather, as well in composition of qualities, as favour, and lineaments, that the was his lively and perfect Image; and to use an even hand in the extention of himselfe and his power, it must not be denyed, (how far off soever he was at first) after the Crown yeilded to him, he was the true proprietary of all the Rights and Titles which carried it, or had dependency thereon; and to colleague all in a full and perfect ftrength, the Title of Yorke was confirmed to him by marriage of Elizabeth Plantagenet Eldeft Daughter of Edward 4, Prince or head of that Family, to whom the Title of Lancaster inftantly escheated as he was King, which before was in controverfic, or in nubibus, or Abeyance (as our Lawyers fay) for no man being a Subject, how Capitall and chiefe a Judg, or of what judicatory power foever, could give a definitive Sentence, in any ambiguous caufe or Act

Fra. Goodwin in Catalogo Episcoporum.

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King H. 9. only affected the Title de jure

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of the King: but the King himfelf which is an ancient and Authentique paragraph in the Laws of England, as learned Judge Bratton affirmeth. De Chartis Regijs, & de fattis regum non possunt Iusticiari disputare, nec si disputatio oriatur possunt cam interpretari, sed in dubijs & obscuris, & ubi altqua distic contineat duos intellectus domini Regis erit expectanda interpretatio & voluntas, & c.

The reason is given in the Bookes of the Civilland Imperiall Lawes peremptorily, quia de principali Indicio non est disputandum. So that Controversie, whether the Beauforts or Sommersets were of the House of Lancaster, and capable of the Crowne or no, could not be determined untill there came a competent Judge, a King, and King of England, who by that vertue and power decreed to himself, the Title of Lancaster, with all the Royall Apurtenances confirmed by the Pope, as proper to him, and then the VV riters both English and French, had some colour to fay he was de la ligne de Lancastre, & caput gentis regalis & Princeps familia Lancastriens.

But the Chancellour Morton, by a more happy & plaufible infinuation, termed the Marriage an union of Yorke and Lancaster, and not improperly, nor without a very favourable acceptance to the King (at least in the beginning of his Raigne,) though after (as may be obferved,) he thought those attributions, but small wyers to hold the weight and confequence of his Crowne, nay, fo flender was his Affiance, (or rather none at all) in his Titles of Yorke and Lancaster. much lesse of Sommerset, that he seemed tacitly to wave and quit them, and flucke to that of his Sword and Conquest; For the more publike vote and knowledge whereof, there was at his Coronation. Proclamations made with these Titles, Henricus Rex Anglia jure divino, jure humano, or jure Belli, or , which the Barons could not fancy, nor condifcend to though the King peremptorily avowed and maintained he might justly assume and beare it, having as a Conquerour entred the Land, fought for the Crowne, and wonne its they answer as peremptorily, that he was beholding to them, both for his Landing and Victory, and by their permission had that faire and prosperous footing upon their Coafts, not by any ftroke of his French, which were not fo many as the least Legion of the Romans, and had found but bloudy entertainment by the valiant English, if ever they had landed, befides the instigation of a mortall hatred against the Invader, never to be extinguifhed but with an utter expulsion and destruction, which they humbly prayed might be worthy of his confideration, and not to take from his loving people the just due of their Affections, by afcribing fo much of his victory to the French, or his Welfh Sword, Sith, they voluntarily opened their Armes and Country, to receive him and put the Crowne upon his head, that this was their free and voluntary A& they hoped he could not forget : and if fo, why would he make fuch an Atchievement, a Conquest, or a purchase of the Sword, tearmes of a most harsh and disonant sound to the English, who reputed them as Barbarous and Tyrannicall, their ends and events to enflave them, their

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their Goods and Fortunes, under a Licentious power that might Act and will any thing: Quicquid Victor audet, aut Victustimet? The examples of the conquering Gothes and Vandalls, Longobards, in Italy and Spaine, Saxons and Normans in England; and lately the Spaniards in America, with many other cruell Lords effated onely by their unjust Armes and Swords, being fresh and bleeding instances, that when but mentioned, furre up thoughts of horrour and deteftation of the Swords Title. But the more they oppos'd it, the more he is constant to have it affented by the Pope with his Title of Lancafter, which he thought would be a ftronger bridle to check all murmurs, but yet indeavoured it not directly and difertly, but under a close and borrowed prætext, the out-fide of his Embassage being only to obtaine a dispensation and pardon for his marriage, prætending a feare of Inceft, his Wife being his Kinf-woman; Et quarto Confanquinitatis & for fan affiinitatis gradu, which Pope Innocentius the eight granted the first yeare of his raigne ; and afterward (upon what occasion I cannot fay) he renewed the same fuit to Pope Alexander the fixt, who confirmed and ratified the pardon and difpensation made by his Predeceffors in the fourth yeare of this Kings Raigne,

But it is observable, that the Pope herein taketh not upon him to confer or give any new Titles; neither did the King publikely folicite the Pope to confirm these two Titles, his Embassador had that particular in his private instructions : So that by this, the Pope seemeth only to make a rehearfall of those Titles as due and proper to him before, and the Titles de jure Belli, & de jure Lancastria, seem'd not as any matters or subject of the Bull, but rather some defire the Pope had, to expresse a love and honour to the King, and that he was pleafed, Ex proprise or more more or certassian field, to make such honourable memoriall of all the Majesticall Titles in the Kings right, as the more stately embroiderics to his glorious Letters of Apostolicall indulgence, for the dispensation of the faid marriage conveyed, and in these words:

Hic Rex Anglia, de domo Laneastria originem trahens, ac qui notorio jure, & indubitato proximo successionis titulo & Pralatorum & procerum Anglia Electione & concessione & c. Etiam de jure Belli est Rex Anglia.

After, for the more cleare reparing and curing all flawes and defects of Titles, the Pope addeth this gracious clause; Supplemusq; omnes, & singulos defetius, tam juris, quam facti, si qui intervenerint in regno dicto.

And then in the end, not in the front, this Bull is intituled, Pagina confirmationis nostra, approbationis, pronunciationis, constitutionis, deelarationis, suppletionis, monitionis, requisitionis, prohibitionis, Benedictionis, inhibitionis, & excommunicationis, & Anathematizationis in quossunque, qui presumpserint, infringere, velaussi temeritatis, contravenire his literis Apostolicis.

For all this must be held, and thought to be done Antoritate Apostolica.

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this Bull in the Cabinet of Sir Rob. Cotton.

The Popes Charter for the Title of Lancaft. Ei de jure Belli, &c. for the difpenfing wich the Kings inceftuous marriage.

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stolica, i. by the Authoritie of the Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint Paul.

And thus the King received of the Pope the two Titles, De Domo Lancastrie, and De Inre Belli, without any feeking or folicitation (as wee are led to credit) for there appeareth not any expresse fuit or motion by the King to that purpole, though by circumstances and probabilitie it was preferred under hand, for the other things were but of flight request and no necessitie, nor obnoxious to any danger; when those two Titles were the present markes, his aime was strongly and mainly directed to. Though I must confesse, after a while, he was as lightly fatisfied in these (notwithstanding the Popes thunder and lightning, added to them,) as in the Titles of Yorke and Lancafter, which he difcovered, and not obscurely, when he moved the Estates in his first Parliament, to grant an Estate Hereditary and entail'd of the Crowne and Kingdome, with all the Appurtenances, to the Heires of his body : beyond this he could not require much, nor they give, which was unanimoufly condifcended unto, as a gift of a new Title confirmed by their Act, the Copy whereof I have transcribed (where I come to rehearse the Titles of our Soveraigne Lord the King that now is.) Nor is the Devination of this peece to darke, but that the cause may be guessed at, why he held himselfe not fafe in the Titles of Yorke and Lanacster, of Beaufort and Somerset already toucht at, but may fall more seasonably elsewhere into our Stories, without confounding it with Historologies, and prefenting matters out of their time and place; my purpole onely being, to take fo much light from the Story of Henry the feventh as shall but properly conduce to the true shadowing and proportioning of King Richards, being neceffarily inforced to inculcate fuch matters as may feeme of no prefent conclusion; yet loofing their observation, wee shall want the knowledge of many things much pertinent to the credit and honour of King Richard and his Actions : To which, according to the Order and Affaires of time, I am now to come againe.

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And here, upon our accompt, wee shall find it neare upon tenne months fince the Duke of Buckingham was suppressed, and the Earl of Richmond driven from Poole with the storme, who was now againe very busie raysing fresh preparations in France, and King Richard upon the intelligence, as stickling to Levy Souldiers, and reinforce all his Havens and Frontier places. But the Earle of Richmond found it not so easie a matter now as at first, to draw a party and concurrence from France, having sped so ill in his former undertakings, which indeed struck a great discouragement in the expectation of all his Favourers, and made his welcome the colder so the Duke of Brittaine; the rather also, because he had beene with the French King before he came to him, which was taken but ill, although the Earle could not otherwise doe, being forc't upon the Coasts of Normandy; And comming into the Road at Deipe landed, to refress

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fresh himself and company : From thence he intended to Roan, which being fo neare Paris, ingaged him thither to the King, being (as Philip de Comines faith, followed in a very honourable Port by 500 Englishmen) In his flay there (to fhew us how much interest a provident and active (pirit hath in fortune) he fo heightned and fweetned his behaviour to the Court, as conciliated the favour and refpect of the Greateft and Nobleft Perfons to him. But most happily, the faire opinion and esteeme of the Princely Lady Anne de France, eldest Silter to King Charles the eight, who had fuch an influence upon him in his minoritie, that the out-pitched Lewis Duke of Orleance, chiefe Prince of the Blood. In envy or mif-like whereof, he tooke Armes, and rayled a Civill Warre in France (as lohn Tillet and others write) The was wife to Pierce de Bourbon Lord of Beaujen, after Duke de Bour: bon, but Beaujen being his most stately and honourable Signiory, he was called Mounfieur de Beaujen ; and this Lady had fo' flexible an inclination to the Earle of Richmonds Caufe, that the importuned the King to aide him with a good fumme of mony and 3000 men, but odde fellowes. For Philip de Comines laith, they were trois mille hommes les plus meschants que lux peut trouver, no better then Rogues and Trewans, men of base qualitie and as low courage." Whilst these were Levying, the Earle (thriftie of all opportunities, and as dili. gent to adde what advantage of time and avde he could) vifits the Duke of Brittaine to the fame purpole. The Duke propounds it to his Councell, which Peter Landow, his Treasurer and chiefe Counfellour objects against, with this realon, That if the Enterpize fucceeded well, yet the event must fall out unhappily and ill to him, the Earle having now interested himself to the favour and affistance of Charles King of France: And this would be the first linke of fo strong an ingagement, that the Earle and his Confederacy must be lost to Brittaine when he came to be King, being respectively tyed to lend the King of France ayde against them, if any caule should happen, which the King of France had a prepared ftomack for, and had not beene hice to feeke any provocation that might countenance a Quarrell against the Dutchy of Brittaine, which was beyond his spanne, fo long as they continued in League with England; that being untwifted, and France and England Contracted, how ealie was it for the Prench to envade and swallow up both him and fiis Dukedome. To make the present advantage (therefore) as profitable, as fafe, his advice was to flay the Earle; the Duke knowing his Coffers at that time Very lanke, and that the King of England would offer well for him and proved the Counfell, and refolved to be led by Landow (which felpects (notwithstanding) were very affectionate to the Earley But whether by the fecret caution of fome friends, or fuggested to him by his Better genius, Sure it is, by fome unknowne meanes he had knowledge of it; and yet this was determined but at night, and deligned for the morning; But before midnight, or the knowledge of their flight, he and twelve Gentlemen his followers, had left Vannes, and recovered Aniow,

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Aniow (under the French Kings protection) from thence to the French Court againe, the King being still very pliable and constant to his promife concerning those French forces under his owne charge. The next thing he works at, is how to enlarge the Earl of Oxford out of the Caffle of Hammes, committed thither by Edward the fourth (and in this he uses, or rather followed indeed) the contrivement of Doctor Morton, who held good quarter with the Earle of Oxford, and by his frequent visits had a familiar and easie doore open'd, which the Earl readily tooke the opportunitie of, leaft it might be fut againe by fome miscarriage, for Richmond thought or found the constitution of his Defignenot a little strengthned by the Earle of Oxfords con. tederacy: nordid he mistake himselfe in his accompt, when he set him downe of speciall use, knowing him a man of an eminent power; wifely and valiantly temper'd : And to give him the ftronger presumptions and confidence) one that most mortally hated Edward the fourth, and all the house of Yorke: To begin therefore an Obligat ion, the Earle of Richmond makes a Complementall journey to Hammes, where the Earle of Oxford was then, under the charge of Sir I ames Blound; He finds all honourable and respective entertainment with fit libertie, and occasion to propound himselfe unto the Earle, who had beene partly prepar'd by Doctor Morton, and therefore met him the nearest way, engaging himselfe folely to the premises, and (by vertue of an indefatigable confidence) fets upon his Keeper, winnes him to the Faction, and to Paris with them. By which time, all preparations were in readineffe; and whilft they make this Itay in the French Court, the Earle of Richmond receives a faire excufe and protestation from the Duke of Brittaine, with offer of Auxiliary Forces: This supply came very acceptably, and however he refented the Dukes late purpose upon him, his wisedome told him, he must now convert his anger into thanks, which he returns with a reciprocall Protestation and Order, to fend the Troopes to Harflew where his Shipping lay, and was the Rendezvous for his Souldiers.

In the end of July 1485, he tooke leave of the King and his moft Noble Coufin Madam de Beaujen, departing for the Port of Harflew in Normandy, where he met with two thousand Brittaines from the Duke honourably accommodated. But by the way he made some stay at Roven, and had newes which much diftemper d him, That the Lady Elizabeth was forthwith to be married to King Richard, this quickned his haft for England, prefuming, his landing would forbid the Banes, otherwise he might fit downe with folded hands, for upon this marriage infifted the maine hope and consequence of his Fortune; without her, all his great prætexts would faint, yet seemed to heare it, as a thing that could not concerne him so much, having so prefent and provident a wit, that in any chance he wanted not Councell and determination in himselfe for all Fortunes; inftantly resolving, to apply his fuit to her Sister the Lady Ceeily: But

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but are he could perfectly fashion these intents, they were also counterchecked, by the next packet, which affured him the Lady Cecily was lately married : neither did that (after fome Collection) feeme much to discompose him, but quickely, varying his disposition to his fortune, he would now fixe himfelfe upon fome choice in Brittaine 3 Amongst his nobler friends (for the most part Welsh-men) and treates about a Daughter of Sir William Herberts, a Gentleman of a Noble Allyance and principall power in the South part of Wales: who had married the Eldest Daughter not long before to the Earle of Northumberland, to whom the Earle of Pembrooke (by a new created friendship betwixt them) imbosomes the whole designe, and presses his Comprobation in it; for by this meanes it was prefumed, the greatest part of Wales would fall under their Command: which had been no fmall addition to a Banished mans fortune. Whilst those things were in their mould, Doctor Morton gave him fuch affurance (by Letters) of the Countries readineffe to receive him, that it was thought best to take the advantage of landing there, and in the Month of July, they loofe from Harfley, and fafely arived at Milford Haven in Pembrookeshire, his native Country: after some refreshing, he Marches to a Town called Haverford Weft, and was entring amongft his Brittish kindred, who welcomed him as a Prince, descended from their ancient Princes of Wales, (the Country generally very Noble and loving to their friends) whilf he continued among ft them, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Walter Herbert, Sir John Savage, Sir Gilbert Talbot (who drew his young Nephew the Earle of Salop into this Action with him) and divers others of all qualities, brought, or feat their Forces; his Army thus ftrong and united, he paffes the Severne, and Marches to Lichfield, purpoling to hold on to London, if the King had not interposed it, who though he lay at Nottingham when the Earle landed, and while he marched through Wales, had conftant Spies upon him. But as no Policie, or Law can fecure their faitha that thinke they may dispense with it, fo all Benefits are too narrow, where Ambition and Ingratitude urges merit; and to thew there is not much of our Fate in our own providence, when this King thought the Nobility most firmly cimented to his fide, and was to put himself upon their constancy, they make a prefent and general defluxion to the other; But he had heightned and contracted his Refolution and judgement, to the great neffe of his Caufe, and was not now to be outbid by Chance, or danger : The next day (which was Sunday about Evening) paffing through Leicester in open Pompe, the Crowne Royall on his head, with him John Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, the Earle of Surrey, the Earle of Westmorland, the Viscount Lovell, and other of the Nobility and Gentry at Redmore Heath, the Armies came to an Interview, and put themfelves in Array; the next morning early, there was some conference held in the Kings Tent, by those Peeres, and others of principall truft, who gave him particular information of all those, secretly revolted; and it much amazed him the Earle

Leicelt.inquit, Rex Ricbardus, cum maxima Pompa portans diadema, in capite.Cbron. Croy.

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Earle of Northumberland was one, to whom he had ever been most conffant and forward in his refpects and favours ; therefore, where he had conferred fo much, he fulpected little. But no Obligations are Religious, if not held to: and although in the conflict he ftood but as neutrall, yet the fuddaineffe and example of it, drew many from the King, even at the inftant, when he was ready to Arme himfelfe, yet this was not offo great and fenfible amazement unto him, as the Lord Stavleys defection, who in pledge of his faith, had left his Son George Stanley, whilf his wife (the Earles mother) had made her fubrill perfivations of stronger tye, and fubinduced him to the Lancastrian fide, which he ayded with 26000, men, if Phillip de Commines be not miftaken : for our ftories have but five thousand. But it was a very great defection, and made the Earles Army far stronger, fo that the chiefest point of Confultation now, was how to preferve him by flight, and the recovery of fome ftrong hold, untill the tempest had scattered, or fpent its violence, which they conceived could not be long, if the Campe brake up, and once diffolved, But no Argument could faften on him, though the benefit of a fwift Horfe was offered at his Tent doore nor the fatality and portent of Prodigies, related by his friends. as prefaging fome inevitable Calamity, and that Propheticall Pre-311. diction. the remotent Princes of Arics, (the Country centuly very 1405)e

TE . Iack of Norfolke be not too bold, in the interior of the second state of the second state of the second state of the second second

Thefe things aggravated, the weakeneffe of his Army objected. Counfels, Perlivations, Terrours, Prodigies, Prophefies, could not make him heare, to fatally refolute he flood in the jealoufie and reputation of his Honour and Valour, peremptorily protefting he would rather adventure Life, Growne, and Fortunes, than his honour to a cowardly and finister construction; this might taste of a defperate will, if he had not afterwards given an apodixis in the battaile, upon what plat-forme he had projected and raifed that hope, which as it had much of danger in it; to of an inconcusse and great resolution, and might have brought the odds of that day to an even bet; for knowing the Earle to be thirfty and Appetent after Glory and Renowne, but of an unpractifed skill in Warre, and as inferiour in courage to him, he had projected (in manner of Stratagem) fo foone as the Armies approached ready for the Charge, to advance himselfe before his Troopes, and give the Earle, being Generall of his Forces, the fignall of a Combate. And to provoke and fingle him with a more glorious invitation, he wore the Crowne Royall upon his head, the faireft marke for Valour and Ambition ; Polidore faies he wore it, thinking that day should either be the last of his life, or the first of abetter, which may afwell be a reason of his wearing it three daies before at Leicester, when he rode from thence to Bosworth. But doubtleffe, by it he intended chiefly, that the people might fee & know him to be their King:

of King Richard the third of -IB.2. King: and thole that flood Armed again thin, looking upon that Intperiall evidence, where their own hands and voyces had let it, thousand by the awe and Soveraignty of it confider how lately they had avoyed him their Lawfull King, and by what Pledges of their Faith and Allegeances, they flood folemnly bound to defend him and His Title in it, against all other : what ever was his mystery, it rendred him a vallant and confident Maffer of his Right; and in the conftancy of hope and refolution, he gives order for the Battaile: The Armies confronted, and whilst the Alarme, and every blow, began to be hot and furious, forth breakes King Richard towards the Earle, wafting him by a fignall, who feemed readily to accept ir, and pricking his Hotle forward came on very gallantly, as if but one Genius had prompted their Spirits, and Ambition: for a good Author teltifieth that Comes Rickmondie directe super Regen Ricardum, ges But his cariere soone faltred, and Mars became Retrograde, ir being but a nimble traine, ro draw the King on to fome difadvantages, or elfe he liked not his furious approach, for fuddenly he makes a halt, and with as much credit as he could (& no harme) recovered the Vanguard of his Army, whither Richard purfued him, with fo much speed and fierceneffe, that he forc't him to his Standard: And now? High in bloud and anger (to fee his Valour deluded by fuch a politicke Bravery) with his Sword makes way, and with his owne hand flew Sir Charles Brandon Standerd-Bezrer, thinking to have made the next blow as fatall to the Earle, but the confluence of Souldiers interjecting, refcued him, Sir Tohn Cheney being one of the foremost, whom the King stroke from his Horse to the Earth; But Charged and invironed, with multitudes (that like a ftorme came on him) Valiant Richard falls, the Sacrifice of that day, under their cruell Swords, fo rabious in their execution, as if his body must fuffer more, because they could not kill his better part, mangling and wounding his dead Corps, whilft it lies drentcht in gore.

> Et Lupus, & turpes instant morientibus urfi, Deniginas, to be ma Et quacanque minor nobilitate fera est.

As Currs in their kenells will bite and teare the skin of those beafis which in the fields they durst not barke at The better and

Icvelled from Occidit in bello miseranda cade Richardus; Crinibus attractus, dum ferro (aviat boltis. Innocut bioud

And after all. (to compleate their barbarisme) threw his body be hind one upon a Jade, and so conveyed it to Leicester. A story to be thought incredible, at least to charitable and modeff eares, and highly upbraided by the happier and Christian fame of William the Conquerour, who feverely punished a Souldier, but for hacking the thigh of King Harold after he was dead, though an Ufurper and his pon og ennirs perfidious enemy; with all nobleneffe caufing the body to be deli-

Mathew Paris Heavy Wuntington.

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Henry of Eich mond Crowed in the Feild.

Chron. Croy.

S.Wil.Brandon Father to Charles Brandon, afterward Duke of Suff.

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Henry of Rich^e mond Crowned in the Feild.

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S.: I. Prandos Falher to . Charles Brandon, alterward Duke of Suff:

The Challeng of the \$ King of Scots to The Duke of Norfolke.

r lohn Hird.

Princes go not to Campe. vered to his Mother for an honourable interment, which was folemnly celebrated in his own Abbey at Waltham.

The Battle thus fought and won, the Victor was Crowned in the field, with that Crown K. Rich. wore, which the L. Stanley put upon his head, & falutes him King, by the ftile of Hen. 7. K. of England, &c. And Henry Earle of Richmond, Son of Edmund ap Meredith ap Tendor (alias of Hadham) Earle of Richmond, and of Margaret Daughter and Heire of John Beaufort Duke of Sommerset, attained to the Crowne, and had the easier alcent by the overfight and remisfinesse of Richard, in that Cataftrophe of his Raign, who gave too much opportunity and scope to the actings of his Enemies, when they were under his power, and arme. And in the Fortune of his judgment (at the clofing Scene) that did not better prefuppole his Enemy too prudent, and referved to trust the advantage he had, upon to sharpe and fingle an hazzard; But Richard beleeving he had the odds in courage and monomachie of him, which probably might make him Mafter of the Combate, and fo of the Field, (the straite being fo desperate too) refolved rather to trust to the Fate of his owne Valour, then the chance of an uncertaine escape; a resolution not for ash and overweening, as commendable, if we looke upon the very aymes and neceffity of it, neither is it new or improper for Princes to demand the tryall of campe fight, or fingle Combate, perfonaly in their Armies, and to the Generals in their absence; William the Conquerour challenged King Harold ; Before that, a Combate was fought betweene Edmund Ironfide, and Canate the Danish King, for the whole Kingdome of England ; our Richard the first, and Edward the first, in Palestine proffered the like to some of the Pagan Princes; so did Edward the third, Henry the fifth. with the Kings of France:

In the laft Age, the valiant Prince, *Iames* the fifth of Scotland, in Perfon challenged *Thomas* Lord *Howard* Duke of Norfolke, Generall for the King of England, who accepted it; But the King into his Demands, would have the Country or Landsthen in Controverfie, to be made *Brabium vistoris*, which was without the Generalls power to engage, being the Inheritance of the King his Mafter, but proffers better Lands of his owne upon the Combate, which was not accepted, fo that concluded nothing.

The better end of these Challenges and Combates, being at first, levelled from Mercy, and Piety, for by this single adventure, the Innocent bloud of Armies was (more then stanched) preferved; Forraigne Stories brings this home to us, and highly Characters their Kings and Generalls in the like examples, which this Age draws a Curtaine before, as not fit for imitation, making too desperate a wound in a setled State and Succession; the (first who rendred that or some more Politike reason) for Princes not to adventure themselves, was Phi, the 2 K. of Spain, (as a late writer as and Persia, mentions fome Kings that refrain'd from Warres long before; as Herodetus, Diedo-

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of King RICHARD the third.

rus, Trogus Pompeius tells us: But let us take measure from that. Times, Wifedome, Valour, Policy, &c. to this, and wee shall find them but tottering foundations of States which cannot uphold themselves, or obvert the least Decree of God when he intends to fcourge or alter kingdomes ; for where fuch viciffitudes are deftin'd, the Councells and faculties of men must be darkned, and there will fall out all concurrences and advantages to further that purpole; So in the extirpation and transferring of Families, the Potter in Ieremy, breaking one Jarre to make another, whole fatall commutations should extimulate the pietie of our natures, and make us modest cenfurers of their events : For as wee fee things but through a Cloud, whilft wee measure them by accidents, fo wee intrude on Gods providence, judging mens actions in their fucceffe, while wee over-act our owne. Of fuch a composition was the ill-withers of King Richard, who forgot him not in his grave, but indeavoured to be equally cruell Cruelties done to the body of to his memory: And in November following a Parliament was King Richard. Noble Perfons holden, in which he was attainted of High Treason; a straine very high to make him guiltie of that, being a King, he could not commit! attainted by Parliament. By the fame figure may others, who were stilled chiefe ayders and affiftants of King Richard in the Battaile of Bolworth, as Sir Ichn Ho. ward Duke of Norfolke, &c. though fome would have him retired from the Court all King Richards raigne. But Sir Thomas Moore af-Sir The, Moor. firmes, He was constantly with him and neare his Counfells, Sir Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, Sonne and heire apparent to the Duke; Francis Lovel, Viscount Lovel, Sir Walter Deverenx, Lord Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Iohn de la Souch, Sir Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Rateliffe, William Berkley, William Catesby, Thomas Broughton, Iohn Buck, Humphrey Stafford, Robert Midleton, Robert Brokenbury, John Kendall, Secretary to the King ; Walter Hopson; leoffry Saint-German, Roger Wake, Thomas Billington, William Sapcoate, William Brampton, all Knights, and fome Heralds at Armes, with divers other; an Act of Parliament being made, to difable and fore-Parliament judge them of all manner of Honour, State, Dignitie; Alfo to for-4nn.1.H.7. feit all Mannors, Castles, Lordships, Hundreds, Franchises, Liberties, Advowfons, Priviledges, Nominations, Prefentations, Tenements, Rents, Suits, Reversions, Portions, Annuities, Pensions, Rights, Hereditaments, Goods, Chattells, and Debts. Thefe be the words of the A&; and if jus, then jus fummum in all extremity. TT-sel 2

Those of note that were taken, lost their heads at Leicester two dayes after, being Saint Bartholmens day, and had a glimpfe like that Barthelmew in France in our time; all fuch flaughters from thence call'a Bartelmies, and Bartelemies, fimply in a perpetuall Stigma of that Butchery.

It is fuggested, the Duke of Norfolke was flaine in the Battaile by the Earle of Oxford, and the Story of Groyland feemeth to fay as much; Comes Oxonia valentifimus miles in cam alam ubi Dux Norfel-

The Duke of Norfolk flain by the Earl of Oxenford.

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The Earle of Surrey esca-perh at Bosworth.

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cia constitutus erat in agro (de Redmore) tum Gallicorum tum Anglicorum militum Comitatu fipatus tetendit, Occ I - 10

Amongst those that escaped the fad destiny of that day, was the Earle of Surrey, Sir Thomas Howard, Viscount Lovel, Sir Thomas Stafford, and his Brother N. Stafford, with many other Nobles and Gentlemen that got into Forraigne Countries and Sanctuaries, obfcuring themselves till the ftorme and finart of that dayes memory were past. But some would maintain Thomas Earl of Surrey to be one of them that fubmitted to the new King at Bofworth immediatelyafter the overthrow which must not be believed, it wee understand the composition of those times & affairs: for certaine it is the Earl Richmond had peremptorily proferibed all those he had cause to feare or hate, whole names are partly in the Rowles, kept in the Chappell of the Convertites in Chancery-Lane, and partly omitted by the Scribes, upor annuover in ine en

Now the Earle of Surrey, of all the reft, was fo terrible and distastefull to him, there could be no excuse left for his life. And therefore let no manthinke he was taken or submitted, but tooke an happier feafon fome moneths after." The Relation and truth is (by the warrant of one that well knew him, and the inter-paffage of his Fortune) the Earle opportunely left the Field, but fo wounded, that faintnesse and night constrain'd him to the house of a Gentleman not farre from Nottingham, and one that bare a faithfull respect to the Earle and his Family untill he was well recovered. In the meane time, that terrible Parlianient held in the next November was concluded, and the Kings defires realonably well appealed, in feeing the execution of his new Lawes paft upon fome of them. After which, (fome finall diffance of time) followed a gracious pardon to all the offenders in that Caufe, which proffered mercy, this Earle layd hold on, hoping to reftore himfelfe (by his fubmiffion) his offence, cobfidered being but an Act of Loyaltie to his Mafter. But this confidence fent him to the Tower, for though the violence of the ftorme appeard well talm'd, yet the King retain'd fome heavings of it in his thoughts: And this Imprifonment continued from his first yeare of raigne unto the fourth; "and towards the beginning of that, being in the Tower with the Queene Elizabeth (to whom he was thorry after to be married) he tooke occasion to call for the Earle, (bearing fill a gult of the fame tempeft in his brow) and challenged him upon the old quarrell, his fervice to the late U furper & Tyrant, (as he usually termed King Richard) the Earle humbly moved his pardon, and more favourable confideration to the nature of his offence, which thousands more conceived to be but a due effect of their Liege duries, and Allegiafice to a Prince to lawfully, and with all generall fufferance Crowned, whole Title he held himfelfe bound to defend by the law of God and Nations, and would dye in defence of Tist Durcht air Il lineri him and that Crowne, though he fhould find it upon a Stake : The by the Larlof Ox.zfrid. King left him with a fterne and ruffling reply, but in cold blood better 2.17

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better acknowledged his integritie, and thought he would come of no leffe value to him, having the advantage to merit him by his pardon, which foone after he gtanted him; nor did the Earle loofe ought Scots over* of that opinion: Shortly after, being made of the Privie Councell, thrown by the then Lieutenant or Governour of the North, and Generall against E. of Surrey. the Scots, whom he overthrew ; as fatall was he to them at Flodden field, where he tooke their King in the time of Henry the eight, who made him High Marshall and Treasurer of England, and restor'd him to his Fathers Dukedome, the Inheritance of his Grand mother Mowbray, being a man of fuch a happy direction in his carriage and wifedome, that all his Actions came home with prosperous fuccesse. and accumulated what was fometime spoken of his great Ancestour Hewardus, of whom it was questioned, Verum falicior an fortior effet, fo Fortunate and Honourable hath that house beene in the Service to this State; and in the infinite Alliance and Cognation, it holds with the most Ancient Families, the Extractions and propagations from Mowbray, Warren, Bruce, Dalbery, Marshall, Segrave, Plantagenet, Brotherton, Bigot, Fitz- Alan, Matraver, Buckingham, Oxford, and Dacres : The Father of which Heward, was Leofrick Lord of Burne, and the adjacent Countrey in Lincolneshire; his Mother was the Lady Edina, descended from the great Oflac, a Duke amongst the Easterlings in King Edgars time: In whole Family, I also find a Noble Kinf-man of his called Haward (to note obiter) This Haward was of a Noble and Magnificent note, a goodly Perfonage, answer'd with an equall Strength and Valour; Et nimium Bellicolus, much, or too much devoted to Mars. He ferved in the Warres of Northumberland, Cornewall and Ireland; and after in the lower Germany, where he made up much of his Fame, and married a faire Lady called Turfrida, the Daughter of a Noble man in Flanders, where he continued untill the death of his Father called him home. About which time, William Duke of Normandy made his Conquest of this Kingdome, and had gratified Iohannes Talbois the French Counte. now Earle of Holland, with Leoffricks Countrey of Holland, in the Marshand; and the Counte very rudely had expuls'd the Lady his Mother, out of her Possessions and Dower. Hawardus let upon him with fuch forces as he could speedily rayse, tooke, and held him prisoner, in despight of the Conquerour, untill he redeem'd himselfe, and accompted for what he had done with a large fumme of money. This drew those of the Nobility to the protection of his fword, which the Conquerour had chafed out of their Countrey, who had fortified themselves in the Isle of Ely, and made Hawardus their Generall, where he built a Castle that a long time after had his name. But the Normans tooke that advantage to infeft his Countrey, and put him againe to the recovery of it, which he fo fortunately fetled, that the Conquerour was contented to make him his, and hold him in good favour whilf the lived. He was buried in the Abbey of Croyland; Concerning his Iffue by the the Lady Turfrida, there is mention onely Κ

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onely of a Daughter named Turfrida, married to Hugo Enermua, Lord of Deeping: But circumstance will perfwade us, he had other Issue, if wee consider him in the likelyhood of his strength and abilitic, and that divers continued of his Sir-name in that Countrey along time after him, which makes it probable, he had a naturall Son, (at least, bearing his owne name of Heward) that next to him was the Originall Ancestor of this house of Howards. And let it not be thought any disparagement, for a Noble Family to be raysed from a naturall Issue; for many Princely Families have beene derived and propagated from naturall Sonnes, as was Encas, Romulus, the Founders of the Roman Families; fo was Theses and Themistecles, as Plutarch writeth; others say as much of Hercules, & c.

The King of Spaine descended from Henry de Trastamara, base fonne of Alphansus the Justicer, King of Castile. And who doth not honour the Princely Race of William the Conquerour, Bastard fon to the Duke of Normandy? where was a more Heroicall man then Robert Earle of Glocester, base some of King Henry the first? The Earles of Warren descended from Hamelin, a base some of Geoffry Plantagenet, Earle of Aniow: The Noble Herberts are also faid, to come from a base some of Henry the first.

And the Duke and Earles of Somerset (which followed the Red Rose) were the Off-spring of the Beauforts, naturall sonnes of Iohn de Gaunt.

For a further conjecture, why these Howards must be descended from Hewardus or Herewardus (for fo fome Writers call him; but (Ingulfus, who best knew him, constantly calls him (Hewardus) both names may fignifie in the Saxon or old Dutch, a chiefe Captaine of an Army, whom the Romans call'd Imperator.) And that the Titles and names of great Offices have given Sir-manes to many Noble Families, wee have examples in plentie; Particularly the Visconti of Millan, the Chamberlaines of Normandy, the Stewards of Scotland, the Butlers of Ireland, and divers others, who had their Sir-names from the Offices of their Anceftours and Fathers; and the fame prefumption or argument may be for taking the Sir-name of Howard, and the Origine of their Family from Hewardus, the Howards from the time of Heward, dwelling in these Countries of Holland and Marshland, and were Lords of some Lands belonging to him, untill by their matches, with the Daughters and Fleires of Finton, Tendring, Mowbray, Tillney, &c. they became possesfed in Norfolke, Suffolke, and Berkeshire, and were Lords sometime of Sunning-hill neare Windfor, and bore the Sir-name ever fince (or with fmall interruption) the old Sir-name written Heward, or Hereward in Charters and Records, and Howard in Stories. But defcend wee through the fucceffion of those times to William Haward, Chiefe Justice in the Raigne of Edward the first, Grand-father to Sir Iohn Howard, Admirall of the North Fleet, in the Navall Warres of Edward the third; his Sonne Sir Robert Howard married the Daughter of the Lord

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The honour of Baftards.

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Homer. Livy.

LIB.2. of King RICHARD the third.

Lord Scales, and Sir John Howard (who lived in the time of Henry the fourth, and dyed Anno 16. Henry the fixt) had two Wives. Margaret Daughter and Heire of Sir John Plais Knight, by whom hee had Eliza: an onely Daughter; married to John de Vere Earle of Oxford, who brought him a goodly part of the Howards Lands: Her Heires were married to Latimer and Winckfield, very fruitfull Families. His fecond Wife was the Daughter and heire of Sir William Tendering of Stoke-Nayland in Suffolke, by whom he had Sir Robert Howard his eldeft Sonne; who married Margaret Monbray, Daughter of a Cadet of the house of Lancaster, who became Co-heire with her Sifter the Lady Berkely, Wife to Thomas Monry bray Duke of Norfolke, dead in Venice, and left his Sonne Henry Haward heire to Haward and Mombray; and John Howard, the fonne of John Howard, was created Earle of Norfolke by King Richard the third, in the right of his Mother Mombray, he married the Daughter of the Lord Moulines, and by her had Thomas Howard, the first Howard Earle of Surrey; this is he who furyived the danger of Bofworth Field, and became afterwards Duke of Norfolke, from whom all the Howards now living are defcended, whofe Family hath beene fo fruitfull to furnish this Kingdome with foure Dukes, many Earles, Vifcounts, and Barons, three high Treasurers, fix high or great Marshalls, tenne high Admiralls, with some honourable Cuftos of the Privie Seale, and fundry Chamberlaines of the Kings house ; and one lately lived who had borne the Offices of high Con-Itable, Lord Lieutenant, Lord high Steward, Marshall and Admirall of England, Lord Chiefe Justice in Over of the better part of this Kingdome, and Chamberlaine of the Royall houfe, a man honourable in his deportments, and fortunate in his undertakings; as at the great Marine Battells against all the Navall powers of Spaine. the Pope, and Princes of Italy, Anno Domini 1588. and in the fiege of Gadys, Anno Domini 1596.

And this is the Grand-child of that Thomas Lord Howard, who for his better diftinction and perpetuall honour is filed Triumphator Scotorum.

I have strayed into this digression, as a gratefull tender of an acknowledgement I owe to that Illustrious Family, for their Noble Patronage and Favour to my Ancessor, especially to that unfortunate Bucke and his Children, who withered with the White Rose, (bearing an Ancient and Hereditary love to the House of Yorke, and stood in good Credit and Favour with the King his Master) nor let this remembrance of him, and his obscured Family, seeme oftentation or vaine-glory, whils I say no more then what other Histories dictate, which give him an able Character. Master Camden Clarenting (in his Immortall Brittannia,) deriveth this Sir Iobn Bucke, from Sit Walter de Bucke of Brabant, and Flanders; who had that Sir-name of great Antiquity from the Castle de Bucke in Lisle, a City and Frontire Towne in Flanders, where the Ancient Earles were K 2

Sir Charles Howard.

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accustomed much to refide, the ruines of this Castle remained in the late time of Lodwicke Guisciardine, who faith, he faw the Carcaffe thereof: And this Walter Bucke was a Cader of the House of Flanders, employed and fent by the Prince (then Duke of Brabant, and Earle of Flanders) to King John, with Auxiliary Troopes : Roger Wondover faith. Walter Bucke, Gerard de Scottigni, and Godefcalius, venerunt in Angliam cum tribus legionibus Flandren fum & Brabantianorum militum, dr. and he did the King excellent fervice here (as many of our Hiftorians report, for which the King bountifully rewarded him with Lands in Yorkeshire, and Northampton shire : And in Yorkefhire (where he made his Seat) he found an Ancient Family of the Simame of Bucke of Bucton, in the Wapentake of Bucroffe, where that Family had anciently been, (for the name is a Saxon or Dutch word, and fignifieth a Beech Tree, or Beech Wood) here Walter contracted alliance, and Matried Ralph de Bucke his Eldeft Sonne, to the Daughter and Heire of Gocelinus de Bucke, Grandchild to Radelphus de Bucke, who was a part Founder and Benefactour, to the Abbey of Bredlington, (as is mentioned in the Charter of Henry the first, made for the foundation of that Monastery) and from this Walter, descended John Bucke Knight, who married a Strelley, and was fo constant in his Affection, that (although the dyed in his best Age) he made a Religious Vow, and became a Knight of the Rhodes, his Armes are yet to be feene in the Ruines of the Hofpitall of Saint Johns neare Smithfield, and in the Church of Alhallows at the upper end of Lumbard Street, which was repaired and enlarged with the Stones Brought from that demolifhed Canoby : he lived, fub rege Edwardo filio Regis Henrici : as I have feene by the date of his deed in Herthill, Anno i Ed. I. & Anno 22. Ed. I.

From this Knight of the Rhodes defcended Sir Iohn Bucke, who for his too much forwardnesse in charging a Flect of Spaniards (without the leave of the Earle of Arundell Lord Admirall) was committed to the Tower, (testified by the Records there) Anno 13. Richard the second, Lawrence Buck his Son, followed Edward Plantagenet Duke of Yorke, and was at the Battel of Agin Court with him, when he was flaine : Iohn Bucke Knight, the Sonne of this Lawrence, married a Daughter and Heire of the House of Staveley, out of which are descended the Barons Parres of Kendall and Ross, Queene Katherine(the last wife of King Henry the eighth) the Lord Parre Marquesse of Northampton, and the Herberts Earles of Pembrooke and Montgomery.

These Bucks refiding for the most part at West-Stanton, and Herthill in Yorkeshire, and matched into the Families of Strelley or Stirely of Woodhall, Thorpe, Tilney, (then of Lincolnshire) and Savill, by which we have much Noble kindred; Sir John Bucke for his fervice to the House of Yorke, especially at Bosworth, loss head at Leicester, he married the Daughter of Henry Savill, by whom he had Robert Bucke and other Children, who were brought into the South-

of King RICHARD the third.

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Southerne parts by Thomas Duke of Norfolke, where they have remained ever fince; for the Children (being Orphans) were left in miserable estate by the Atrainder of their Father; But the Duke beflowed two Daughters in marriage, one with the Heire of Buck. The other, with the Heire of Fitz-Lewis, very Ancient Families, from which Matches divers honourable and Noble Perfons are descended. The Sonnes were, one a Souldier, the other, a Courtier, the third, a Prieft; afterward the Duke bestowed Robert Bucke, the Eldelt Sonne at Melford Hall in Suffolke, and married him into the Families of Higham and Cotton, as also did the Blounds of Elwaston. the Talbets of Grafton, from whom the Barons of Monioy, and the late Earles of Shrewsbury defeended; one of the Daughters of this Bucke Married to Fredericke Tilney of Shelley Hall in Suffolke, his nearest Kinsman by the Duchesse his Mothers fide) But some perhaps, must call this my vanity, I shall but answer them, that I thinke my felfe bound (by all the bloud and memory I claime from them,) to pay them my beff Relations and etideavours, acknowledging with the great Confulare Philosopher, Parentes charissimos habere debemus, quod ab ijs vita, patrimentum, libertas, Civitas tradita eft. And I should thinke there is none, who hath an interest in the quality of Gentile, or Noble, (for all is one) but lookes backe (which fome delight) to their first Commemoration; and finds a strong engagement due to the Vertues and worth of their first Fathers, for that expresse charge, to honour Father and Mother, is not to be understood, only of our Parents superstits, and living here with us, but our forefathers: that is, beyond our great Grandfather, for we have no proper word for them above that degree (but Anteceffours, vuled Ancestours) whom the Romans called Majores, and comprehendeth all our Progenitours departed fooner or later) for the word Pater and Mater, as allo, Parens & Parentes, extend very largely, and reach up to the highest Ancestours. The Ancient Roman Jurisconfults, deliver in their Law for an Axiome, that Appellatione Parentum omnes in infinitum majores utriusque fexus fignificantur ; and the word Parentes yet spreadeth further, comprehending all Kinsfolkes, and Colins, of our Bloud and Linage, being uled in that lenfe, by Alius Lampridius, by Iulius Capitolinus, and other the best Writers in the times of the declined Empire, as Isaac Canfabonns hath well observed in his Annotations.

The Italians, Spanish, and French (whose Language is for the most part Romanzi (mongrell Latine) and broken and corrupted Romane Language (use Parenti, Parentes and Parents for all their Kinffolkes and Gentilitious Cosms.

We English-men (being more precise) follow the Ancient and Classifique Latine Writers, holding Parent strictly to the simple signification of Pater, and Mater, the present and immediate Parents. But the using of the word Parentes, as those Imperiall Historians use it; serveth better for out purpose here: And I could (most

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(most willingly) imitate the Pious Gentlemen of *lialy*, *spaine*, and *Frame*, in their Religious and Charitable indeavours, to advance the happiness of their Parents defunct, if those defires could besteed them, But where I should crave pardon, I become more guilty and extravogant, it is time therefore to know good manners, and returne home to our proper taske, which will be, to refell the grosse and blacke Calumnies, throwne unjustly upon the Memory and Person of King RICHARD, And falls within the Circle of the next Booke.

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cos, only of a Press inperfitis, and iver herewithus, but our forefiber; the association congrue Grandfaber, forwebave more the rest of the vector of but buildefibure, wak

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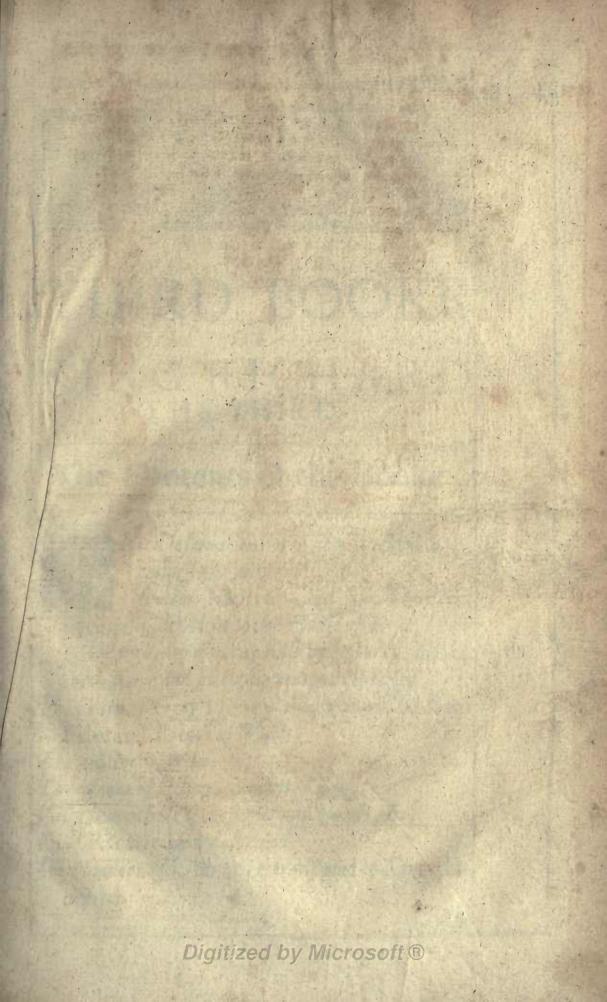
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THE THIRD BOOKE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

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The Contents of this Booke.



He Defamations of King Richard examined and answered.

Doctor Morton and Sir Thomas Moore malevolent to the House of Yorke, Their srivolous exceptions against his gestures, sookes, teeth, shape and birth, hie vertues depraved The death of King Henry the sixth and his Sonne Edward Trince of Wales. The Adors therein.

The offence of killing an anointed King. Valiant men hate treacheries and bloudy acts. King Richard not deformed. The Slanders of Clarence translated to King Richard. L The

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<u>/</u> T	The Cause of Clarences execution.
-	How the Sonnes of King Edward came by their
	deaths.
	King Richard Exculpable thereof.
	The story of Perkin VV arbeck compared with
	Don Sebastian, King of Portugall, nho are Biothanati.
	Counterfeit Prince deteded, joung Prince marvel-
	lously preferved.
	Many testimonies for the affertion that Perkin
6.9	VVarbeck was Richard Duke of Yorke; bis
	bonourable entertainment with forraigne Princes
	vox populi. Bestons why it is not credible King Richard made
	Reasons why it is not credible King Richard made away his two Nephewes; the force of Confession.
	The evill of Torture, the guilt of attempting to escape
	out of prison, what an escape is.
	The Earle of Oxford Jevere against Perkin, and bis end.
	The base Sonne of King Richard the third secret-
	ly made away.
	The Sonne of the Duke of Clarence put to death.
	The power of furies, Demones & Genii.A.
	pollonii Majestas.
	Quid tibi non vis alteri ne feceris.
	The offence of building an anointed house -
,*	Variant men hate werehover and bloudy all
	Aing Lichard nor definined.
Ser	L'EST SUL STATUM IS STELLE CO COSTA THE
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THE THIRD BOOKE OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.



Here is no ftory, that fnewes the planetary affections and malice of the vulgar more truly then King *Richards*: and what a tickle game Kings have to play with them; though his fucceffor *Henry* the feventh play d his providently enough (with helpe of the ftanders by) yet even those times (which had promifed the happiest example of a State, and best of a King) both groaned and complained; but had not the sting and infection of

King Richards adverfaries who did not onely as the proverbe faith, cum larvis luctare, contend with his immortall parts, but raked his duft, to finde and aggravate exceptions in his grave; having learnt their piety from the Comicall Parasite, obsequinm amicos, veritas odium parit, and finding it as well guerdonable as gratefull, to publish their Libels and scandalous Pamphlets, (a piece of policy and service too) to the times, (and an offence to refent any thing good of him) they gave their pens more graves. It a

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Eramosin Chiliad.

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75

Teventine in Adelph:

* This Booke was lately in the hands of Mr. Roper, of Eltham, as Sir Edward Hoby who faw it told me 76

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Herodotus:

against King Richard, which came afterward to the hands of Mr. Moore (fometime his fervant) fo that here the faying of Darins, (which after became a proverbe) hath place

Hoc Calceamentum consuit Histians, induit, autem Aristagoras. Doctor Morton (acting the part of Histians) madethe Bocke, and Master Moore like Aristagoras fet it forth, amplifying and gloffing it, with a purpose to have writ the full ftory of Richard the third (as he intimateth in the title of his Booke;) but it fhould feeme he found the worke fo melancholy and uncharitable. as dul d his disposition to it; for he began it, 1513. when he was Under-freiffe, or Clerke to one of the Sheriffes of London, and had the intermission of twenty two yeares (which time he tooke up in studies, more naturall to his inclination, aslaw and poetry,* for in them lay his greatest fancy) to finishit, before he died, (which was in, 1525. but did not, yet lift himselfe so happily into the opinion of men, that his commendations had more fortune then observation:) and past him under the attributes of learning and religion; though in both he came fhort of what was afcribed to him; for if he understood the Latine and Greeke, (then held great learning) yet was he fo farre under the defert of an excellent Scholler, as the learned cenfured him a man of flender reading, and Germanus Brixius, Irruditus, i. unlearned; for the fanctity of his life, John Baleus who tooke not up his knowledge of him an age off, (as fome of his admirers,) but from the originall, thus gives us his draught.

Hoc nos probe novimus qui er amus eidem Thomæ Moro viciniores, quod pontificum, & pharis corum crudelitati ex avaritia subserviens omni tyräno truculentior ferociebat, imo insaniebat in eos qui aut Papæ primatum, ant purgatorium, aut mortuorum invocationes, aut imaginum cultus aut simile quiddam diabolicarum imposturarum negabant, a vivisica Dei veritate ita edosti. Consentire hic Harpagus noluit nt Rex Christianus in suo Regno primus esset, nec quod ci liceret cum Davide, Salomone, Iosaphato, Ezechia, & Iosa sacerdotes, Levitas rejetta Romanensum Nembrodorum tyrannide in proprio ordin are dominio. & c.

Adding the attribute of tenebrio, of veritatis evangelica perverfission of obstinatus Calophanta, of impudens Christi adver-Jarius; and faith of his end that decollatus fuit in Turre Londinenfi fexto die Julij Anno Dom. 1535. Capite ad magnum Londini pontem (ut proditoribus fieri falet) stipiti imposito, & nibilominus a Papistis pronovo Martyre colitur.

Thus he became a Martyr and a Saint; but we shall finde other cause of his condemnation by his owne testimony; for when he food at the Barre arraigned, some exceptions having been urg'd against him, for seeming to uphold and maintaine the Popes supremacy in England, his reply was, he could not

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* He wrote many Poems and Epigrams. fundry petty Comedics, and Enterludes, often rimes perfonating, with rhe At ors, as his lo ving and familiar friend E rafmus reports.

> Brixius Antimore.

10an. Balens. de feriptoribus Brit. Cent. .8 cap. 69.

Richard Graf ton faith he di ed mocking and. (coffing as he lived.

* This Bookc was lacely in the hands of M. Rebr, of Elithim, as Sir who (v it scalics LIE.3. of King RICHARD the third.

not see quemodo laicus vel secularis homo possit vel debeat esse caput status (piritualis aut ecclesiastici; yet infinuated, that this opinion was taken hold off but for a pretext to supplant him; the greatelt caule of the Kings difpleafure being for his with ftanding the divorce, between him and Katharine of Castile his wife. and his fecond marriage with the Ludy Anne Bullen Marqueffet. of Pembrooke : And his owne words (fpoken to the Judges, as they were fet downe by his deare friend, George Courinus, in a short discourse upon his death) are, non me pudet quamobrem. a vobis condemnatus (um (videlicet) ob id, quod nungnam voluerim affentiri in negotium novi matrimonij Regis, which uttered. after sentence of condemnation, (when no evalion or fubterfugies would availe) must proceed furely from his confcience; and before this, he wrote a letter to Mr. Secretary Cromwell. (which I have feene) wherein he protefted, he was not against the King, either for his fecond marriage, or for the Churches fupremacy : But wilheth him good fuccesse in those affaires, &c. which renders him, (well looked upon) not fo flout a Champion for the Pope, as many of his partiall friends and Romanifts supposed; neither so found in his Religion; for I have seene amongst the multitude of writings, concerning the conference about the alteration of Religion, and suppressing of Churches and Religious houses, that his connivance and confent was in it: nor could he excufe it, with all his policy and wifdome, neither had the King ever attempted it, had not the Pope and his Agents opposed that second marriage, an error and infolency Rome hath ever fince repented. But it prov'd a happy blow of Justice to this Kingdome, cutting of him and his authority, which elfe had hazarded the best Queene that ever was, the facred and eternally honoured Elizabeth, to whofe growing glory and virtue Master Moore became an early and cruell adverfary, even before she was in rerum natura. To know him further, let me referre you to the Ecclefiasticall History of Master John Fox, in the raigne of Henry the eight, who describes him graphically; for his hiftoricall fragment, it flewes what great paines he tooke to item the faults and fad fortunes of King Richard the third; and how industrious he was to be a time observer, it being the most plausible theame his poeticall straine could fallon in those times, , and could not want acceptance nor credit, well knowing in what fame he flood, and that the weaker Analyfts and Chroniclers, (of meane learning and leffe judgement) would boldly take it upon trust from his pen ; who tanquam ignotum & fervin pecus, have followed him ftep by ftep without confideration, or just examination of their occurrents and confequents. And the reputation of him and Doctor Morton (being both Lord Chancellours of England) might eafily millead men part blind, who have dealt with King Richard, as fome triviall. claw-

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The History of the Life and Raigne LIB. 3.-

Terent-Phorm. Ilial. 20.

78

The virtues of King Richard malitioufly cenfured.

Cicero de Offic. lib. 1:

* Pliny, Livy, valel. Maximus, Plutarch. clawing Pamphleters, and Hiftoricall parafites, with the mag nificent Prelate, *Thomas Wolfey* Cardinall and Archbifhop o Yorke, A man of very excellent ingredients and without Peere in his time; yet his values had the fting of much detraction, and the worth of his many glorious good workes interpreted for vices and exceffes; to fuch it must be faid, *quod ab ipfo allatum eft*, *id fibi relatum effe putant*. And if their injustice fuffer under the fame lash, they must know this doome hath the credit of an Oracle, *quale verbum dixisti tale etiam audies*.

But fo much gall and envy is thrown upon King Richards ftory, as cannot possibly fall into the stile of an ingenuous and charitable pen; all his virtue is by a malitious Alchymy fubstracted into crimes, and where they necessarily fall into mention, either fcornefully transmitted or perverted, with injurious conftructions, not allowing him the refemblance of goodneffe or merit : If his disposition be affable and curteous, (as generally it was, which their owne relations cannot deny) then he infinuates and dives into the peoples hearts, fo where he expreffes the bounty and magnificence of his minde; it is a fubtle tricke to purchase friendship; let him conceale the knowledge of his jujuries; and his patience is deepe hypocrifie; for his mercy and clemency extended to the highest offendors, (as to Fogge the Atturney, who had made a Libell against him, befides the counterfeiting of his hand and feale) they were but palliated, and his friendship meerely a Court brow. They have vet a more captious and fubtle calumny, reproaching the casting of his eyes, motions of his fingers, manner of his gesture, and his other naturall actions.

I confesse with Cicero that ftatus, incessus, selfie, occubatio, vultus, oculi, manuum motio, have a certaine kind of decorum; but he makes it not a vice to erre in any of them, nor that any errour committed in them was a vice; although in him it must be so defined by the Lawes of Utopia : nay, they will dissect his very fleepes, to finde prodigious dreames and bug-beares, (accidents frequent to themsfelves) which they dresse in all the fright and horrour fiction and the stage can adde, who would have fung Peans to his glory, had his fword brought victory from Bosworth field : but now, their envy is borne with him, from his mothers wombe, and delivers him into the world with a strange prodigy of Teeth; although (I am perswaded) neither Doctor Morton, nor Sir Thomas Moore ever spake with the Dutchesse his Mother, or her Midwise about the matter.

But if true; it importeth no reason why those earely and natalatious teeth should prefage such horrour and guilt to his birth; when we shall remember those many Noble and worthy men, who have had the like, (without any imputation of crime) as * Marcus Curius simamed thereupon Dentatus, Cu.

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of King RICHARD the third. LIB. 2.

Cu. Papiene, King of the Epirots (a Prince much renowned for his victories and virtues) Monodas Sonne of Prufias King of Bithynia, borne with an intire femicircular bone in their mouthes, instead of Teeth ; then they aggravate the pangs of the Dutchesse in her travaile with him : which had not been fufferable without death, if fo extreame and intolerable, as they would have them thought for,

Quod ferri potest leve est; quod non, breve est.

But the overcame them and lived almost fifty yeares after; others have died in that Bed, yet the children not made guilty of murther; Inlia the daughter of Julius Casar, Wife to great Pompey, Juliola the deare daughter of Marcus Cicero, Wife of Dolabella, and Junia Claudilla the Empresse, and Wife of Caligula, died all of the difficulties and extremity of their childebearing; fo did Queene Elizabeth Wife of King Henry the feventh; and fince the Mother of that most towardly and hopefull Prince Edward the fixth in travaile of his birth; with many thousands more, whose deaths (much lesse their paines) were never imputed to their children.

The next objection is fomewhat of more regard, (but as farre without the certainty of a proofe) which is the pretended deformity of his body, controverted by many; fome peremtorily allerted he was not deformed, of which opinion was John Stow, a man indifferently inquilitive (as in all their other affaires) after the verball relations and perfons of Princes, and curious in his description of their features and lineaments, who in all his inquiry could finde no fuch note of deformitie in this King : but hath acknowledged viva voce, that he had fpoken with fome ancient men, who from their owne fight and knowledge affirmed he was of bodily shape comely enough, onely of low stature, which is all the deformity they proportion fo monstroully; neither did Iohn Rouce who knew him and writ much in his difcription, observe any other : and Archienbald Qhuitlaw; Amballador unto this King from Scotland, in his Oration faies, he had corpus exignum; not otherwife; fo (to my conceit) Philip de Comines and the Prior de Croyland (who had feen and knowne this Prince) feeme to cleere him implicatively; for in all their discourses of him they never directly nor indirecty, covertly or apertly, infinuate this deformity which (I suppose) they would not have paffed; And by his fundry Pictures which I have feen, there was no fuch disproportion in his person or lineaments, but . all decently compacted to his stature; his face of a warlike afpect, (which Sir Thomas Moore calleth a crabled vifage) of Retin ana R.2. all the children being faid to be most like his Father in favour and composition of shape, who though not tall was of an even and well disposed structure.

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ThisDutchefle of Yorke died about the I t of King Hen.7.at Birkhamfted and was buried at Totheringam, lobn Stow. Schega.

79

King Richard not deformed:

And

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Sir Thomas Moor apud Harlington.

So

Doctor Shin.

Socrates. Alopus. Epistetus. Gal a 2 great and excellent. Ceptain of the Romans, all of deformed ftatures

And Sir Thomas Moore himfelfe, doth not certainely affirme the deformity, but rather seemes to take it as a malitious report; for faith he, King Richard was deformed as the fame ranne by those that hated him ; habemus reum confitentem, and furely, it had been a strangekinde of confidence and reafon in Doctor shaw, to disclaime a thing which must be fo palpable, openly in the Pulpit at Saint Pauls Croffe, whilft the Protector was present, before many hundreds of people, (who had feen and known him before) and might then better view and note him; In these words, the Lord Protector is a very noble Prince, the speciall patterne of Knightly proweffe, as well in all Princely behaviour as in the lineaments of his body and in the favour of his vilage, reprefenting the very face of the Noble Duke his Father; this is the Fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the very fure and undoubted Image and expresse likenesse of that Noble Duke.

Now, what can malice extract out of this, to upbraid or ftigmatize his honour; if men of blemiss perfons may containe a wife, valiant, learned, liberall and religious foule, and be in every part most absolute, exampled to us in many famous men; and at our home (as well in this prefent age, as in the more ancient) we have had men of a harsh fabrick, most nobly furnisht in the composures of their mindes.

But becaufe thefe cavils could not fetch blood from him, they will make him guilty of other men, and first of King Henry the fixth, whose murther they fay (and very favourably) his Brother Edward contrived, but wrought him to act it; an accusation of very harsh credit, that either King Edward, so truly noble and valiant a Prince, should put a Prince and his owne Brother, upon so horrid a thing, or he indure to heare it : Sir Thomas Moore holds King Edward would not ingage his Brother in so butcherly an office, there being many reasons that he durft not, neither doe his adversaries charge him directly by any credible Author of that time, or discover by whom this murther was; onely the Prior of Croyland maketh it formewhat fuspitious.

Chron. Croyland.

S. S. Mill

Hoc tempore inventum est corpus regis Henrici sexti examine in turre Londinarium. Farcat Deus, & spatium prenitentie ei dones quicunque sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini ausus immittere, unde & agens tyranni & patiens gloriosi martyris titulum mercantur.

Tyrannus in the proper construction, being Kex, for whofoever is Rex is Tyrannus, according to the ancient fignification; for amongst the Greeks Turans was used for a King simply, good or bad, and this (fome hold) makes against King Edward; Richard being Duke of Gloucester then, yet so doubtfully

of King RICHARD the third LIB. 2.

fully as may be refelled by good authority; for it is the opinion of very grave men, Henry the fixth was not mut? thered, but died of naturall ficknesse, and extreame infirmity Use contriving out is th ofbody.

Rex Henricus sextus, ab annis jam multis ex accidente sibi egritudine quandam animi incurreret infirmitatem, & fic ager corpore & impos mentis permanfit diutius; this confidered with the aggravation of his griefe and forrow, in the loffe of his Grown and liberty (being then a prisoner) the overthrow of all his friends and forces in the Battaile of Teuxbury, but (above all) the death of his Sonne the Prince, might master a stronger heart and constitution then his, in a shorter time; which opinion is received and alleadged by a learned and difcreet Gentleman.

The occasion of the murther of King Henry the fixth, hath no other proofe but the malitious affirmation of one man; for many other men more truly did suppose that he died of meere griefe and melancholy, when he heard the overthrow of his cause and friends, with the flaughter of the Prince his Sonne : And Iohannes Majerus faith it was reported. King Henry the fixth died of griefe and thought. Concerning the flaughter of the Prince his onely Sonne, it is noted to be cafuall, and made fuddaine by his owne infolence, not out of any pretended malice, or premeditated treachery, and fo it cannot be called wilfull murther; for the King demanding him why he invaded his Kingdome, his reply was, he might, and ought of the Prince to doe it, in defence and prefervation of the right, which the King his Father and his heires had in the Crowne, and maintained this lofty answer to peremtorily and boldly, the King in rage strooke him with his fist, (as some fay armed with a Gantlet) and inftantly the Noblemen attending, as George Duke of Clarence, Marquesse Dorfet, the Lord Hastings and others, drew their fwords upon the Prince and killed him; which they would make the particular fact of Duke Richard.

But to the contrary, I have seene in a faithfull Manuscript Chronicle of those times, that the Duke of Gloucester onely of all the great perfons, flood still and drew not his fword; the reasons to credit this are, first it might be in his meere fence of honour, feeing fo many drawn upon him, there was no need of his, or in his refpects to the Princes Wife, who (as Johannes Majerus faith) was in the roome and neare a-kinne to the Dutchesse of Yorke his Mother, and to whom the Duke was also very affectionate, (though fecretly(which he soone after demonstrated in marrying her; nay, this Duke bore fuch a fence of noble actions in his bosome, that millikeing the obscure and meane buriall of Henry the fixth, this Princes Father, he caufed his corps to be taken from Chertley, M and

Anonymas M.S.

81

Richard not Idem Croyland.

rence.

Rex Hen.6. in cuftodis ut alij referum, gla-d10. G alij me-rore, de, perijt. Joan Majerus, Annall Flandr. lib. 17. The flaughter fonne of H.6,

Polilor. Virgil. lib. 24.

Chron in quarto M.S. apud Dom. Regis. Rob. Cos-103.

Anna. uxor Ed. filij teg.H. 6. capta eft cum marito. Joan. Majerus in Annal Fland.1.17.

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Richard not guiliyof the Dake of Clarence.

82

Polidor. Virgil,

Errour of Dr. Shaw.

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:3. (3) il 21 de-

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That the Duke of Gloucefter raifed not the flander againft the Dutcheffe his Mether, nor of his Bro. thers bafterdy.

Carperile D.C. 1 1

Anterin Ed.

1's jorn.

-16

and to be Honourably conveyed to the Royall and stately Chappell of Windfor, ordained for Kings.

"And Sir Thomas Moore faith further, he was fulpected to have the contriving part in the Duke of Clarence his Brothers death, vet confesseth it was commonly faid Richard opposed himfelfe against the unnaturall proceedings of the King, both privately and publiquely; and the truth is, it was the Kings owne immoveable and inexplorable doome who thought it justly and neceffirily his due; for Clarence flood guilty of many treafons and great ones, and by his ingratidude had fo forfeited himfelfe to the Kings difpleasure, that no friend durst move in his behalfe; this the King did afterward acknowledge with fome discontent, when his wrath had cooled, as we may guesse in this expression of his : O infalicem fratrem, pro cujus salute nemo homo regavit ; yet Polidor Virgil doth not rightly understand here as I conjecture by the fequell ; but let us interpret that alittle, and take up another acculation which puts into the way or into your bird

That *Eichard* Duke of Gloucester should scandall the birth of the King his Brother with basterdy, and alleadge it for a speciall matter in Doctor *Shawes* Sermon, that he should fame King *Edward* the fourth a bastard, and that the Dutchesse his Mother had wanton familiarity with a certaine Gentleman; this he might erroneously scatter in the Pulpit, and take it upon the like intelligence, by which (in the sermon) he called her (to whom King *Edward* was betrothed before his marriage with the Lady Grey) Elizabeth Lucy, whose name was for a certaine *Ellenor Butler*, alias Talbot, so called by King *Richard*, and written in the Records.

This drift had been too groffe for King *Richard*, to lay an imputation of whoredome upon his owne Mother, (a virtuous and honourable Lady) being it caft also a shame and basterdy upon himselfe; for if she offended in one, she might as likely offend in another, and in the rest.

And to quit him ofit, Sir Thomas Moore, Richard Grafion, Mr. Hall, fay that King Richard was much difpleafed with the Doctor, when he heard the relation, which the Duke of Buckingham alfo affirmed in his speech to the L ord Mayor of London. That Doctor shaw had incurred the great displeasure of the Protectour for speaking so dishonourably of the Dutchesse his Mother.

That he was able of his owne knowledge to fay, he had done wrong to the Protectour therein, who was ever known to beare a reverend and filiall love unto her : and to cut of all farther doubt and queftion, it was proved and is testified upon records that George Duke of Clarence onely raifed this flander in an extreame hatred to the King his Brother, many jarres falling

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falling between them) by which the King had a just caufe to take notice of his malice.

Visus est dux Clarentia magis, ac magis a regis profentia desubtrabere, in confilio vix verbum proferre, neque libenter bibere ant Frote Constitute and four d mandurare in domo Regis.

When Riebard even in that calamitous time Henry the fixth had overthrowne King Edward in a battaile, * recovered the Kingdome, and proclaimed Edward an ulurper; fo faithfull was his Brother, that (a) he was proclaimed traitor for him; and (b) when Queene Margaret befiedged the City of Gloucefter with the Kings power, the Citizens flood at defiance with her Army, and told her it was the Duke of Gloucester his Towne, who was with the King, and for the King, and for him they would hold it; his Loyalty bearing a most confant expression in this motto (c) Loualto melie; which I have seen written by his owne hand and fubscribed Richard Gloucester. The other was as constantly undermining at him, after confederated with the Earle of Warwicke his Father Allie, who had turn'd faith from the King, and went into France, folliciting for force against England; which they brought in, fought with the King and overthrew him, and fo fiercely purfuing the victory, that the King was forc't to fly out of the Land : Clarence not fo fatisfied, (unlesse he might utterly supplant him) studied that flander of basterdy, to bring in himselfe an heire to the Crowne, which was proved and given in expresse evidence against him, at his triall and attainder by Parliament, amongst fundry other articles of high Treason.

Videlicet That the faid Duke of Clarence had falfly and untruly published King Edward a bastard and not legitimate to Raigne, that himfelfe therefore was true Heire of the Kingdome, the Royalty and Crowne belonging unto him, and to his Heires; these be the very words of the Record, and enough to tell us who was the Author of that flander, and what important caufe the King had to quit himfelfe of Clarens : a bitter proofe of the old Proverbe, fratrum inter se ir e acerbissime funt; and all the favour Clarence could at his end obtaine. was to choose it, (as Iohn de Serres reporteth it) fo that it was not the Duke of Gloucester, but the Kings implacable difpleafure for his malice and treasons that cut him off, who could not thinke himfelfe fecure whilft he lived : Witneffe Polidor Virgil, Edvardus Rex post mortem fratris se a cuntis timeri animadvertit. O ipse jam timebat neminem.

Next for the murther of the two fonnes of King Edward Who made the fourth, Edward the fifth King in hope, and Richard of away the Shrewfbury Duke of Yorke and Norfolke his younger Brother, they alleadge it in this manner.

That King Richard, being defirous to rid those two Princes

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* Anno, 10. Edward. 4.

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(a) Lib.M.S. in guarto apud Dom. Rib.Corton. (b) Chronicle, Croyland.

(c) Loyalty bindeth men.

Father allie. Quel vulgo Or corrupte Father in law dicitur. 1. 1. 1. 1

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In Parliament, ahno. 17. Ed.4. Ju. Sicm. vidit & legit.

Eramus Chiliad.

Joan de Setres. Invent,

fonnes of King Edward the fourth.

his

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his Nephews out of the world; imployed his trufty fervant John Greene to Sir Robert Brackenbury Lieutenant Constable of the Tower, about the executing of this murther; and by reason that plot tooke no effect, (Sir Robert not liking it) The Protectour suborned foure desperate Villaines, John Dighton, Miles Forrest, James Tyrrell, and William Slater to undertake it. who, (as they further alleadge) fmothered them in their beds, which done; they made a deepe hole in the ground; at the foote of the flaires of their lodging and their buried them, hiding the place under an heape of ftones, (not after the antient manner of tumulus teftis;) others vary from this, and fay confidently; the young Princes were imbarqued in a Ship at Tower wharfe, and conveyed from thence to Sea, fo cast into the Blacke deeps; others averre they were not drowned, but fet fate on fhore beyond Seas. And thus their stories and relations are fcatter'd in various formes, their acculations differing in very many and materiall points, which shakes the credit of their fuggestion, and makes it both fabulous and uncertaine, one giving the lie to the other, their malice having too much Tongue for their memories, and is worth the noting how opposite (and as it were) ex Diametro repugnant they are.

Poodir Firgill. 1.2.6.

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Dr. Morton, Sir Tho. Moore. In unlgus fama valuit filios Edwardi Regis aliquo terrarum partem migrasse, atque ita supestites esse.

Thus Pollidor, with which Dr. Morton and Sir Thomas Moore agree in one place: The man (fay they) commonly called Perkin Warbeck was as well with the Princes, as with the people, English and forraigne, held to be the younger Son of Edward the fourth, and that the deaths of the young King Edward and of Richard his brother, had come fo far in question, as some are yet in doubt whether they were destroyed or no, in the dayes of King Richard; By which it appeares they were thought to be living after his death. And as the act of their death is thus uncertainly disputed, fo is the manner of it controverted.

For , Sir Thomas Moore affirmeth (as before reported) they were imothered in their beds with Pillowes ; but Pollidor faith peremptorily it was never known of what kinde of death they dyed.

Prior Creyland.

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Another Author and more ancient agreeth with them. Vulgatum est Regis Edwardi pueros concessifie in fata, sed quo genere interitus ignoratur; one reason of this may be that they who held Perkin Warbeck and Richard Duke of Yorke to be all one, give another accompt of his death, whereas if it had beene certaine these foure before named for Assaints had murdered them, then the place, time and manner had beene easily known upon their strict examination, they living freely and fecurely, (and without question) long after this murder was said to be done; Therefore there can be no excuse for this neglect

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neglect of Examination, much leffe for the fuffering fuch to goe unpunished and at liberty, which me thinks maket B much for the cleering of King Richard: avcord: hard in printing of King Richard in a second in the second second

As for the burying of their bodyes in the Tower ... if that be brought in question, certes, the affirmative will be much more hard to prove then the negative! , is defeend , is adventure to defeend ,

For true it is there was much diligent fearch made for their bodies in the Tower all places opened and digged that was fupposed : but not found ; Then it was given out a certaine Prieft tooke up their bodies and buried them in another fectet place not to be found; hereunto (but with bette decorum for the more credit of this affertion) they might have added it was done fub figillo confessionis, which may not be revealed.

Sir Thomas Moore feeing the abfurdities and contrarieties of these opinions, (as a man puzeled and distracted with the variety and uncertainty thereof) concludeth their bodies were Moore, Halling-befrowed God wot where, and that it could never come Hall, sion. to light what became of them ; Hall, Halling fed, Grafton and the reft, confelle, the very truth hereof was never knowne; And (if there be a firiter inquiry into the myffery) we Thall discover, that they were neither buried in the Tower nor fwallowed in the Sea; for the tellimony and Relation of findry grave, and difcreete perfons (and fuch as knew the young Duke of Torke) will refolve us how he was preferved and fecretly conveyed into a foraigne Country; alfo alive many years after the time of this imaginary murder; to which. may be added ftrong authorities having layd downe fome conjectures that may answer the iniquiry after the other. And first whereas it is faid the Lord Protector before his Coronation procured this murder : To refell and contradict that, there bee certaine proofes that the Princes were both living in the moneth of February following the death of their Father, which was ten moneths after; for King Edward dyed in April before, and this is plaine in the Records of the Parliament of Anno 1. Rich. 2. where there is mention made of this Prince, as then living; and Sir Thomas Moore confelleth that they were living long after that time before faid ; But I conjecture Edward the Eldest brother lived not long after but died of fickneffe and infirmity, being of a weake and fickly disposition, as also was his Brother, which the Queene their Mother intimated in her speech to the Cardinall Bourfier; and the weake constitutions and short lives of their fisters may be a naturall proofe to infer it probable enough this Prince dyed in the Tower ; which some men of these times are the rather brought to thinke, certaine bones like to the bones of a Child being found lately in a high defolate Turret, supposed to be the bones of one of these Princes ; others are of opinion iti

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it was the carcaffe of an Ape kept in the Tower, that in his old age had happened into that place to die in, and having clamber'd up thither, according to the light and idle manner of those wanton Animals, after when he would have gone down, feeing the way to be steepe and the precipice fo terrible, durst not adventure to descend, but for feare stayed and starved himselfe, and although hee might bee soone mist, and long fought for, yet was not easily to be found, that Turret being reckoned a vast and damned place for the hight, and hard access, no body in many yeares looking into it.

But it is of no great confequence to our purpofe, whether it were the Carcalle of a Child or of an Ape, or whether this young Prince dyed in the Tower, or no : for wherefoever hee dyed, why fhould it not be as probable hee dyed of a naturall fickneffe and infirmity, as for his young Cozen german the fonne and heire of King Richard? many reasons conducing why the qualities and kinde of their death might be the fame, and neere one time, being even parallels almost, and in their humane conftitutions and corporall habitude fympathizing, of one Linage and Family, of one blood and age, of the fame quality and fortune, therefore not unlikely of the fame Studies, Affections, Pallions, Distemperatures, so confequently subject to the same infirmities, to which may be added equall and common constellations, the fame compatient and commorient fates and times, and then there is reason and naturall cause they might both die of like Difeafes and infirmity, and were not Bladavaros, taken away by violence, fecret, or overt : for it may with almuch Argument bee fulpected the fon of King Richard, (being in the like danger of fecret violence for the fame caufe as his Cozen was)might fuffer fo.

But to open the circumstance a little neerer : what danger could the lives of those two Princes be to Richard ? who was accepted King by a just title, and his Nephewes declared illegitimate, by the high Court of Parliament, and whill they were reputed fuch by fo great and generall a conclusion, why fould he be lesse fecure of them, then Hen.2. was of Robert E. of Glocester, base some to Hen. I. ? or Richard the first of his base Brother Geoffrey Plantagenet ? So although John of Gaunt left base sonnes, aspiring enough, yet they were of no danger to the Lancastrian Kings, neither did Henry 7. or Henry 8. Stand in any jealoufy of Arthur Plantagenet : and furely Richard the third was as valiant, wife and confident, as any of his predeceffors, and had as little caufe to dread his Nephewes, as they ftood adjudged, or be more cruell and bloudy; neither hath my reading found any Bastards of France or Spaine, who have afpired fo publickly, onely except Don Eurique E. of Traftamara, who was drawne into that action by the violent rages of the people,

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people, and by the perswasions of the revolted states of Castile, to put downe a monster of Soveraignty the hatefull tyrant, Don Pedro & Cruell. But being Sir Thomas Moore and our best Chroniclers make it doubtfull, whether these two Princes were so lost in King Richards time, or no, and infer that one of them was thought to be living many years after his death; that might be enough to acquit him; which opinion I like the better, because it mentioneth the survivance but of one of them.

Neither doe our most credible stories mention the transportation of more then one, into Flanders, nor had they reason; it will bee sufficient, if one of them survived him, more, or leffe time; we will follow therefore the examination of his flory, under the opinion of those times, and the attesta tion of grave and credible men, becaufe it will be more confpicuous in the true and simple narration of this one Brother; every flory being fraught with reports concerning him, and few or none of his brother finding no mention of the Elder Bothers being in Flanders; but of the youngers much, and of his other adventures : The prudent and honorable care of fending away this younger Brother, by fome is afcribed to Sr: Robert Brakenbury, by others to the Queene his Mother, and it may well be the projection of them both, though no doubt there was the advise and assent of other well affected friends. And it is the more credible, the Queen wrought in it; for the fory of Sr. Thomas Moore faith flice was before fulpected to have had fuch a purpole, which was objected to her by fome of the Lords; and the Cardinall Bourfier told her the maine Reason which made the Protector and Nobles so urgeing to have him fent to his Brother (being then in the Tower) was a suspition and feare they had shee would convey Him forth of the Realme.

So then, it may be cleerly fuppofed : he was fent into a forraine Country, and that Flanders (as all our flories tellify) there commended to a liberall education, under the curature of a worthy Gentleman in Warbeck, a Towne in Flanders, but kept very privately all the life time of his Uncle, his Friends not daring to make him of the councell. After his death, knowing Henry Richmond a cruell enemy to the houfe of Yorke, for his better fafety was committed to the care of Charles of Burgundy, and his Dutcheffe the Lady Margaret Aunt to the Prince, as formerly the Dutcheffe of Yorke upon a like caufe of feare and jealoufy had fent thither her two younger fons George and Richard.

The Dutcheffe being very tender to let this young Duke have all Princely and vertuous education in Tornay in Antwerp and after in the Court of the Duke of Burgundy, as hee had bin

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bin in Warbeck, &c. And with the greater circumspection, because the Dutchesse of Burgundy had as jealous an opinion of Henry the Seventh, as the Queene Widdow had of Richard 2. Therefore, as yet, it was advised to conceale his Name and Quality : being not come to the growth nor age to have experience in his own affaires, much leffe to undertake an attempt fo confequent and mighty as the recovery of a Kingdome: neither were the times and opportunity yet ripe, or propitious to fashion such an alteration, as was projected and must be produced, though there was pregnant hope of an induction to a change of Government ftir'd by the Kings coveteoufneffe, and fome acts of Tyrany, Greivance and Rebellions in the North and West parts ; not long after (which lent a seafonable hand to these designes) great unkindnesse fell out betwixt Charles the French King, and Henry the 7. who fo far provoked the French, that he befieged Bulloigne, with a great army by land and Sea, the quarrell was of good advancement to the Dutcheffe of Burgondy's Plot, and brought the Duke of Yorke better acquainted with forraigne Princes and their Courts ; who was fent into France, into Portugall, and other places where he was received and entertained like a Prince.

In which time fuch of the English Nobility as were intereffed in the fecret, and knew where this Prince refided, found fome opportunity to give him affistance, and fent Sr. Robert Clifford and Sr. William Barley into Flanders, to give him a vifit and intelligence of what noble friends he had ready to ferve him : though their more particular errant was, to take a strict observance of him, and such private marks as hee had bin knowne by from his Cradle : there had beene fome counterfeits, incouraged to take upon them the perfons of Edward E. of Warwick, and Richard Duke of Yorke ; But here, the certainty of their knowledge found him they looked for, by his Face, Countenance, Lineaments and all tokens familiarly and privately knowne to them ; observing his behaviour, naturaliz'd and heightned with a Princely grace, and in his discourse able to give them a ready accompt of many paffages he had heard or feene whilst hee was in England; with fuch things as had beene done and difcourst very privately, fpeaking English very perfectly, and better then the Dutch, or Wallonish : by which Sr. Kobert Clifford and the rest, found themselves fo well fatisfied, and were fo confirm'd, That they wrot to the Lord Fitzwater, to Sir Symon Mountford and others (who had a good opinion towards him;) the full accompt of what they had observ'd ex certa scientia, & Supra visum corporis. About this time (to intermix the Scene with more variety, and fill the Stage) some principall perfons, well affecting the E. of Warwick, and hoping to get him forth of the Tower in purpose

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purpose to make him King) had inticed a handsome young fellow, one Lambert Simonell of Lancashire, bred in the University of Oxford to become his counterfeit, and fo instructed him in the royall Genealogy, that hee was able to fay as hee was taught; maintained and abetted, cheifly, by the Viscount Lovell, the E. of Lincolne, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Sir Symon Preist, &c. who being prefented to the Duke and Dutchesse of Burgondy and by them honorably entertained, drew to him in Flanders one Martin Swartz (a Captaine of a very eminent fame) and fome forces, with which hee made over into Ireland where they received him as Edward Earle of Warwick, as hee was of many here at home : and when the deceit was discovered, the excuse was, those Lords but used this counterfet of the Earle for a Colour, whilst they could get him out of the Tower to make hin King. But the vaile is easily taken from the face of fuch impostors, examples giving us light in many ; for though fome men may, all cannot be deceived : so speudo-Agrippa in the time of Tiberius was soone found to bee Clemens the fervant of Suetonius. Agrippa, though very like to him, and Puefdo-Nero in Otho's time, who tooke upon him to be Nero revived, was quickly unmasked.

Vale ins Paterculus telleth of a certaine ambitious counterfet in 'Macedonia, who called himfelfe Philip; and would be reputed the next heire of the Crowne, but was discovered and nicknamed Pesudo-Philippus ; Alfo in the Raigne of Commodus one pretended to be Sextus Claudianus, the fon of Maximus ; with many fuch that are obvious in old ftories; and many of the like ftampe have beene here convicted in England ; which bred the greater jealoufy of this Richard, when hee came first to be heard of, Though those jealofies proceeded not from the detection of any fraud in him, but of the late imposture of the faid Lambert the Shooemakers fon, and the abuse of the Complotters; for the Kingdome having been abused with those 'Pfendo-Clarences, had reason to bee doubtfull of every unknowne perfon, which allumed the name of greatnesse; in regard whereof, many shrunke in their opinions from this Perkin, or Richard; many others suspecting their beliefe, were very curious to inform themfelves who the further they inquired, were the more confirmed, that hee was no other but the fecond fon of Edward the Fourth, against whom those of the harder credulity objected it as an impoffibility, that this young Duke could bee conveyed out of the Tower. fo long, and fo concealed ; which the wifer fort could eafily answer by many ancient examples, which give us di-N vers

Dion, Tacinus, Counterfeit Princes.

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Its written by fome of the old Historians that King Harold was not flaine at the Battaile of Haflings, by the Conquerers but that he furvived & went to Ierufalem, &c. But it not importeth whether He were the true Harold, or Plen. do Harold , becaule he never came to;claime any thing in England.

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vers Relations of Noble Children pre'erved more admirably : and this young Duke himselfe, in his owne behalfe, when fuch objections were made against him, did alledge to James King of Scotland the Hiftory of Joab mentioned in the Booke of the Kings, and that most special one of Moses : which the Dutches his Aunt Sifter German to his Father, was ftrongly confirmed in, giving him all anfwerable and honorable accommodation : fo did the chiefe. Nobility of those parts; and as an heire of the houfe of Yorke, there was rendred him the Title of La Rofe-Blanch, the proper and ancient devife of the houfe of Yorke ; with all, a gallant Guard of Souldiers was allowed him for attendance, and much was hee favored by the Arch-Duke Maximilian King of the Romans, by Philip his Sonne Duke of Burgondy, Charles the French King, the King of Portugall and Scotland, by the chiefest of Ireland and many Personages in England, who at extreame perill and hazard avowed him to be the fecond fon of Edward the fourth.

The Princes aforementioned readily supplying him with Coyne and affistance, towards his atcheivements. King Henry actively apprehends what it threatned, and bestirs himfelfe to take of their inclinations, dispatching Doctor William Warkam (after Archbishop of Canterbury) with Sr. Edward Poynings a grave and worthy Knight, to under-rate his credit with those Princes; and such strong personalisms were used That Philip Duke of Burgondy (for his Father Maximilian was before returned into Austria) utterly declines himselfe and his subjects from his first ingagement, but excepted the Widdow Dutchesse of Burgondy, over whom hee had no power of command, because thee had all justice and Jurisdiction in those large signories whereof her dowry was composed.

And thus *Richard* was fupplanted here; what hope of ayde hee had, or did expect by his voyage into Portugall, 1 cannot fay, though his entertainment there was honorable : but by reafon of the diffance of the Country it may bee thought hee was to build little upon any from thence; his chiefe confidence and refuge being in England and Ireland, where he had a good party, and fayled with a prety Fleete into Ireland; there hee was welcomed, and received as the the fecond Sonne of King *Edward*; fome of the *Geraldins* and other great Lords in Ireland, purpofing to make him their King; To overtake him betimes there too, Doctor *Henry Deane*, Abbot of Lanthory (a very wife able man) was fent and made Chancellor of Ireland; with him went the faid Sr. Edward Poynings, who fo actively befirred themfelves that

The practice of Hen. 7. with the Duke of Burgondy.

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The meanes uled by Hen.7. to prevent the practiles of Perkin in Iteland.

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that in fhort time they drew the Irish from Perkin, fo that now hee must returne home, but by the way was encouraged, to apply himfelfe to Iames King of Scotland; whither forthwith hee directs his hopes, and found his entertainment answerable to them : the King receiving him very Nobly by his title of Duke of York, calls him Cozen, with promises to give him strong footing in England, and (in earnest of his better intents) bestowed in Marriage upon him, the most Noble and faire Lady Katharine Gordon his neere kinswoman, Daughter of Alexander Earle of Huntly : This came home very fharpely to King Henry ; who knew King *Iames* to bee a Prince fo Wife, and Valiant, that no eafy delution could abufe him. that no eafy delusion could abuse him.

And true it is, King lames was very precife in his confideration of this young Duke : but very cleerely con-firmed before hee would acknowledge him. King Henry is very Studious how to thwart the event of this scene, and unfasten the King : but casts his confidence againe, upon the fortune of his judgement, and fends many Protestations with rich promiles, to King lames for Perkin (for now wee shall fo call him with the times) which tooke small effect at first ; but King Henry (being a man pregnant to finde any advantage, and one whole providence would not let it die) remembers the ftong affinity and friendship betwixt King James and Ferdinando King of Caffile, (one of the most Noble Princes then living.) At that time too, it happened fo happily, there was a Treaty and intelligence betwixt Henry the Seventh and Ferdinando, for propolition of a Marriage of Arthur the Prince of Wales, and Katharine Daughter of King Ferdinando : this occasion no sooner offered it selfe to his consideration, but a Post was dispatcht to Castile, with Letters and Instructions to give the King to know what had paffed betweene him and King James of Scotland, urging him to use the Power and Credit hee had with him, for the delivery of Perkin to himfelfe : which Ferdinando undertooke ; and Don Pedro, fends Don Pedro Ayala (not one Peter Hialas, or Peter Hayles) as our vulgar stories have (a wife and learned man and of a very Noble house) who so ably used his Braine in this imployment, that King Iames paffed to him his promife, to difmille Perkin to his own fortunes ; But would by no meanes deliver him to the King.

Thus Perkin was againe supplanted Virtute vel dolo, and of neceffity driven into Ireland, where hee was formerly received and entertained ; whilft they were agitating their first Plot of fetling him King, Charles the French King N fends

This Lady was fo rarely faire and lovely that King H. 7 wondred at her beauty, and was inamoted of her fending her to London to be fafely kept till his returne out of the Weft Countries; where he thea was and firft law her.

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The practice of H.7. to the King of Scots, and of Castile to get or fupplane Letkins.

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92 Hall in H.7.

sends to him Lois de Laques and Estiene Friant, to offer him his friendship and ayde; with this good newes Perkin hasted into France, where hee found his welcome very honorable, as befitting a Prince, a Guard appointed to attend him, of which Monfieur Congre-Salle was Captaine; before this King Henry had threatned France with an Army, but now upon a better view and deliberation, forefeeing what this had in it, He propounds very faire Conditions for a Peace with the French King, which the French King was as willing to intertaine, and fo it was concluded; Perkin after this began to thinke the King fhortned his respects, and looked upon him (as it were) but imagine lusca, with halfe a Countenance, and fearing there might bee fome capitulation in this new League, that might concerne his liberty, privately quits Paris, returning to his Aunt of Burgondy. A1though Perkin was thus thormed in his forraine expectations, hee had those both in England and Ireland, that much favored him and his caufe, making another voyage into Ireland, but returned with his first comfort; for though they flood constantly affected and were willing, the Kings Officers curbed them fo, they could not ftir,

From Ireland hee fayled into England, landing at Bodmin in Cornewall, the Cornish and Westerne men thereabouts receiving him very gladly, proclayming him King of England and of France, &c, by the Title of Richard the Fourth (as Hee had beene proclaimed before in the North parts of England, by the Councell and Countenance of the King of Scots.) Out of Cornewall Hee marches into Devonshire to Exeter, to which Hee layd Siege, having then about five thousand men in his Army; but the Kings being at hand and farre stronger, Hee was forc't to rife from the fiege, upon which those few friends Hee had left (finding His want, and the King with greater ftrength approaching) forfooke him to provide for themfelves : thus abandoned, no way before him but flight, and being well mounted, with a traine of fome forty or fifty refolute Gentlemen, recovers the Abby of Beanely in Hamp-fhire, where Hee tooke Sanctuary, from which the Kings party who perfued Him would violently have furprifed Him; t. plinore : i

Which the Abbot and Religious perfons would not indure as a thing too foule against their Priviledge. The King after sends to him profers of favours and mercy, with promises of such Honour and Condition as drew Him to the Court, where the King looked upon him with a very Gratious and Bountifull usage as a Noble perfon ; But

Perkins Entertainment in the Court.

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of King RICHARD the third.

LIB. 2.

But his prompting Jealousies and Feares soone castadulnesse over this first favours and promises ; Then a Guard must bee set upon Perkin and his usuall freedome restrained ; these were harsh presages (Hee thought) which so jufily moved His fufpition and difcontent that hee thought Sanctuary againe must bee his best fafety, and passing by the Monastery of Shrene, hee suddenly flips into it from his Guard, whither the King fends unto him with perfwasions of the first Courtly and Honorable tincture; But Perkin that had difcerned the Hook, was not eafily to be tempted with the bait this fecond time.

Then the King dealt with the Prior for him, who would not yeeld him, but upon faithfull promife from the King to use him with all favour and grace, which was protested, although Perkin no sooner came into his power againe but hee was fent to the Tower, where his imprisonment was made fo hard and rude, that it much dejected and troubled him, oftentimes in private and with peircing groanes, having beene heard to with himfelfe borne the Sonne of any Pefant. And indeed', every one could tell hee fared the worfe for his Name, it being an observation of those times that there was three men most feared of the King.

Edward Plantagenet Earle of Warwicke, Perkin, alias Richard Plantagenet, and Edmond de la Poole Sonne of King. Edwards Sister, all of the Family of Yorke, but most of all Perkin, being of a more active spirit, so more senfible of his wrongs then the other; and cost the King more Confultation and Treasure in the working him into his hands; Therefore answerably aggravated his miferies and difgraces which now beganne to exceede; for hee was not onely fharpely reftrained in the Tower, but the fame was the Question or * Gehenne was given Him : fome- |* Rack. times he was taken forth, and carried in molt ignominious manner abroade, to bee fet in the Pillory, otherwhile. in the Stockes; after all these bitter and cruell punishments (to pull downe his stomacke) there was sent some unto Him of purpose to perswade his submission to the Kings mercy, and by renowneing His Blood, Birth, and Title, to confesse himselfe no other but Perkin Warberk the Sonne of a bale Flemming, which Hee fcorning and denying, His fufferings were made more rigorous, and Hee lodged poorely and bafely, as meanely fedde, worfe cladde, untill at length by Torments and Extremities, Hee was forc't to fay any thing, and content to unfay what they would have Him, to accuse Himselfe by

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is L'ali

The History of the Life and Reigne LIB. 2. 94 by a forc't Recantation of his Family Name, and Royall Parentage; this must bee compell'd too under His hand, then to bee brought by the Officers unto the most publique places of London and Westminster, to suffer as before related, and with a loud voyce to reade the fame, which might palle at prefent with the multitude The force and for current, who knew not how it was fored from Him, mischiefe of Torture. nor had judgement enough to know and confider that Racks and Tortures have made very able men accuse themselves and others unjustly : Seneca telleth of a man who being fuspected of Theft was inforced by torture to confesse the theft and his fellow Theeves ; but haveing none, hec accused the good and just Cato, to avoyd the torture; nay (which is a thing of more horror) it maketh men by falle Oaths to blaspheme God ; Therefore Saint Augustine inveigheth sharply against the cruell use of it; and amonglt many other fins, which hee findeth in it, this is one, Stander C

August.in Civitate Dei.

1. R.R. +

The French

all toriure la

Gehenne.

Tortus si diutius nolet sustinere Tormenta, quod non commisit, se commisise dicit.

The tortured gladly doing this the fooner to exchange those torments with death as the far less pain.

And therefore this young Man may bee excufable in what hee did against himselfe; his youth being ignorant of these high points of Honour, and could not yet bee confirmed in any brave and firme refolution, norhappily in Religion, and the worfe alfo by the reafon of hisolong imprifonment and heavy trouble, having no Councell to ftrengthen him, nor fo much as in Charity to comfort Him , but left a milerable defoerate forlorne Man, and feared to bee fo for ever, and at the best. And if learned grave Men, Men of grace, having large Talents of Spirit and Science, for feare of fuch punishments have denyed some chiefe points of Chriflian Faith juyet have beene exculed for the torture fake 3 of which wee have testimony in the Ecclesiasticall Stories) what may a tender and unexperienced youth doe ? For which just causes the best Doctors of the Civill Law, and alfo of Theology condemne and aborre the use of Torture, as having a further mischiefe in it grand lis Arcanum, Gehenne a secret of Torture or of Hellinetgoo 1010

For when the Prisoners body by exteame toment is brought

LIB. 3. of King RICHARD the third.

brought into any mortall State, 'or fymptome of death, or made incurable and deadly, then to avoyde the imputation of Murder, the prifoner by a fhort and private proceffe is condemned of fome capitall crime; and prefently executed, whilft there is yet fome life in him ; And to that cenfure Perkin at last came; for nothing could ferve but his blood, his confession being only extorted from him to perfwade the People hee was an impostor, and because they could not lay hold of his Life by the Course of Law or Justice (being not attainted nor condemned of any capitall crime.) This fcruple being a little confidered, there was found out a way to remove that, and matter enough to make him guilty of a capitall offence, for which purpose it was devised there should a practife of escape bee offered him ; and because the case of Edward Plantagenet, Earle of VVarrwicke, was like unto his, and as well witht, being not attainted of any crime, hee also must defire to escape, that devise being the onely matter of guilt, or capitall crime, which was wanting, and might bee (as it were) created for them the more colorably to effect their executions; there not wanting instruments infor that purpose to betray their innocent confidence, whole inprisonment had layne fo heavily and cruelly upon them, that they were eafily perfwaded to catch at any hope of liberty.

Some fay the Earle of Warwicke at his arraignment was charged with perfwading the other to make this efcape, but fure it is they both gladly hearkened, to the motion of it; And were (foone after) accufed as guil-ty of practife and Confpiracy, to escape out of the Tower, fo for the fame arraigned and condemned to die: though g eat difference was put in their proceffe, and execution ; for the Earle of Warwick was tryed by his noble Warwick, Peeres, and had the fupplice of a Nobleman, in an hot paralels. norable place, the Tower of London : Perkin alias Richard, by a Common Jury, who are men (many times) of little honefty, and to fuffer at the common and infamous place, Tyburne, by the name of Perkin Ware becke, to confirme the People Hee was what they condemned him for ; For this Nick-name was supposed to have utterly disnobled Him, and (as it were) diverted Him of all his Noble Bloud and Titles, the condition of an impostor ferving best for a cloke against that purple shower, which was at the fall and cruell usage of this miferable Prince. intics and or me ton.

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It may bee thought, the Earle of VVarwicke had as fhamefully fuffered, if the Wit and Malice of the Cardinall could have reacht to have made him a counterfeit; But all men knew Hee was not onely a true and certaine Prince, but free from all practife, yet Hee was reftrained of his liberty, and a prifoner the most part of Hislife; from the time of his Fathers attainder untill He Suffered; this was after they had furvived King *Richard* their Unckle about fifteen years.

Of escape.

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The French word efcape, is to feeke to be free, and the French men tranflate efcape into the Latine Salvus, Efcape what.

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distant.

Now for their Offence, the learned Judges will tell us of what Nature and Quality, it is called in Law.

Some holding an efcape to bee but an errour, a naturall diflike of bondage, or a forfeit of fimplicity, proceeding from a naturall and very tolerable defite of liberty, which opinion is contingent to right; And the caufe of these two Princes may also bee the better received, if it bee well confidered, that this Plot of their escape was not projected by themselves, but cunningly propounded to them by proper instruments (being young and unexperienced) to intangle them in some capitall offence, and fo of Death, of which kinde of offences they flood cleere before, not once accused, haveing never beene indicted, or attainted of any thing Capitall. Therefore now their innocence must bee made guilty; And in this I fay no more then all our Hiftorians, or others fay, who agree in one opinion that The KING could not take away the lives of Perkin Warbecke and this Earle of Warwicke, untill this practife of their escape was layde to them, and they made guilty thereof. Therefore they were not Traytors before, neither was Perkin now to bee thought 3 Counterfeit, but a Prince of the Bloud, clayming the Crowne; for otherwayes, Hee was Perkin of Flanders, a base fellow and a most culpable and notorious Traitor : then what neede they looke further for a Crime to put him to Death?

And if Hee were not a Traitor, furely it was a Tyranny to make of an Innocent and guiltleffe Man a guilty Felon, and by Traines, and Acts, to forge an offence out of nothing.

b. For doubtlesse an Innocent and a true man may seeke freedome, and purpose an act of escape, also commit it, and yet be still an honess Man, and a faithfull good subject; for nature and reason teacheth and alloweth all men to eschew injuries and oppression.

Besides

of King RICHARD the Third.

Befides this Practife of those young men, to escape, was found (as *Pollidor* well observeth) Crimen Alienum, and not Crimen proprium : then how much greater was the wrong, to take away their lives.

Lib. 3.

But however it may bee laid upon them, it was nothing but a defire of liberty out of durance, in which they were kept for a fmall, or no offence.

The Civill law holdeth fuspition of flight or escape, to been o crime. Suspicio fugæ quia, non solet detrimentum, reipublice ad ferre, non censetur crimen; so ulpian. And by the Lawes of England, if a Prisoner doe escape, who is not imprisoned for Treafon, or felony, but some lesser fault of trespasse according to the old Law of England.

Escapæ non adjudicabitur versus eum, qui Commissus est prisonæ, pro transgressione. Escape shall not bee adjudged for Felony, or other crime, in one who is committed for trespasse.

For the offence of the escape is made in the common Law, to be of the fame nature and guilt with the crime whereof the Prisoner is attainted; And certainely neither the Earle of *Warwicke*, nor *Ri*chard alias Perkin were attainted of Treason or Felony, &c. before.

But to close this difpute and tragedy, not long after fome of the Inftruments which betrayed them into this, as Walter Blunt, Thomas Aftwood, fervants to the Lieutenant of the Tower, finifhed at Tiburn because they should tell no tales.

And to this fuccinct relation, there can be no better testimony then the hands of those witness, who have sealed their confession on and knowledge with their bloods.

Men of all conditions and estates, all maintaining at the last galpe, that Perkin was the true Duke of Yorke, whole Affirmations I will produce, give mee but leave by the way, to answer one Objection or Cavill brought against this Duke called in fcorn, Perkin Warbecke. A new Writer affirming him to bee an Impostor, whole learning may be as much miltaken in this, 'as other things, though he laid a great pretence to knowledge, especially in the History of England and other Countreyes : indeed his judgement and reading are much express alike, in his Pamphlet which he cals the History of Perkin Warbecke, wherein he forfeits all his skill, to make him a parallel in advers fortunes, and supposed base quality, to the unhappy Don Sebastian late King of Portugall, who he alfo protefts an Impostore. And to arrive at this huge knowledge, (he would have us thinke) hee tooke much paines in the fifting of Authors (and indeed I thinke he did fift them) concerning his ignorance in the cafe of Don Sebastian (if he be not too wife to have it informed) I will urge some reasons on Don Sebastians fide, who was King of Portugall : and invading the Kingdom of Barbary, Anno Dom. 1584. was overthrown in a fierce & bloody Battel in the fields of Alcazer, by the King of Morneco, where it

Just: Stanford, in pleas de la Corone. lib. I. cap. 26, 27.

97

Whether Don Sebastian of Portugall were a Counterfeit or not.

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wasthought he was flaine, but elcaped and fled fecretly, traverflite or difguifed: travailing in that manner through many parts of Africa and Afia fome 30. yeares, in which time and travaile he fuffered much, lived in Captivity and mifery, but at last got away into Europe with purpose to have got into Portugall (it possible) to repossed the Kingdome.

In this returne he came to Venice, there discovered himselfe, and defires aide of the Venetian States : they entertained him as a Prince distressed, gave him good words, but durst not lend him Affistance, fearing the King of *spaine*; Yet the chiefe Senators, and many of the wiseft of the Signiory, made no doubt of him.

Among them Signieur Lorenza Justiniano of the Senators Order. (a man of wife and great abilities) was appointed by the States, a Commissioner (with others) to hear and examine this cause of Don Sebastian, in which they tooke much paines. And this Signieur Lorenzo (being lieger Ambassadour in England) affirmed and protested folemnly, he and all the other Commissioners were clear and very confident he was Don Sebastian King of Portugalt, notwithstanding they durst not give him aide, but councelled him for France, where the King favoured right, without feare of anothers difpleasure. But taking Florence in his way, in the habit of a Fryer, he was observ'd and discovered by some spyes which the Grand Duke of Tuscany had set upon him from Venice : who to infinuate with the King of Spaine, Philip the fecond, and for fome other commodious confiderations, delivered sebastian to the Governour of Orbattelli (a Spanish Port in Tuscany) from thence sent him by Sea to the Count De le Mos, Vice-roy of Naples, who conveyed him into Spaine : there for a while his entertainment was no better then in the Gallies : what other welcome hee had I know not ; but the fame went certainly he was fecretly made away after Philip the third was King. The faid Vice-roy of Naples confessed in fecret to a friend of his, he verily believed his prifoner was the true sebastian King of Portugall, and was induced to be of that opinion, by the ftrong Teltimonies, and many ftrange and peculiar markes, which fome Honourable Portugeffes did know him by, all found about the body of this sebastian. And the French King, Henry the 4th it fhould feeme, was perfwaded no leffe : for when the newes was told him the Duke of Florence had fent this sebaftian to the King of Spaine, he told the Queene what an ill deed her Unckle had done in these words; Nostre Uncle a fait un alt fort indique de sa Persone. 101555

Doctor stephen de Sampugo, in a letter to Joseph Texere, Councellour and Almoner to the most Christian King, writes thus. The King Don Sebastian is here in Venice, &c. So some as hee arrived here (where he hoped to find support) the Ambassadour of Castile perfecuted him very cruelly, personaling the Signeury that he was a Calabrois, &c. I sweare to your Father-hood by the Passion of Iesus

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Hic legatus bac Domino Baroni Darcey retulit.

1.1

of King RICHARD the Third.

Lib. 3.

Jefus Chrift, this man is truly the King Don Sebaftian, he hath all the markes on his body', without failing in any one as he hadin his infancy, only the wounds excepted which he received in that Battel at Affricke, he gives the reason of his life, & account of all his passages. &c. Heisknowne and re-known by the Conciergres, by the Judges, by the greater part of the Senate, and by his owne Confelfor. &c. and a great deal more of him upon knowledg he justifies: as much witnelles fon de Castro, Sonne to Don de Alvaro de Castro. one of the four Governours that ruled the Kingdome Conjunctly with the King Don Sebaftian (who in his letter the fame man faves thus. The King Don Sebastian (whom the enemies call a Calabrois) is the very fame which is detained here, as certainly as you are Fryer Joseph, and my felfe Don Jon. He departed alive from the battaile, but very fore wounded : God having fo delivered him with fome other of his company, amongst whom was the Duke Anegro, & c. as for the Exterior marks of his body he wants not one of them, he is wounded on the brow of the right eye and on the head , as many witneffed when they faw him in the Affrick Battell. His hand-writing is still the fame, observing the very fame method, as is very well remembred by divers.

There might much more be instanced in the behalfe of this sebaftian, but this may ferve for better intelligence, to which I may adde, that men experienced in the Affaires and policy of State. know it a rare thing to find in any Hiftory the examples of a Prince being feiled and poffelled of any Signiory or Principality (how unlawfull foever) who hath refigned them or any part to the true heires. Have we not inftances at home, where the Sonne hath taken the Kingdome from the Father, and would not let it goe againe, but rather endeavoured to haft his Fathers fate? Much after that manner when Henry Duke of Lancaster had got the Kingdome, he held it and would not religne to the right Heyr Richard the fecond, nor after his death to the Earle of March, though these were no Impostors ; neither was Edward Earl of Warmicke : yet King Henry would not let his hold goe : and the Cardinall Favourite, finding he could not compasse his aymes one way, contrived it another. By the Machivilian advice he gave to Ferdinand King of Castile, not to conclude the treaty of the Marriage betweene Prince Arthur and his Daughter Katherine untill this Earle and Perkin were disposed of, which Ferdidando followed and urged the King, pretending it the fecurity of his Effate and Iffue.

In briefe, it is not poffible to perfwade a private man, though wrongfully poffeffed to acknowledge the true proprietary hath a better title then he.

How unjuftly have the Kings of Spaine detain d fundry Signeuries and Principalities from the lawfull Heirs : yet if the wrong done by fuch another diffeifing Lord, be put to this former Ufurper, Mala fide (as the Imperial Jurifconfults will terme him) his O 2

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Edward 2. and Edward 3.

The Hiftory of the Reigne

LIB. 2.

be

sentence will be, such a Rapinous Prince doth wrong.

Moor, Hollinfb. Stow, Gainfford.

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Moor, Hollinfh. Stow, Grafton, Gainsford, Hal.

Idem Autor.

He was the Noble , I rogenitor of the Earles of York.

Hollinshed, Grafion, Hall, Stow.

But let us now take a more particular view of those witnesses who flood for Perkin. And having formerly mentioned Sir Robert clifford, a Knight of the Noble Family of the Barons Cliffords, I will proceed with that which may be themore remarkable in him, because hee was of a Family that long hated the House of Yorke, from the Battaile of Wakefield, when and where they refolved an enmity fo deadly, as was not to bee reconciled or fatisfied whilft one of them remained; yet became followers againe of the White Role family; and this Sir Robert Clifford ferved King Edward very neare, and in good credit, fo could not but have an affured knowledge of the Kings Sonnes, and was therefore the more particularly fent to certifie his knowledge, who certainely affirmed him to bee the younger fonne of Edward 4. and confirmed many with him, fuch as had likewife ferved King Edward, and had been acquainted with the Prince his conveying beyond Sea, though much was done to alter Sir Roberts opinion: the Lord Fitz-Walter was of the fame beliefe, and avowed Perkin the true Duke of York. most constantly unto death ; as resolute was Sir William Stanley, though he were Lord Chamberlaine to Henry the feventh, and in great favour; with Sir George Nevill Brother to the Earle of Westmorland, Sir Symon Mountford, Sir William Danbeny, father to the Lord Daubeny, Sir Thomas Thmaits, Sir Robert Ratcliffe of the house of the Baron FitzWalter, Sir John Taylor, Sir Thomas Chaloner, Thomas Bagnall with many other Gentlemen of quality, all maintaining him to be the Duke of Yorke, fonne of Edward the fourth, & fundry of the Clergy who had beene Chaplaines to the King his Father, or otherwife occasioned to attend the Court, as Doctor Rochford, Doctor Poynes, Doctor Sutton, Doctor Worfley Deane of St. Pauls, Doctor Leyborn, Doctor Lefly, with many other learned Professor of Divinity, who would not endure to heare him called Perkin.ª The Lord Fitz Water, Sir William Stanley, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Robert Ratcliffe, Sir William Daubeny (as martyrs of fate) confirmed their Testimonies with their bloods. So did the Kings Serjant Ferrier, who left the Kings fervice, and applyed himself to Perkin, for which he was executed as a Traitor; and one Ed. wards who had ferved this Duke Richard, was cut in pieces for the fame caufe, alfo Corbet, Sir Quinton Betts, and Gage, Gentlemen of good worth, with 200. more at least, put to death in fundry Cities and Townes, particularly in Kent, Effex, Suffolke, Norfolke, and about London for their confidence and opinions in this Prince.

There were some great men (though they made noe professi-on of their knowledge of him,) could whilper it one to another which in generall words, is confessed by all our better writers; who fay, that as well the Noblemen, as others, held the faid Perkin to.

of King RICHARD the Third.

be the younger Sonne of King Edward the Fourth.

Lib. 3.

And Sir Thomas Moore after Doctor Morton, thus writeth, The man commonly called Perkin Warbeck, was as well with the Prince, as with the people, held to be the younger Sonne of King Edward the Fourth.

Richard Grafton affirmeth the fame, in Flanders (faith-He) and most of all here in England, it was received for an undoubted truth, not onely of the' people but of the Nobles, that Perkin was the Sonne of King Edward the Fourth. And they all fwore and affirmed this to be true; The learned and famous Mr. Cambden averreth, there were many wife, grave and perfons of good intelli gence, (who lived in that time and neere it) That affirmed confidently this Perkin was fecond Sonne to King Edward, then both the Brothers were not made a way by King Richard, and furely it was little reason, or policy, to cut off the one & spare the other, neither indeed was there ever any proofes made, by Teltimony, Argument, or Prefumption, nor by Reafon, Honour, or Policy, that this crime could be his, though many to the contrary; for he not onely preferved his Nephew the young Earle of Warwicke, but in his confidence (a special note of his magnanimity) gave him libertie, pleafure, and the comminand of a Statly house of his owne.

Now if he had beene fo Ambitious and bloudy, he would have provided otherwife for him, knowing his Title was to take place, if his bloud had not beene attainted in his Father; in regard whereof King *Richard* when his owne Sonne was dead, caufed his Nephew *Iohn de la Poole*, Eldelt Sonne of the Duke of *suffolke*, and of the Dutches his fifter, (then the next lawfull heir to the Crowne) to be proclaimed heir apparant, an Argument of refpect to his kindred & next title to the Growne, in whomfoever it was; which other men regarded not fo much as the unhappy Sequel fhewed : (& there was an impious neceffitie in that) for whilft the Prince of Yorke furvived, (Efpecially the males) no other titular Lord, or pretender could be King by his owne right, or by colour of right, nor by any other meanes : unleffehe had married a daughter, and the Eldeft Daughter of King *Edward* the Fourth.

And although the deathes & manner of taking away these Princes (the Sonnes of King Edward) is held by our writers uncertaine and obscure. It is manifelt (at least for the generall manner of their death) to be either by the Publicke fword, that is the fword of luftice, or of Battaile as were King Richard, the Children of the Duke of Clarence and the Duke of Suffolke, &c. or by the private fword, that is, by secret and close flights, treachery (which the Roman's called Infidia, dolus, by Smothering, Strangling, Poyson, Sorcery, &c. And that the fword was used against the family of Yorke, there is more then conjecture, both by Testimonies of writers, and records King Edward himselfe, (as Credible Authors re-O 2 port) John Morton. Thomas Moor. Grafton.

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IOI

Mr. William Cambden.

Some think he dyed unnaturally-

Publike fword. Private fword.

The arts of treachery.

LIB. 3.

port) dyed of poylon. In the Parliament Anno. 1. Richardi tertij there was accused and attainted of forcerie and fuch other devilish practices. Doctor Lewis, Doctor Morton, William Knevitt, of Buckin gham, the Counteffe of Richmont, Thomas Nandick, of Cambridge Conjurer, with others; There was also an Earle accufed of the fame hellift Art, and an old Manuscript Booke, which I have feene, fayes, that Doctor Morton and a certaine Counteffe, contriveing the death of King Edward and others, refolv'd it by poylon.

Which are conjectures and proofes more politive and ftrong against them, then any, they have against King Richard, but it was a great neglect in their malice, makeing King Richard foe politick and treacherous as they did, not to charge him alfo with these Princes Sifters, For it could not ferve his turne, to rid away the Brothers, and not them; who were capable of the Crowne and had their turne royall, before any Collaterall males. Then he had, the children of his elder Brother, George Duke of Clarence, Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, & the Lady Margaret his fifter, after counteffe of Salisbury to make away; for they without their Fathers corruption of bloud (which might eafily have beene falved by Parliament, the Lords and Commons affecting them)had a Priority of bloud and precedency of Title before the Protector.

I would aske the reason too why King Richard might not endure his Nephewes (being by Parliament held and adjudged illegitimate) as well as the Kings Henry 7. and Henry the eight, endured Arthur Plantagenet, the Bastard of the same King Edward their natales and cafes being alike, or why Sir Thomas Moore and Doctor Morton should in one place, say it was held in doubt, when or how they were made away, and in another place, to averr that Tiroll and Dighton being examined, confelled plainely, the murmurder of them and all the manner of it.

These be contraries which with a great disadvantage, drawes their allegation into another argument, Bicorne, or Crocodilites; For in revealing the confession of these men, it is implicatively granted, their fault was not then to be punished, and foe it appeares no fault: or not worth the confideration, the confession of a man being the greatest evidence, can be produced against him. Then in regard the confession of those was such as might not be opened, nor the crime called in question (as the fame Authors acknowledge) it was but a fained confession, and they had done better not to have mentioned fuch a thing, which begot but a jealousie in the falsitie thereof, or privity of some great ones in it; & a just imputation of injustice upon the Magistracy. For if Dighton, Tirroll, Forrest and Slater, confesse the murder in Act and manner, King Richard being dead (who was faid to fubborne and protect them) necessarily and in due course of justice, (cspecially in the Act of so high a nature, and notice as this was) The punifhment

Reafons why King Richard should not defroy his Nc phewes.

> Other great ones privy to the deaths of those Princes, efpecially of King Edwards Sons.

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nifhment fhould have beene expècted with all extremity.

But being for some unknowne causes deferred, and after a while quite omitted and pardoned, it may be thought fuch strange Clemency and impunitie proceeded from a fingular high indulgence. or elfe, those examinations and confessions, werebut Buzes and quaint devifes, to amaze the people, and entertaine them with expectation of a justice, to be done in some more convenient time. (which was never) This was after the death of King Richard. All that was done before, was to make him the Author of that horrible crime and no bodie elfe; For Dighton and thereft were in fecurity and liberty, yet it flood in good fleed with the Lancastrians, to draw the peoples hate upon King Richard, not unlike that ftory of great Alexander, and a noble man in his Court, who flood fo high in the favour of his Nobles and people, that the King grew jealous, and fearefull of his Popularity, studying how he might decline it and him to contempt, but could finde no colour or apt occasion, because he was foe strongly fixt in the peoples likeing and was a man of fo great a defert, that noe crime could bee charged upon him. The King unbosoming himselfe to the councell and care of a freind one Medins (of his Country, as I thinke) had this advise.

Sir (quoth hee) let not this mans greatneffe trouble you, caufe him to be accufed of fome hainous crime, (though falfly) and wee will finde meanes to make him guiltie, fo formally and firmely, that the brand of it fhall flicke upon him ever, which he delivered in these termes, though divers, yet the fame in effect. Medeatur licet vulueri, 'qui mors' s, aut dilaniatus est, remanebit tamen Cicatrix. And it is truely approved by an Antient Christian Poet, thus,

> Paulum distare videntur, Suspecti verèque rei.

Aufonius.

The guilty and fuspected Innocent, In mans opinion are little different.

For there is no more dangerous or fatall deftiny to greateneffe, then to be intangled in the multitudes contempt, Odium et Contemptus, being the two evills that overthrow Kings, and Kingdomes, the one, that is, Contempt, proceeding from the vanity and obfinacy of the Prince, the other from the peoples opinion of him and his vices, And then he mult neither raigne, nor live any longer: Ennius faid with Cicero, quem oderunt perijffe expetunt: And foe all that was practifed upon the fortune, fame, and perfon of King Richard was by this rule (though in the judgment and equity of the most knowing in those times) their cunning translatio Criminis could take noe hold of him, neither appeares it probable, that the Earle of Richmond himfelfe (when he had got all justice

Ennius apud Ci ceronem offic. lib. 2.

Lib. 2.

Sir The. Moor. Edward Hall. Ralph Hollin-Shead. John Stows Gre.

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justice and power in his hand) did hold King Richard guilty of the murder, and Subornation of those fellowes: nor, them the Aflafihes; for doubtleffe then, being fo wife and religious a Prince, he would have done all right to the lawes divine and humane. And that I believe in the extreameft and publick ft way of punishment, tomake it more fatisfactory; and terrible to the Beople and times : but they freely injoyed their liberty with fecurity to naturall deaths without any question or apprehension. THrell excepted, who fuffered for treafon not long after committed by him, against King Henry himselfe. Neither was John Greene (named a party in this murder) ever called in queltion, hof doe the Hiltorians of those times (though meere temporizers) charge him with this practife against his Nephewes, untill after his Coronation (fome fay they furvived King Richard) and giveing this respite of time, there was no caufe, why after that, he Mould make them away being then fecure in his Throne and Titie, and they longe before pronounced uncapable; First by the ecclefiasticall fudges, then by the Barons and Parliament : and where was the caufe of feare? but if King Richard had beene of that bloody conflictution, the man whole life could be most prejudicial unto him, was the Erle of Warwicke lawfull Sonne of George Plantagenet Duke of Clarence, Elder Brother to King Richard : now there was a necessitie for the Lancastrian faction (if they must have a King of, that family) to take those Princes away, not to leave King Richard or his Sonne, nor yet any legitimate iffue of Lancafter, for all those were before any of the house of Beauforts in the true order of Succeffion, and flood in their way, fo did the Progeny of Brotherton, of Woodftocke, of both the Clarencies, Glocefter, &c. Though they feared few, or none of those Titulare Lords being modelt men, not affecting Soveraignty, but content with their owne private fate and feudall eftate, when all wasone with the Lancastrians, who were so vehement in their royall approaches, that befides King Edward the Fourth and his two Sonnes, King Richard and his Son, the Prince of Wales, there was afterward (and as occasion ferved) The Earle of Warwicke and Duke of Suffolke and others, both male and female, of that princly family, laid in their cold vrnes, and it must be fo, elfe, there could beno place for the Beauforts and Somerfets, their turnes being last (the Kings of Portugall, of Castile, and other being before them, if not excluded by Act of Parliament.) 517

The Earle of Oven perfection tor of Perkin.

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In this Tragedy there was a Scene acted by John de Vere Earle of Oxenford, which may be worthy of our observation for example fake, and makes not against the cause of Perkin.

This Earle of Oxenford much affected and devoted to King Henry the Seventh, was a great enemie to this Richard (Alias Perkin) and I thinke the onely enemie he had of the great Nobility, how this diflike grew I cannot fay, whether out of ignorance, or incredulity

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incredulity, or out of malice, hateing King Edward, and all that had a neare relation to that family, or elfe to applyhimfelfe to the honour of the King, but he and the Cardinall are faid to be the cheife vrgers of Perkins difpatch and hee being high conftable pronounced the fentence against the young Earle of Warmicke, (which much distasted the Country) and ne're to Heveningham Castle, (that was his cheifest Seate) there lived in the woods an old Hermit (a very devoute and holy man as the fame of those times admit him) who feem'd much troubled to heare this newes, for the love he bare to the ancient and Noble family of Oxenford, of much anguish of Spirit, faying, the Earle and his house would repent, and rue that guilty and bloody pursuite of the innocent Princes, for the event of which prophely this hath bine observed.

Not long after the Earle was arrefted for an offence fo fmall, that no man (confidering his merit and credit with the King) could have thought it worth the question, for which he was fined at thirty thousand pounds (in those dayes a kingly fum.) a after this he lived many yeares in great difcontent : and dyed without iffue, or any child lawfully begotten by him, and in much shorter time then his life time, that great and b stately Earldome of Oxenford, with the opulent and Princly patrimony, was utterly diffipated, and como fal in agna (as the' Spaniard faith in the refran) vet this Earle was a very wife, magnificent, learned, and religious man in the effimation of all that knew him, and one more like to raife and acquire a new Erledome. But it thus fell and was wafted, the Castles and Mannors dilapidated, the Chappell wherein this John de Vere and all his Ancestors lay intombed with their monuments quite defaced to the ground, their bones left under the open Airein the feilds, and all this within leffe then threefcore yeares after the death of the faid Earle John; about the fame time these unhappie Gentlemen fuffered, there was a base d fone of King Richard the Third made away, having beene kept long before in Prison. The occasion as it seemeth was the attempt of certaine Irithmen of the West, and South parts, who would have got him into their power and made him their cheife, being ftrongly affected to any of the houfe of Yorke were they legitimate, or naturall, for Richard Duke of Yorkes fake fometimes their viceroy, and thus much in breife of that.

Now to refolve a question, why the King deferred so long the death & execution of the Earle of Warwick & Perkin, and tooke so much deliberation after he had refolved it, one reason and the cheifest brought by some, is, That in regard Perkin was an Alien, and in the allegeance of a Forraigne Prince, therefore he could not be condemned, nor executed for felony, nor treason by our lawes: which is a ridiculous evaluon, for we have frequent examples in our stories, that the naturall subjects of France, of Scotland, Spaine, Portugall, Germany, and Italy, have had judgement

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^a This Eatle Iobn, died Anno.4.H.8.1512 Dominus de Arundell viva voce

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b I may call it a starely Erledome, for the Earle of Oxenford, when he came to the poffeffion of ir, was offered by fome 1 2000 pounds per Annum and leave to his occupation all Man nors, Houfes. Caffles, Parks, Woods, Forreits, & all the Demein lands therero belong. ing', which might be more worth by yearly value then many Eridoms in this age. " The Mathematicians that calculated, the Nativitie of. this Earle Ed ward, told the Eatle his Father, that the Earledome would fall in his Sons time.

d Bastards of

King Richard-

in quarto apud

Dn. Rob. Cotton. Why the pub

lique justice

Princes.

and

deferred the death of the

Grafton & Chron. M. S.

and lexecution by our lawes, for felony and treason, as Peter de Gaosstand French man, Sir Andrew Harcley a Scot, and lately Dr. Lopez a Portugall, therefore apparantly that was not the cause the King fo doubtfully, and (as it were) timerously deferred their Astraignments & Executions. The Heathens perhaps would have defined it fome inward awe or conceased scruple, such as they called Eumenides, and Eurinnies, and believed haunted those men that had purposed or acted a wickednesse: upon which the Poet foid well:

Lib. 2.

Patiturque unos mens faucia Manes. And affigned to every man his protecting Spirit, whom the Greekes called Dæmones, the Latines Genios, concluding, that when the Genius of him against whom the mischiefe aimes, is stronger and thore active then his who is to act it, there the Plot hardly take th effect. add drive is a stronger and the stronger and stronger and the stronger and stronger and stronger and stronger and stronger and stronger and stronger active the stronger and stronger active the stronger and s

For example, produce the mortall ennity betweene Ottavianus Cafar, and M. Antonius, in which Anthony could never prevaile by any Attempt : who confulting with his Soothfayers, they give the reason to beethe power of Ottavians Genius above his. It is reported the great Philosopher Appollonius had fuch a fecret protection, and to strong, that the Emperour Domitian had no power over his life, though hee studied meanes to take it, Suidas adding that this Philosopher in confidence of his Genius when he left the Emperour, added this verse,

O'u per pe Raveeis, בדרו בדמו pogdipio בווע. ו ז ז מי

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Vopiscus in Aureliano.

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Me non occides quia fataliter protectus fum : which is that Flamius Vopifcus calleth Majeftatem Apollonij (as I gheffe) and with it the Profeflors of Christian Religion agree in the effects, not in the causes, for those whom the Heathen call Augures Damones, &c. Genios, the Christian Theologues call Angels or Spirits, whereof they hold good and bad.

his Ano Cont of

But to returne to the matters further Allegate & Probate. The industrious Antiquary Master John Stow, being required to deliver his opinion concerning the proofes of this murther, affirmed it was never proved by any credible evidence, no not by probable fulpitions, or formuch as by the Knights of the Post, that King Richard was guilty of it. And Sir Thomas Moore (being puzelled with his Equivocations) fayes, that it could never come to light what became of the bodies of these two Princes. Grafton, Hall, and Hollinshead agreeing in the fame report, that the trueth hereof was utterly unknowne. Then where is their farre seeing knowledge, that will have them transported into Forraign Countreyes, or drowned, or their giganticke proofes, that fay peremptorily, they were both murthered and buryed in the Tower by those foure named before : if fo, we need go no further for the truth.

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truth. But these are splenitick reaches, and the Parachronisme is too große as the Comædian faid,

Quod dictum, indictum est, Quod modo ratum, irritum est.

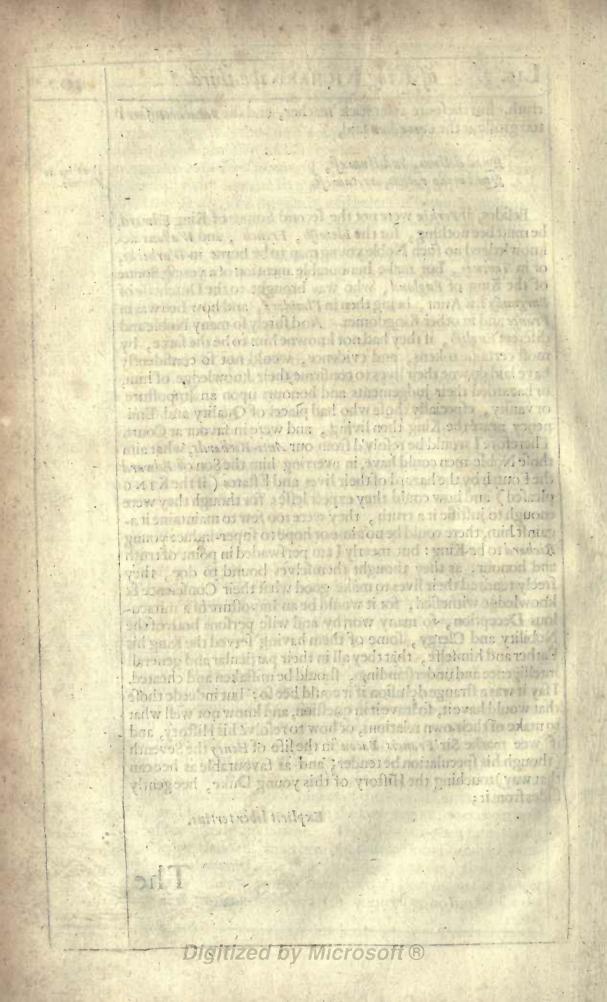
Belides, if Perkin were not the fecond Sonne of King Edward, he must be nothing, for the Flemish, French ', and Wallons acknowledged no fuch Noble young man to be borne in Warbecke, or in Tourney, but make honourable mention of a young Sonne of the King of England, who was brought to the Dutchelle of Burgundy his Aunt, being then in Flanders, and how hee was in France and in other Kingdomes. And furely fo many Noble and difcreet English, if they had not knowne him to be the same, by most certaine tokens, and evidence, would not fo confidently have laid downe their lives to confirme their knowledge of him, or hazarded their judgements and honours upon an Imposture, or vanity, especially those who had places of Quality and Eminency neare the King then living, and were in favour at Court. Therefore I would be refolv'd from our Anti-Richards, what aim those Noble-men could have, in averring him the Son of Edward the Fourth by the hazard of their lives and Estates (if the KING pleafed) and how could they expect leffe; for though they were enough to justifie it a truth, they were too few to maintaine it against him, there could be no aime or hope to super-induce young Richard to be King: but meerly I am perfwaded in point of truth and honour, as they thought themfelves bound to doe, they freely tendred their lives to make good what their Confeience & knowledge witneffed, for it would be an Imposture of a miraculous Deception, fo many worthy and wife perfons both of the Nobility and Clergy, fome of them having ferved the King his Father and himfelfe, that they all in their particular and generall intelligence and understandings, should be mistaken and cheated. I fay it was a strange delusion if it could bee fo: but indeede those that would have it, fo leave it in question, and know not well what to make of their own relations, or how to refolve his Hiftory, and if wee marke Sir Francis Bacon in the life of Henry the Seventh (though his speculation betender, and as favourable as hee can that way) touching the History of this young Duke, heegently flides from it;

Explicit liber tertins.

The

Terentius in Phormio.

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THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF KING RICHARD the Third.

The Contents.



Ponwhat occasion the sentence of Bastardy was given upon the Children of King Edward the 4th and why. The sundry Loves, Wooings, Contracts and Marriages of King

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Edward the Fourth.

His divers Concubines, His device of the Fetterlock, and the Faulcon.

His mooing the Lady Elianor Talbott alias Butler, the Lady Bona of Savoy, and the Lady Elizabeth Gray middom, & his marriage with ber.

His former Marriage or Contract with the faid Elianor, her wrongs and her death. Kings must not marry the daughters of their V assalls, nor other without the consent of their Barons, Doctor Stillington Bishop of Bath Imprisoned for speaking of King Edwards Marriage with the Lady Elianor Talbott, Spuria vitulamina.

How King Edward might have falved those Errors and prevented all the mischiefes following them. The Children of King Edward the Fourth declared Q and

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and adjudged illegitimate. King Edwards death suspected by poyson; the mortality of the Plantagenets. The Authority of Parliament; Parliaments bow fo called and derived; Parliaments against Parliaments.

The first Parliament of King Henry the Seventh; what Treason is; whether Soveraigne Princes may be faid to commit Treason against their Subiects; The treaty of Marriage between K. Richard the third, and the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet, and cheifely fought by ber felfe and the Queene her Mother; The ensertainement of the Lady Elizabeth at the Court; the first Libell of Divorse; the scruples of the Lady Elizabeth; King Richard never meant to dima f sa a sinh marry ber.

The marriages of Neeces allowed by the Pope, and usuall; the true cause of Sir Thomas Moores Condemnation and execution. Distor, the Lindy Bone of Steppy and

ab.ch Gray wilding Or his marriage neuroper.

locing. Warriage or Control writh the faid

be daughters of their Manallistor of the mith.

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wards Marriage swiptle Lady Elianor Talbott,

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Children of King Edward the Pourthelectory

The FOVRTH BOOK OF King Richard The Third.



He Title King *Richard* the Third had to the Crown, accrued to him by the illegitimacie of the Children of King *Edward* the Fourth, and the Attainder of the Duke of Clarence, with the Corruption of his Blood, and forfeiture of the Title in him and in his Heirs, of which there was no question : but of the forfeiture

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and differitage of the fons of *Edward* the Fourth there hath been much. The true caufe hath not nor cannot be well known, without the Narration of King *Edward's* fundry Loves and Wooings; fpecially his Contracts and Marriages. A oblide a bid

I shall not need to intimate how amorous and wanton this King was, his many Mistrifies or Amasia's hekept, in several private places; whereof the most famous was Katharine de Clarington, Elizabeth Wiatt alias Lucy, Jane Shore, the Lady Elianor Talbot. And it is worth the remembring (in the Concourse of such matters as these) there was another fair Creature to dear unto him, that his too much Affection begat Suspition; of which he gave her a kinde expression, by a quaint device fent unto her in a rich Jewel, fashioned much after the manner of the trivial Hicrogliffs used in France, and called Rebus de Picardy. The device was, A Faulcon encompassed with a Fetter-lock i: The Mott, An Faulcon Serrure. The Caution lying in the ambiguity and double O 2

How extreme his defires' were, you may fee in the Speech of the Duke of Buckingham, fet down by Sir Thomas Moor-

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fenfe of Faulcon: which being whole and proper, fignifieth a Hawk; but divided, hath an obscene signification, and so Faulcon becometh an equivoque.

The King afterward was fo affected with this device, that he would have it carved and painted, in many of his Royal works vet to be feen at Fotheringhay and elfewhere.

Yet although the Kings Jealoufie was thus particular to her his Affection was as general to others; being a frank Gamefter, and he that would caft at all, fairly fet. Above all, for a time he was much speld with Elianor Talbot, daughter of John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (called in the Act of Parliament 1 Rich.3, The old Earl of Shrewsbury) her mother was the Lady Katherine Stafford, daughter of Humpbrey Stafford Duke of Buckingham, and the the widow of Thomas Lord Butler Baron of Sudefley. Her beauty and fweetneffe of disposition drew his defire to vehemently, and with fuch respect, that he was suddenly Contracted, and after Married by Doctor Thomas Stillington Bilhop of Bath, Councellor of State (one much favoured by the King, and often employed by him in great Affairs.) This is withelled by our English Writers, and veritable Philip de Commes, in these words : Le Evelque de Bath (lequel avoit este Conseillier du Roy Edward) disoit que le dit Roy avoit promis foy de Mariage a une Dame de Angleterre, & qu'il avoit nomme, & que le Roy avoit fait la promise entre les mains dudict Euesque, & dit aussi c'est Euesque, qu'il avoit apres esponse, & n'y avoit que luy & ceux deux.

Great standing and the standing time of the standing of the st

The Bilhop of Bath, a Privie Councellor of King Edward, Said, That the King had plighted hisfaith to marry a Lady of England, whom the Bilhop named the Lady Elianor Talbot ; and that this Contract was made in the hands of the Bishop, who faid that afterwards he indrried them, no perfons being prefent but they twain and he, the King charging him strictly not to reveal it. Which Contract and Marriage are related in the Act of Parliament aforefaid, where it is difertly called a former Marriage, and the King had a childe by her. But where defires are unlawful, they will be unlimited. We are ever young enough to fin ; never old chough to repent: never constant, never fatisfied in our neereft defires. Though to morrow flew us the fting of to day, the third fhall betray us again; and we are taken (like children in a shop of trinkets) by the eye, liking all things, from one to another, until pleafure dull pleafure, and we grow weary of them. As in the dotages of this King, who had now received others into the bolome of his fancy; especially the fame (which was then in every Courtiersear and mouth) of an excellent Lady in the Court of France, with the Queen Chareltts, wife of King Liewis 11, and lifter to this Lady whole name was Bona the daughter of Lewis Duke of Savoy. And fo fuddenly and ftrongly had he stra taken

Philip de Comines, in Lud. 11. cap. 112. J 122.

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HOW ENT CIT his defres were, you may fees, the kingham, fet down by Sir Thomas Mo.r.

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taken fire and apprehen fion of her report (the bent of his affection being meerly wanton to every new object, thinking Lovea cold Composition, without the priviledge of Variety) that he straight falls into terms of engagement and capitulation of Marriage; to which purpose the great and renowned Richard Nevil Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, and Captain of Calais (then in the efteem of his best and most trusty friend) had a Commission of Treaty, and with all fpeed was fent, Ambasladour into France; who, with all honour, and magnificence to his with effects it; with the more noble and eafie difpatch ; the Earl of Warwick being a man eminent thorow all the parts of Europe, for his Valour, Wifedom, and Heroical vertues. Expecting a welcome at his return, answerable to the period of his employment, but findes an alteration not onely of the Kings affection. but of his countenance : for in the interim he had fin an instant or particle of time as it were) wooed and wedded the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Relict of Sir John Gray, daughter of Sir Richard Woodville, and of Jaquetta, formetime Dutcheffe of Bedford and daughter of the Earl of St. Poole. Her husband was one Gray a Knight of Grooby, who became a very vehement Lancastrian; revolting from the Houfe of York, and therefore the more hateful to those of that Family, and the well-wishers thereof (fo to the Earl of Warwick.) He was flain at the Battel of St Albans: Of whom, and of this Lady his wife, as of this Marriage, Philip de Comines relates fomething, which I shall leave to the interpretation of the better knowing, and defire not to understand it in the words: Or de puis le dict Roy Eduart espouse la fille d'un Chevallier de Angleterre femme venfue, qui avoit deux filz & aussi per Amorrettes.

But neither the despiled state of widowhood, nor the meanneffe of her quality and condition, the earnest difficuation of the Dutcheffe his mother and best friends, could make him withdraw his affection, fo deeply and obstinately he was surprised with her beauty: yet if he could have enjoyed his longings otherwife, he had not married her. But she was of fo pregnant and referved a wit, (feconded by the caution and counfel of the Dutcheffe her mother) that his highest temptations and fweetest batteries could not win upon her ; protesting never to yeeld to any dishonorable parley or unchaste motion, although it might warrant the fafety of her life; and humbly implored his Grace not to think her fo exorbitantly and vainly ambitious to with her felf a Queen, or to have the hope and prefumption to be any thing higher then what the was, His poor and humble vallal : nor was the of fo lowe and loft a minde, as to violate her Chaftity, or be a Concubine to the greatest King,

When the King perceived there was no other remedy but that he must shift his fail to that scantling of winde, he complies with her. The great Earl of Warwick.

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The Lady Bo na was afterward married to John Galeazo Sforza, Duke of Millain el Ruefeur.

her, and protefts it was his defire and tuit ro marry her, notwithflanding her inequality : for in his effeem, her love, her beauty, and her vertue, made her Fortunes and Dowry great, and high enough for any King. Nor did he defer it any longer then there was neceflity; but marry her he did, and with fuch difpatch, that he flayed not for the advice of any, either Councellor, Kinfinan, or other whatfoever.

Nay, his fpeed admitted not the approved Ceremony of the Banes asking. And fuch was the want of Reverend Bifhops then, that he was fain to take an ordinary Priest to marry them, in a Chamber too, in ftead of a Church, and that in a Lodge or Foresthouse; no body being present but the Dutchesse, and some few of her company. So where he first faw her (and by chance) there at the next interview he married her ; an act of as high exception as improvidence. For his Barony thought it a most unworthy and unequal Match, distafting it the more, as done without their confent, which they affever'd the King ought to have by their ancient priviledges : and were the more exasperated, confidering the great inequality between her condition and the Imperial Majeftie of England, being the Relict but of a poor Knight, his mortal enemy too. Aboveall, the Earl of Warwick took it for an high indignity and fcandal to his Honour, which flood fo far engaged in France to the Lady Bona and her Princely friends; knowing the French would be as fenfible of the fcorn, besides the great charge he had been at, to manage the employment. In the heat of these disgraces (for transcendent spirits have their answerable passions; and it is as dangerous to fland in their way, as in the reaches of an angry Tyde) he forfook the King, and foon after takes up Arms against him; an Induction to those fucceeding evils which purfued that inconsiderate Marriage: of which the judicious Polidor (lib. 24.) maketh this Cenfure.

Rex Edwardus mutato Concilio de ducenda in uxorem Bona, filia Ducis Sabaudia, Elizabetham viduam Johannis Gray Militis, in Matrimonium duxit; & de eo Matrimonio ob mulieris humilita tem non modo necessarios Principes, verum etiam Richardum Woodvillum Patrem mulieris celat: qua causa cognita cuncti protivus mirari, Principes fremere, Passimque voces emittere indignationis, & Regem non ex sua dignitate scilse, easque nuptias se crimini dare & dedecori assignare, quod caco amore non ratione ductus esset : sed inde initium profectum est simultatis orta inter Regem Edwardum & Richardum Comitem Warwici, & c.

But if you will not give credit to him, you shall hear an English Prelate living in those times.

Edwardus Rex fretus propria electione cujusdam Militis relictam nomine Elizabeth, inconsultis Regni proceribus clandestino sibi destinavit Matrimonio z postea ipsam in reginam Coronari fecit z quod quidem

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This Marriage was in the Forreft of Whichwood.

THE STORES

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L'indignete de ce Marriage du Roy Edw. avec un simple gentile femme, displaisant au Conte Warwick, & aux principaux Seigneurs de Angleverre, & of-fensa tellement le Roy Lewis II. qu'ils font confederacon, contre le Roy Eduart, Grc. Jean de Tiller, Part 2.

Lib.4.

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quidem Regni optimates ægre tulerunt, quia de tam mediocristirpe fæminam procreatam ad Regni Consortium secum præpropere sublimaret.

Thus this amorous King loft his honour, with many of his beft and great friends: yet escaped well, that he had no more real and prefent feeling of the errour; being the first King of *England* that ever mingled his Royal Blood and Majestie in the Alliance of so private and mean a family.

The Story of Arragon mentions a King deposed for marrying the daughter of his fubject. And King Edward was femewhat neerit: for foon after, he was expulsed his Kingdom. Eut being a man that kept an industrious and invincible Courage above histroubles, he happily recovered that loffe, never his honour and friends, which he might have preferved, and prevented all those Calamities that overtook him in his iffue, by the advice of the Dutchesse his mother, who upon the secret advertisement of his love to this Lady' Gray, used all the perfwasions and authority of a mother, to return him to the Lady Elianor Talbot his former love and wife (at least his contracted) to finish and confummate what he was bound to, by publike Solemnity of Marriage; and preft it with fuch ingenious engagements, that for the Arguments fake, I have transcribed the passage out of Sir Thomas Moor and the reft of our English Writers. Thus she disfwades him.

MrLiege Lord, and my dear Son, It is very commonly reported you are purposed to marry the Lady Gray, a widow, and a mean Gentlewoman; which you cannot but conceive will redound to your disparagement and dishonour; all the wise, great and noblest persons of your Kingdom, thinking it far more to the advantage of your Honour, profit and Safety, to seek the Alliance of a Noble Progeny, and rather in a forraign Countrey then your own, as well in regard thereupon may depend great strength to your Estate, and great possbility to enlarge your posses by such Affinity. Also (if well considered) you may not safely marry any other then the Lady Bona, the Earl of Warwick having proceeded so far in the Current of that Match already, that it is likely he will not sit down contented, if his troubless and costly negotiation should be so flightly blown off and frustrated.

Befides (Sir) confider it is not Princely for a King to marry his own Subject, (at leaft no great and important occafion leading him thereunto, nor possession or other commodity depending thereupon) but will be leffe tolerable to all opinion, then if a rich man should marry his maid, onely for a little wanton dotage upon her person; in which kinde of Marriages, many men commend more the maids fortune, then the masters discretion. Tet there must needs be more honesty in such a Marriage, then can be honour in this which you affect: The Speech of the Durcheffe of York, to King Edw.4.

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fect : for the difference is not fo great betwixt a rich Merchant and his fervant, as you must think between the King and the widow Gray; in whose person (albeit there be nothing to be misliked) there is nothing so excellent, but it may be found in divers other women, much more noble and many ways exceeding her, and more comparatively to your Estate (those also Virgins, who must be thought of a much more honourable estimation then widows;) wherefore the Widowhood onely of Elizabeth Gray. (though in all other things she were convenient for you) were enough to restrain you, being a King, and so great a King.

And it must needs stick as a foul disparagement to the sacred Majestie of a Prince (who ought as nearly to approach the Priesthood in Purenesse and Cleannesse, as he doth in Dignity (to be defiled with Bigamy, in his first Marriage.

Thus far the King could with attention hear the Dutcheffe : But being extremly far gone in love, or rather in the hot paffion of Love, he was refolute to marry her 5 and partly in earnest, and partly in play (as one that well wilt he was out of the check of a mother) yet reverently thus replied.

MADAM,

The Answer of King E.4. to the Dutchelle of Tork his mother.

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A Lthough Marriage, being a Spiritual thing, ought rather to be made according to the Will and Ordinance of Almighty God, where he by his grace inclineth, either parties to love mutually and vertuoufly (as I hope and trust he doth work in ours) and not for the regard of any temporal advantage : yet neverthelesse this Marriage (as it seemeth to me, being considered even after the worlds account) is not unprofitable, nor without fruits: for I reckon not the Alliance and Amity of any earthly Nation or forraign Prince fo necessary for me, as the friendship and love of mine own Subjects ; who, as I hope, will be the more induced to love me, and acknowledge mine to them, feeing I disdain not to marry one of my own Land. When (if a forraign Alliance were thought fo requisite) I could finde the means of that much better by other of my kin (where all those parties would be content) but to marry my felf to one whom I should (peradventure) never love, and for the possibility of more posses lose the fruit and pleasure of this which I have already : For small pleasure taketh aman of all he hath, or can have, if he be wived against his appetite.

And I doubt not but there be (as you say, Madam) other women in every point comparable to the Lady Gray; there fore I lett not other men to wed them, no more then have they reason to mislike where it liketh me.

Nor doubt I my Coufin of Warwick's love can be so flightly setled to me, as to grudge at that which I affect; nor so unreasonable, to look that in my choice of a wife I should rather be ruled by his eye then mine

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mine own, that were to make me a Ward, and binde me to marry by the appointment of a Guardian; with which fervile and hard condition I would not be King.

As for the pollibility you urge of more inheritance by new Affinity in strange Lands, that is not always certain; but contrariwise, it is oftentimes the occasion of more trouble then profit. Besides, we have already a Title and Soufine so good and great, as may suffice to be gotten, and so to be kept, by one man, and in one mans days.

For your Objection that the Lady Gray hath been a wife, and is now a widow, and hath already Children: Why (by Gods bleffed Lady) I that am a Batchelor have fome Children too; and fo, for our better comfort, there is proof that neither of us are like to be barren. And I trust in God (Madam) you shall live to fee her bring forth a young Prince, and your pretty Son, that shall be a joy and pleasure to you.

For the Bigamy objected ; let the Bishop lay it hardly in my way, when I come to take Orders of Priesthood : for I confesse, I understand Bigamy is forbidden to a Priest, but I never wist it yet forbidden to a Prince : Therefore I pray you, good Madam, trouble your self and me no further in this matter.

Then the urged his Contract with the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, and his having had a childe by her; (as the faid;) and thought her felf bound in confeience to charge him with. Matter Moor, Grafton, Stow and the reft, fay, the King utterly denied that Contract, and protefted it a flander; which well and justly he might do, and thefe Authors may retract what they have written.

For the truth is, he was never contracted to her, though he loved her well, being of an affable and witty temper; nor did fhe ever alleadge the King was betrothed to her, but that he had entangled her by fweet and tempting language; And who knoweth not Credula res amor eft? But true it is, he had a childe by her, which was the Baftard Arthur, called commonly (but unduly) Arthur Plant agenet, afterward made Vifcount Liffe, by H. 8.

In this Relation, the Hiltorians have much and foully erred, not onely corrupting the ftory, but have injured the Dutcheffe of Tork in her judgement and knowledge of these matters, and the tenour of her former Speech, making her to charge the King as contracted to this Elizabeth Lney (of birth and quality much meaner then the Lady Gray, whom the conceived fobafely of; for Elizabeth Lney was the daughter of one Wyat of Southampton, a mean Gentleman (if he were one) and the wife of one Lney, as mean a man as Wyat. True it is, the King kept her as his Concubine, and the was one of those most famous three who had peculiar Epithets, being called his Witty Leman.) For that they would have her fay, the King was never betrothed to her, it importeth nothing, and therefore I conceive it was never extracted from her. But truely to falve the ftory, and errour of these Writers, we must know, That

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Elizabeth Lucy.

Lady

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The History of the Reigne

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Ovid.

Philip de Comines. Lady to whom the King was first betrothed and married, was Elinor Talbot, daughter of a great Peer of this Realm, of a molt noble and illustrious Family, the Earl of Shrewsbury, who is also called in authentick Writings the Lady Butler, because the was then the widow of the Lord Butler (a Lady of a very eminent beauty, and answerable vertue) to whom the King was contracted, married, and had a childe hy her. This is that Lady (not Elizabeth Lucy) the Queen spake of to her son; and (to note Obiter) the Kings breach with this Lady, was a caufe the fubtil widow would not liften unto him before Marriage having learned Credulitas damno folet effe puelle. This Marriage cast the Lady Elianor Butler into so perplext a Melancholy, that she spent her self in a folitary life ever after : and how the died, is not certainly known; but out of doubt kindnesse was not the cause, he having a heart for every new face, and was to become exceedingly fancied to his new wife the Lady Gray, no Court of pleasure now, but where fheis. In this continuance of his amorous Indulgence (which was many yeers, and rendred a fruitful iffue to him) no queftion that party of her kinred made their best advantage from it. Yet the remembrance of that Pre-contract after a time, moved him by fuch fenfible apprehenfions, he could not brook to have it mentioned, which was the caufe of his difpleafure against his ancient Chaplain Doctor stillington of Bath, because he did what his conficience urged, to God and the Kingdom, in difcovering the Marriage, occasioned by the Ladies fudden indifpofition and prefling forrow; who notable to contain her felf, had open'dit to a Lady her fifter, or (as fome fay) to her mother the Counteffe of Shrewsbury; the to the Earl her husband; he confults it with his nobleft kinsfolks and friends, as it was a general fcandal to them all: they, to inform themfelves the better, had conference with Drstillington, who affirmed the Contract and Marriage: with whom they advife that as he was a Bishop and a Privie Councellor, it behoved him to prepare it to the Kings confideration, for fome redreffe and fatisfaction. But the Bishop (though willing) durft not deal with the King in that manner ; rather wisht they would apply it to the Duke of Gloucester, as the man most inward with the King; whereof Philip de Comines thus writeth. Ceftuy Euefque d'Bath, mit en avant a ce Dux de Gloucester, que le dit Roy Edouart estoit fort amoreux, d'un Dame, d'Angleterre. Or luy promise de l'esponser pour veu qu'il conchat avec illa, ells s'y consentit : & dit ceste Euesque, qu'il les avoit Esponses, & n'y avoit que luy & eux deux.

The Duke of Gloucester, as they defired, prest it to the King, who became more incensed against the Bishop, faying he had not onely betraid his truft, but his children; and upon that heat puts him from the Councel Table, under a strict imprisonment for a long time, which at length he redeemed himself from, by a heavy fine, as is

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is testified by Doctor Good win Bishop of Hereford, in his Catalogus Episcoporum, who write the thus : Philip de Commes, le Roy Edw. de supposé l'Evesque : & le tient in prison, & le Ransand'un hon summe d'Argent. Which was taken for a piece of more passion then justice ; the Bishop not deserving so to suffer in this case, where his conficience might very well excuse what he did.

Not long after, King Edward died; of what difeafe, it is doubtfully fuggefted: Some thought, of an Apoplexy, or dead Palier *Polidor Virgil* faith, of a difeafe atterly unknown to all the Phyfitians; which leaves it to a further construction. The Author of the History of Britain delivers plainly, that King Edward was killed by poilon (as the common report in France went.) add on only

Aucuns disopent que le Roy de Angleterre Edovart, invoit este Emy poisonne au mois d'Aurill en l'an. 1462. And Eugnerrant de Moustros let writeth, that fome faid he died of an Apoplexy : others) he was poiloned in Wine of Creust which King Lewis the eleventh fent to him. Philip de Comines (to that purpole;) fays, Aucuns difent que le Roy Eduart, mourut d'un Catarhe. That is Some fay that King Edward died of a Catarbe : for that is their phrase in France, when a great man is made away by Poilon, 20 Of fuch a venemous Catarhe died the young King Edward the Sixth. But by whole hand KingEdmard the fourth had his death, it is not faid. Certain it is, he was generally beloved of all his Subjects, except those of the Lancastrian faction. Assoon as he was dead, the filence brake into a general muttering against his Marriage ; then into loud and publike inveighing against it. All tongues were at liberty, and Pardons were hoped for all offences; the general and common opinion being quite again ft it , and the Children. And Doctor Morton affirmed, The Duke of Buckingham, with other noble Lords, Taw and read certain authentick Instruments made and figned by learned Doctors; Proctors; and Notaries, with the Depolitions of fundy credible perforts, importing and teltify. ing the Children of Edward the fourth were Bastards : with which opinion the City of London was also possessed ; and Doctor shaw, Frier Pinke, and other Preachers in the Pulpits declared them Spuria vitulamina. To this confented all the people of the North parts in their Supplicatory Scroll before mentioned : which the Court of Parliament adjudged and decreed to be ſo. A fault of Improvidence in their Father who might have prevented all quarrels and questions about that and future claims, repaired all flaws and defects of Titles; alfo have taken away the errour and inconveniency of the post-Contract, or later Marriage, that gave the imputation of Baltards to his Children; and fo have avoided all the infuing milchiefs and calamities. If first he had procured a Divorce of the former Contract with the Lady Elimor, from the Pope, who was then held to have all power both of heaven and earth. wing od or bint mind

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Lib.4. in Hiff. de Britaigne.

How King Ed-

ward died.

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Doctor Morton-Sir Tho. Moore, Grafton, Hollinshead, Stow.

How King Edward might have prevented all afterqueftions.

Or

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Or if after the fecond Marriage (and while he flourished, which was by the space of Fourteen yeers) he had either by a due confideration, or counfel of his best friends, wrought the Popes Pardon for breach of the Pre-contract with the Lady Elianor; then, his Apoltolical Bull of Difpensation, for his Post-Contract, or Matrimony superinducted (as they call it) which might eafily have been obtained at Rome, for money. And after that, to have fummoned a Parliament, requiring the three Estates to have ratified and confirmed these Bulls, for the approbation of the faid Marriage with the Lady Gray, and the Legitimation of his Children, and made them lawful by Act of Parliament (according to the Popes Indulgence (which was then a facred and most inviolable thing.) Laftly, to have Declared, Pronounced and Decreed in Parliament, That the faid Children of the King, being fo made legitimate, were also capable of all Honours, Dignities, Estates Publike and Private, of which the King flood feifed, or which were any ways appertaining and proper to the Kingdom of England, and of France. I fay, If he had done this, he had composed all defects, and prevented all succeeding dangers of Claims and Practices, which might have been done with fmall or no trouble. A courfe by another afterward opportunely thought on.

And furely (it may be conjectured) if this King had not been too fecure, and loft in his fenfualities, he would by the like Parliamentary power have rectified those errours, these great, high, and difficult works, being (indeed) proper to Parliaments, and pregnant and strong proofs of their great and transcendent power, holding in themfelves a just defert and claim of fuch power and authority (if allembled and held as they ought) being a General Affembly and Convocation of the most wife, honourable, just, and religious perfons of the Kingdom. Therefore the word Parliament (faith one) is compounded of Parium and lamentmm, because (as he thinketh) the Peers of the Countrey did at these Meetings complain each to other of the enormities of their Countrey. But the better opinion is, That Parliament is fimply from the French word parler (and that from the Greek TRERASIN, both fignifying to fpeak) and fo by adding the termination, ment (which is common in the French Tongue, as well to many Nouns as Adverbs) domake up Parliament ; meaning thereby an Affembly of men called together to speak or confer, O.c.

And it may not unfitly be called Parliament, for that each man should parler, lament, speak his minde. But Laurence Valla missiketh that Etymologie.

It may be ghefied the word Parliament (being transported out of France) began shortly after the Norman Conquest. One of the first authentical reports of that name, is found in the Statute 3 E. I. commonly called Westminster Parliament; that Assembly being faid to be Primier generall apres Coronament le Roy. But that is

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The Authority of Parliament.

Parliament, how fo called and derived.

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is not the first word: for in the Statutes called Articuli Cleri, published 9 E. 2, these words are read: Temporibus progenitorum nostrorum quondam Regum Angliæ Parliamentis suis, & c. Which words Progenitorum & quondam, must needs reach higher then E. 1. that was but father to him that spake it.

But at what time foever after the Conquest this Court began to be called a Parliament, the fame was before known to the Saxons or Englishmen, by the word Sinoth, and Micell Sinoth, of the Greek sure So, now appropriated to Ecclessifical meetings onely; and fometimes by the feterms, Micell, Gemote, Witengemott, and Calca Witengemott; that is, the meeting of wisemen, or of all the wisemen: for witena fignifieth wisemen, Calca, all, and Gemott, a meeting: of which last words the names Shire-motts, Eolmotts, and Halymotts; that is, the meeting or asserted the men of a Shire, of a Town, and of the Tenants of a Hall or Mannor, had their beginning also.

Now as Sinoth is more used in the Parliaments themselves ; fo Gemott is more familiar to the Historians.

And this Parliament of Anno 1 Rich. 3. could be of no leffe power and vertue; witneffe the many and good Laws made in it, (albeit the fecond Marriage of King Edward was adjudged unlawful, and the Acts of that Parliament for the most part repealed and abrogated afterward) yet the evidence is clear enough, that the Judges and Law-makers of that Parliament, were wife and religious men, and their Laws upright and just.

Therefore whatfoever was adjudged by them, was to be received and held as authentick and inviolable (how roughly foever it was afterward handled.) And in this cafe of the difabling of King *Edwards* fons, there is leaft reafon to fulfpect them, the caufe being fonew, fo plain, and notorioufly known, that no man could be ignorant therein: Therefore to have given any other Judgement, but according to the truth of evidence, and certainty of knowledge, it might juftly have been cenfured an act of errour and ignorance, or partiality and injuffice.

For it was not the opinion of a few, nor raifed out of a weak judgement and perverted knowledge; but a ftrong and general evidence, by the ableft and beft knowing.

If it be objected, The cafe was obfcure and doubtful : That cannot be; for the Estates had all substantial and ready means to inform themselves of the truth, and every circumstance whereby they might be fully fatisfied and cleared in all the niceties and doubts: for all the witness and dealers in that cause, and such perfons as were acquainted with it, were then living ; and they muss and would have truely and certainly informed the Court of Parliament: For the special and reverend care of this Court is, The advancing of Justice and Right. Therefore all Subjects (by nature or grace) are bound in their Allegeance, to give pious 125

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and

and religious credit to Parliaments, and to believe in their Authority and Power, as the former times did in Oracles. We mult also confidently hold the high and transcendent quality and vertue of that Court, to have all power and authority: And no quefiion to repeal a good and jult Law made in Parliament, is a wrong and scandal to that General Councel, and to the universal wiledom, providence, jultice and piety of the Kingdom.

ib.4.

this

In the Parliament 1 H. 7. there is an ACt, attaining the King R. 3. of high Treason, for bearing Arms against the Earl of Richmond, intituled The Soveraign Lord (this was at his proceeding from Milford-hayen into Leicester:) But when he came to fight the Battel, he was then no King, not Soveraign, but a Chief of such as made head against their Soveraign. In which Paragraph there appears three große faults.

First, Certain it is, Richard during his Raign was a Soveraign, therefore no Subject.

Next, there was no enemy in the field who was then a Soveraign, but all liege Subjects to the Crown.

raign, but all liege Subjects to the Crown. And Richard being the King and Soveraign, could not be adjudged a Traitor, nor lawfully attainted of High Treafon. Then let it be confidered whether a perfon of facred Majellie (that is an Anointed Soveraign) may commit the Crime of Treafon. Allo in this Parliament, all the Barons, Knights and Gentlemen that bore Arms in the field for the King, were attainted of Treafon, their goods and lands confifcate : and one Thomas Nan dick (a Necromancer and Sorcerer, who with others had been condemned to die, for using that hellish Art) was in this Parliament pardoned the horrible things he had committed. And it feemed he had not then left his black trade : for he hath in that Act of Parliament still the ftyle of Conjurer : viz.

Thomas Nandick of Cambridge, Conjurer: which had been a fitter flyle for his Gibbet then his Pardon; although he had not by his Sorcery or Inchantment hurt or deftroyed any humane, yet for his renouncing and abjuration of Almighty God : for it is the opinion of a learned and religious Doctor:

Magos & Incantores (faith he) hominum genus indignum, quod vel ob folam Dei, O.M. abjurationem capitali fuplicio afficiatur.

Other fuch things there be in that Parliament, which detract it in the opinion of some; those of the best and wisest repute.

Now let us come to examine that Treaty the King had about marrying the Lady *Plantagenet* 5 which is cenfured to be a thing not onely deteftable, but much more cruel and abominable to be put in agitation.

Item, That all men, and the Maidherself most of all, detested this unlawful Copulation. Item, That he made away the Queen his wife, to make way for

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The Treaty of Marriage between K. R. 3. and his Neece the Lady Elizabeth Plantagenet.

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this Marriage 3 and that he propounded not the Treaty of Marriage, until the Queen his wife was dead.

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It's DLIFIC

That there was fuch a motion for the marriage of this Lady to the King, is true; and (which is more, and molt certain) it was entertained, and well liked by the King and his friends, a good while: 'alfo by the Lady Elizabeth, and by the Queen her mother; who received it with fo much content and liking, that prefently the fent into France for her fon the Marquefie of Dorfer , that was there with the Earl of Richmond, earneftly folliciting him to renounce the Faction, and return home to the Kings favour and advancement, which the affured him : and fends the Lady Elizabeth to attend the Queen at Court, or to place her more in the'eye, fo in the heart of the King. The Christmas following (which was kept in Weltminster-Hall) for the better colour of fending her eldeft daughter, the fends her other four thither, who were received with all honourable courtefie by the King and Queen Regent ; especially the Lady Elizabeth was ranked most familiarly in the Queens favour, and with as little distinction as Sifters. But fociety, nor all the Pomp and Festivity of those times, could cure that fad wound and languor in the Queens breft, which the death of her onely fon had left. The addreffe of those Ladies to Court (albeit the feigned wooing of the King was in a politick and close way) gave cause of fulpition to the Earl of Richmonds intelligencing friends, that the King had a purpose to marry the Lady Elizabeth ; which must prevent the Earl both of his hope to her, and to the Crown by her Title : a claufe that made them mutter very broadly against it (for indeed, what more concern'd them?)) therefore the King treats it more privately and coldly; but the Queen-widow and the Lady flood constant in their defires and expectation ; onely the Objection was, The King had a wife ; as though he could not marry another whilft fhe lived; not remembring how usual it was, not onely for Kings, but private men to put away one wife and marry another, for venial crimes, as well as Adultery and Treafon. TI. DIED II III IIII

The Romanes might repudiate their wives, for conversing with men that were not of their kinred, and for going to see Playes and Cirque Spectacles (their husbands not being with them) or if the wife were unquiet or curft of hertongue, &c. Henry the Eighth put away Queen Katharine of Caltile, and Queen Anne of Cleve; the one, because the wastoo old and cold for pleasure; the other, because the was not fruitful or wanton enough. Sometimes men have put away their wives for being Sluts, for having unfavoury breaths, or fome infectious difease, without a necessity of taking away their lives; and it was lawful for either of them to marry when they would.

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Pope

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The History of the Reigne

Pope Clement the Seventh for ratified the Divorce of King Henry the Eighth against Katherine of Castile, as he defied all Laws (Divine and Humane) that should contradict and impugn his Power and Dispensation, in these words:

Lib. 4.

Non obstante fure Divino nec Humano, nec quibuscunque Constitutionibus repugnantibus, aut in contrarium Edictis.

Ther was a formal Bill or Libel of Separation prefcribed by Mofes, with the manner of Divorces and Repudiations, in this tenour, as Andreas Ofiander (who translated it out of Hebrew into Latin) affirmeth : which for the rarity I have here tranferibed. and of our other than a state of the state of the

me som Die tertia Hebdomadis, 29 die mensis Octobris, geivolos samthandab orbe condito, 4349. orbe die orbe orbe die volos versient die volos die volos die volos die volos vo

which the all we thin : and tends the Endy

E Go Joachim cognominatus N. filius Nathanis, qui confisto hodie in urbe N.in Regno N. Te. N. uxorem meam, cognominatam N. filiam N. quæ fuisti uxor mea ante hac nunc demisi; & liberavi, & repudiavi te tibi, ut sis tui juris & domina animæ tuæ, & ad abeundum, ut ducaris abs quolibet vira, quem volueris; & ne vir quisquam prohibeat, quo minus sis in manutua, ito hoc die & in eternum. Et ecce, permissa es unicnique vira, & hic esto tibi a me datus Libellus repudii, & Epistola dimissoria, & Instrumentum libertatis juxta Legem Moss & Israelis.

But the Answer which was made in the name of the King to the Lady Elizabeth concerning his Queen, was, That the could be no impediment of long continuance, being a very weak woman in a Confumption, and paft hopes of recovery 3 her Phylitians giving their opinions, the could not live past the middle of February next following : nor ghefied they much amifie ; for the died in the next month, March. When the midst and last of February was past, the Lady Elizabeth being more impatient and jealous of the fucceffe then every one knew or conceived, writes a Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating first, that he was the man in whom the molt affied, in respect of that love her Father had ever bore him, &c. Then the congratulates his many courtelles, in continuance of which, the defires him to be a mediator for her to the King, in the behalf of the Marriage propounded between them; who, as fhe wrote, was her onely joy and maker in this world, and that fhe was his in heart and thought : withall infinuating, that the better part of February was past, and that fhe feared the Queen would never die.

All these be her own words, written with her own hand; and this is the fum of her Letter, which remains in the Autograph, or Original Draft, under her own hand, in the magnificent Cabinet of *Thomas* E arl of Arundel and Surrey : by which it may be obferved.

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Bulla Pape Clementis 5. apud D. Ro. Corton.

Ofiander in Annotation. in 4 Evang. Harmon. Evang.

(Licric'e

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The credit of the Duke of Norfolk with King Richard, and with the I ady Elizabeth; and her Letter to him.

LIB.4. of King RICHARD the Third.

ferved, that this young Lady was ignorant that a man having a wife living, might marry another, and fuffer her to live. But the truth is, the King had no real intent to make her his wife, from the beginning; onely in policy entertained this Treaty; as it appeared afterward, when his Queen was dead, and he had all fit accelles without any impediment to marry her, yet did not; profelling he wooed her not to that end, but for some other causes; and made Protestation (in the great Hall at Saint Jones neer Smithfield, before all the Knights of Malta, and a great Affembly of Noble-men; the Lord Major, Aldermen, and many Citizens being prefent) that he had no purpose nor intent to marry the Lady Elizabeth: avowing, Quodeares (viz.) Voluntas contrabendi Matrimonium : cum Consanguinea Germana sua nunquam ei venerat in menten : for foit is testified by the Prior of Croyland. Yet it may not be denied, he pretended love to her, and a proffer of Marriage; which he projected in policy; to divert her affection from Richmond (whofe party the King apprehended privately wrought that way; of which the faid Author thus faith, Non aliter videbat Richardus Rex regnum fibi confirmari, neque (pem competitoris sui aufferri posse, nifi in Matrimonio, cum dista Elizabeth, contrahendo vel simulando. And it is most likely the King had no other aim but meerly of Prevention : neither was there any caufe (had he been fo wicked) to do it by blood, nor any just reason to frame to hard an argument against him, being always to affectionately inclined to his wife; that he was rather thought uxorious then otherwife; which appeared unfeignedly ather death, in the expression of forrow and magnificent Exequies for her. Non eum immorte honore quam Reginam dicunt, as the Prior of Croyland testifieth. Let us look therefore with clearer confideration upon the motion or pretence of this Marriage : to call it detestable and cruel, is ignorant and malicious (though fhe were fo neer of kin to him) for Marriages between Uncles and Neeces, have been very frequent and allowed in other Countreys by the Church. In our time, the daughter and heir of Duke Infantasgo in Spain, was married to his brother Don Alde Mendoza: and more lately, the Earl of Miranda married his brothers daughter.

In the House of Austria, Marriages in this kinde have been very usual, and thought lawful, the Pope dispensing with them : for they fay in Spain, Que el padre santo quiere Dios loquire : Therefore how could it be to highly unlawful in King Richard ?' Or if his intents had been to forward, where was the Bar, when his wife was dead, and he absolute, unless the Ladies averseness? But that fuggestion is answered by her own Letter, and other teftimonies. So the Account will be (if rightly fummed by what hath been produced) that he had never any ferious determination of Marriage; onely took the advantage of his gain, by looking into

The Cabinet of the Earl of Arundel, now Earl of Surrey 100.

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Chronicle of Croyland.

Chronicle of Croyland.

The Queen died 11 March, 1484.

Prior of Croyland-

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Sir The Moor. Hollinsbead.

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Suffitio eft opinio mali ex levibus fignis. B.Th Aquinas. Suffitio eft athu per quem in dubitationem trabimur.

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Meos tam fufpicione quam crimine judico carére oportere. Suet. in vitâ J. Cæl.

leave them.

her hand; then no caufe to make away his Queen; which his accufers themselves directly and peremptorily charge him not with ; but doubtfully fay, The Queen (however it fortuned) departed out of this life the 16 of March, in the Lent scalon. But although he had the commendations of a loving and indulgent husband; I fay not he lived always continently; for I finde he had fome bastards, two of them I have mentioned : yet peradventure he might have them before his Marriage, and then the fault was leffe. So then / let them that affect not blinde and traditory opinion, more then justice and reason, but equally examine his flanders, they shall finde, Malice and ignorance have been the Kings greateft accufers; which can onely lay Sufpition to his charge : and Suspition in Law is no more guilt then Imagination : for, though Sufpition many times lay a great blame upon a man (men holding him to be guilty whom men fuspect to be fo, though injuriously) yet the Law holds it not a Crime, becaufe Sufpition many times suppose the seculpable which are not ; for an Instrument may as eafily be condemned, as a Malefactor, being an evil grown from the errour of men. Wherefore Sufpition of it felf bringeth no fentence by Law Natural or Moral, Civil or Divine, according to that of the old Minographus, Suspitio grave of hominibus malum. And the Divine Chryfoftome faith, A good man hardly fufpectethanother to be evil; but an evil man fcarcely supposeth any to be good ; far from the counfel of this Epigram. Culparem quoquam, que non funt nota malignum est ; 100 Fresertim si quam cognita sint bona sunt. Non pateant faciles duris rumoribus aures Qua nescire juvat; credere non libeat. Linquantur secreta Deo, qui quicquid opertum est Inspicit, & nullis indiget indicibus. Accuse no man of faults to thee unknown, And much leffe him from whom good fruits have grown : Lend not thine ears to scandalous reports; Believe not that, which known, nought thee imports. Leave fecret things to God, who knows all hearts, And hath no need of the Promoters arts: But as Julius Cesar (who had many excellent Observations) was wont to fay, Vir bonus tam suspicione quam crimine carere oportet : That a good man mult be as well without fuspition as crime. Yet none fo innocent, but may fall under the lash of the malicious ; for fuch, like the Polypus, will take any colour, or make any tincture of a Crime, to serve their ends. Of such a vertue is the never-understanding Vulgar, that like Kytes and Daws can digest nought but stench and filth ; their Ignorance being their Faith, and that drawn from loofe Pamphlets, and the vomits of merci-

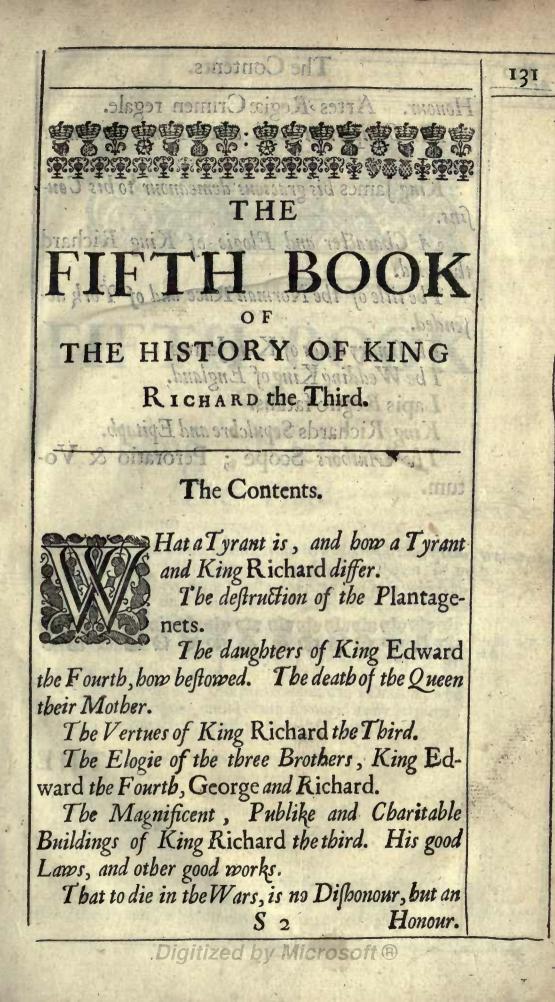
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nary and mimick pens; to which, and their uncurable fits, I

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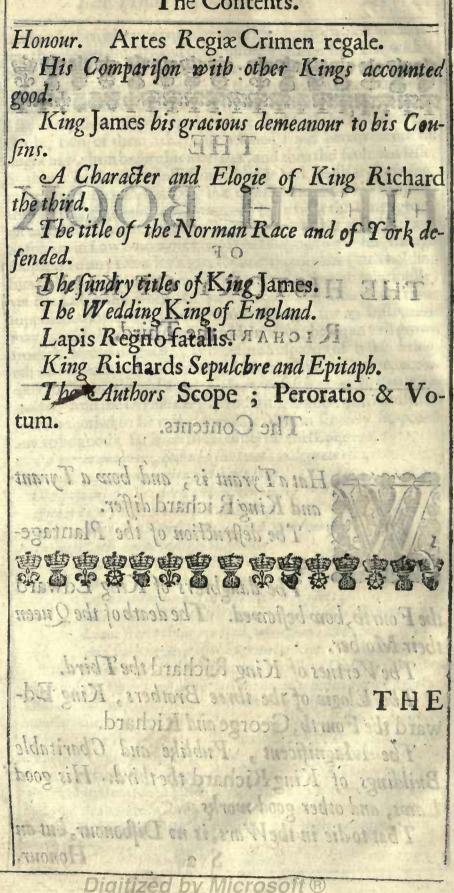
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The Contents.

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E will next endeavour to understand that Vocable, or term Tyrannus (that is, a Tyrant, or an evil King) caft upon King Richard; which indeed comprehendeth all fcandals and impicties whatfoever.

Tyrannus est qui suis propriis Commodis studet. & publicis adversatur. And, Tyrannus est qui

dominatu crudeliter abutitur.

and to said of

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A Tyrant is by another wife man compared to a Dragon, who becomethnot a Dragon, until he hath devoured many Serpents : of which Conceit this Epigram was wittily framed.

Post plures Coluber Serpentes Draco sit esos Gustata humand carne fit homo Lupus. The Dragon which doth many Serpents cat, Becomes a Dragon of huge fhape and ftrength, And fo the man which makes his flefh mans meat, Transformed is unto a Wolf at length.

and c of a Len volence) forbear of

Another Philopher differeth not much from these, who faith, Bias apud that of 'all tame bealts, the flatterer is most pernicious; and of all, wilde, the Tyrant, who forbeareth not for any respect of good

Plut. Libell. de adulat.c.37.

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Ariftot. in Ethic. idem.

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The History of the Reigne

or ill, but studies Oppressions, Wrongs, Exactions, Robberies, Sacriledges, Blood-shed, Murder, Adultery, Incest, Rape, Riot, Gluttony, Luxuriousnesse, Prodigality, and all manner of Excesses: These be his arts of raigning, and these be his vertues. Invident Tyranni claris fortel as trucidant.

Lib. 5.

Another faith.

Tyrannus miserum vetat perire, folicem jubet.

So it was truely faid by the famous Orator of Athens:

Liberalitas Tyranni nihil aliud est quam translatio pecuniarum a justis Dominis, ad alien os idque indignos.

His thirst and covetous field, for his largitious riots and lusts, are fo inordinate, that nothing can quench it.

Non Tartessiaris illum satiaret arenis

Tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis, Aurea Pastoli, totumque exhauserit Hermum, Arde bit majore sti, &c.

Quicquid conspicuum pulchrumque ex Equore toto, Res fisci est, &c.

These may serve for the notions of a Tyrant: to any of which Impicties, our King Richard was very little or not at all obnoxious.

For first, Whereas a Tyrant imposeth many grievous Taxes and Oppressions upon his Subjects, he took away such grievances, and particularly by Act of Parliament, a hateful Tax (though difguised with the name of a Benevolence) forbearing to impose any upon the people.

Then, A Tyrant doth not onely rapine his Subjects, but spoils and robs Churches and Church-men. But King *Richard* did many good things both for the publike good, advancing Gods service, and maintenance of his Ministers and Church-men.

Tyrannum pium effe non eft facile (as Sophocles well observed.) And the Oracle pronounced, Portæ fælicitatis ad Tyrannidem claufæ. Tyrants be cruel and bloody : but this King, by the testimony of his enemies, was very merciful and milde ; who confesse himself gentle, and affably disposed. These be their own words.

Therefore, where tyrannical acts be objected against him, they must be conceived done by other men, or by their practice, or else before he was King; and what he did then, was not, nor could be properly called Tyranny.

Amongst those they impute 10 him when he was King, which are called Tyrannies, the beheading *Henry Stafford* Duke of Buckingham was the chiefest: yet that act, the cause and just motives of it being well perused, cannot be censured Tyranny; rather, due and necessary Justice: for if the King had not put down the Duke, the Duke would have put down the King.

Then it is objected, He bare a tyrannical hand over his nephew Edward

Lucan.

Seneca. Hercules. Furens. Demosthenes.

Claudian in Ruff.

Juvenal Satyre 4.

Parliam. An. I Rich.3.

The Duke of Buckingham faid, that the / name of Benevolence, as ir was taken in thetime of K. Edw.4, fignified, that every man fhould pay not what heof his own good will lift, but what the King of his geod will lift to take. Duke Buck apud Tionam Moor.

LIB. 5. of King RICHARD the third.

Edward Earl of Warwick True it is, he fent him to Shery-Hutton, a goodly and pleafant houfe of his own, in York-fhire, where he had liberty, large diet, all pleafure and fafety; and if that were imprisonment, it was a prison Curtoile (as John Froifard faith) yet this mult not be leffe then Tyranny, according to the Style of Sir Thomas Moore. When King Henry the Seventh as foon as he had got the Crown, fent this young Prince to the Tower, afterwards cut off his head; yet that was no Tyranny, after Sir Thomas Moore. But our King James (of ever happie memory) hath thought it an act of fo much detertation, that particularly he protested against it, and shewed another temper of Jufrice and Power in his Royal Clemencie, to certain Noble perfons in one of his Kingdoms, who being Regal Titulars , and pretending title to the Crown there: (as descended from Some King of that Countrey) his gracious and pious inclination was fo far from feeking their ruine (or fo much as the reftraining them) that he fuffered their liberty, with pofferfion of what they had.

Then they call the punifhment of Jane Shore a Tyrannie : A common and notorious Adultereffe (as the Duke of Buckingham, who knew her very well, cenfured her) which the deferved to jultly, that it was rather favourable, then fevere or tyrannous.

Next, the death of *William Collingborn* is made one of his Tyrannies; who (as fome trivial Romancers fay) was hanged for making a Satyrical Rhyme; when the truth is, he had committed Treason, and was arraigned and condemned of High Treason, as may be yet seen in the Record; and then it was Juftice, and not Tyrannie.

Another proof against their große Paralogisms, take from this observation made by *Demosthenes* : Tyrannus res est inimica Civibus, legibus contraria. But King Richard was ever indulgent to his people, careful to have the Laws duely observed; his making to many good ones, being an evident argument of his love to Law and Justice. It is further observed, that Tyrants contemn good counsel, are opinionated of their own wisedoms, and obstinate to determine all matters by themselves.

These Plaintiffs being called by the Greeks i Dobutorou, that is, felf-Councellors, who say they are natura plerumque occulti & infidiosi, & Arte, & Astu, ea Tagere, & dissimulare conantur, quæ agunt, non communicantes quicquid de suis Conciliis, aut rebus cum aliss, nec ab alis Concilium petentes, neque admittentes, sed tantum sua Concilia segunntur.

Alfo Erasmus hath this Axiome : Nullo Concilio quicquam magnæ rei aggredi, tyrannicum est.

But King *Richard* nor did nor would do any thing of importance, without confultation with the wifeft and nobleft. And if in any matters he had delivered his judgement, yet his manner Comes Arund. vi. voce.

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King James.

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Anonimus Juris peritus in Apología K.R.3.

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Axiom. polit. cap.219.

Sententia Arabica.

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(as his detractors confesse) was, to say in the end and conclusion, My Lords, this is my minde ; if any of you know what may else be better, I shall be ready to change it : for I am not wedded to my own will. Thus Sir Thomas Moor.

Lib. 5.

Lastly, Largition and excessive expences, are thought vices proper to Tyrants; the rather, because the Romane Tyrants, for their extreme excesses, were called Monstra & prodigia, & lues Imperis, pestes reipublica, & c. As Calignia, Nero, Vitellius, Domitian, Commodus, Heliogabolus, Caracalla, &c.

King Kichard was ever held to be frugal, with the prefervation of hishonour; nor can they tax him with Palliardife, Luxury, Epicurifm, nor Oluttony, vices following many Tyrants; but moderate and temperate in all his actions and appetites; which is confelled, and therefore needeth no further proof. Indeed it had been advantage and fafety to him, in the event, if he had been a Tyrant a while; for then he might have preferved his life and kingdom, and given a timely check to the practice of Bifhop Morton, the Marqueffe Dorfet, Earl of Devon, and his brother the Bifhop, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Stanley, and his wife, and thereft. But his remifneffe and patience bred his ruine, not his tyranny; that had been his protection.

And now the black curtain of malice and detraction is drawn, let us fee this King in his proper Royalty and vertues cafting up the general and particular notions of A good King and happie Government; then peruse what was wanting in him.

First then, There is necessarily required proper to Empire, Wisedom, Justice, Fortitude, Beauty, Magnificence, Temperance, and Piety.

That he had Wisedom and Prudence, need no other witnesse, then his wise and provident managing both of his own private affairs, and Government of the Publike. Also in the Military actions, in which he was tried, both as a Subject, and a King; his adversaries can allow him to be a wise, prudent, politick and heroical Prince; his Wisedom appearing, with his Justice, very clearly in the good Laws he made; acknowledged and honourably predicated by our Reverend and most learned Professions of the Laws.

For his further knowledge and love of Juffice, there can be no fairer argument, then his defire and cuftome to fit in Courts of Juffice, hearing and distributing Juffice indifferently to all men.

And when he made his Progreffe into York-shire, being informed there of some extortioners and foul offenders, who were apprehended, not tried, he caused the Law to take the just current, giving strict charge and commandment to all Officers of Justice, for just administration to all men, without partiality or private respects.

Joh. Stow in H.8. pag. 382. Chronic. M.S. in quarto, apud D.Rob.Conon. Ju

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King Richard

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King Richards

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LIB.5. of King RICHARD the Third.

The Fortitude and Magnanimity of this Prince (though of lowe flature) were fogreat and famous, as they need no Trumpet or Præcony, being bred from his youth in Martial actions : and the Battels of Barnet, Exham, Doncaster, the second of St Albans, and of Tewksbury, will give him the reputation of a Souldier and Captain.

Being made General of the Kings Armies into Scotland, he prevailed happily in his Expedition, and particularly recovered that famous and strong Hold of Berwick, which King Henry the Sixth had fo weakly let go.

And in this you thall hear the Elogie of one that was loth to fpeak much in his favour, yet oceasion forced him to fpeak his knowledge, though coldly and fparingly. King Richard was no ill Captain in the War: he had fundry Victories, and fometimes Overthrows; but never by his own default, for want of hardineffe or politick order. Whereunto he addeth concerning his Bounty; Free was he called of difpence, and liberal fomewhat above his power. To which I will adde one Elogie more, above all for Credit and Authority, recorded in an Act of Parliament, and addreffed to him in the name of the whole high Court of Parliament, in thefe words. We confiden your great Wit, Prudence, Justice, and Courage; and we know by experience the memorable and landable acts done by you in feveral Battels for the falvation and defence of this Realm.

Here followeth another general and memorable tellimony of him, and of more regard and honour, becaufe it is averred by one that knew him from his youth, the Duke of Buckingham, who (after *Richard* was made King, and this Duke became ill affected) acknowledged to Bifhop *Morton* in private fpeeches between them, That he thought King *Richard*, from his first knowledge even to that time, a man clean without diffimulation, tractable, and without injury; and that for these respects, he was very defirous to advance him, and laboured earnestly to make him Protector. Therefore what foever the Duke faid after; in reproach of the King, it may justly be thought to proceed from spleen and malice.

There is to this the commendation of his Eloquence and pleafing speechs which though no Regal vertue, yet it is an ornament to the greatest Princes, and commendable. The Prior of Croyland repeating the dispute of a Controversie between the two brothers, *George* Duke of Clarence, and this *Richard* of Gloucester, at the Councel-Table, before the King their brother, fitting in his Chair of State, relates it thus:

Post suscitatas, inter Duces fratres, discordios, tot utrinque rationes acutissima allegata sunt in presentia Regis (sedentis pro Tribunali in Camera Concilii) quod omnes circumstantes, etiam periti Legum eam orationis abundantiam apsis principibus in sus propriis causis adesse mirabantur sec. Then speaking of the excellent wits, Sir Tho. Moor. Doctor Morton.

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Parl.anno R.3.

Mortou. Moor apud Stow, p.774.

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Eloquentia Principibus maxime est ornamento. Cic. de finibus, l. 4.

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The praife of the three princely brorhers-

The good works of King Kichard. John Stow, Annal.

Lucie far.

Polidor, lib. 25.

Riebard loved not Wichwood for his brothers unhappie Marriage-

In Rot. in doino Conversorum, An.I R.3.

Charles the Great inflituted the Colledge and Society of. Armorifts, calling them Heralds of Ehr (& Halten, (Dutch or Franchifh words) and not of Heroes.

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The History of the Reigne

LIB. 5.

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extraordinary knowledge and gifts of these three brothers, maketh this honourable Præcony: Hitres Germani, Rex, & duo Duoes, tam excellenti ingenio valebant, ut si discordare non voluissent suniculus ille triplex difficilime rumperetur.

Let us look upon his charitable, religious and magnificent works.

He founded a Collegiate Church of Priests in Middleham in York-fhire; another Colledge of Priests in London in Towerftreet, neer to the Church called Our Lady Berking. He built a Church or Chappel in Towton in Gloucester-shire; a Monument of histhankfulnesse to Almighty God, for the happie and great Victory hisbrother had upon the partisans of the family of Lancaster, and the sons of Henry the Sixth, who before flew Richard Duke of York, King designate, and father of these two Kings.

The founded a Colledge in York, convenient for the entertainment of an hundred Priest.

He disforrested a great part of the Forrest of Wich-wood, and other valt Woods between Woodstock and Bristow, for the good and benefit of the people of Oxford-shire and the places adjacent.

He built the high stone Tower at Westminster (which at this day is a work of good use.) And when he had repaired and fortified the Castle of Carlisse, he founded and built the Castle of Penrith in Cumberland.

He manumified many Boud-men.

For the better encouragement of the Easterling-hanses (their Trade being beneficial and profitable to this Kingdom) he granted them some good Priviledges, as *Polidor* writeth.

He alfo first founded the Colledge and Society of Heralds, and made them a Corporation : and (as the words in the Charter are) he ordained it, Vt fint in perpetuum Corpus Corporatum in re & nomine, babeant Succeffionem perpetuam, &c. (A taste of his love to Honour, and his Noble care for the confervation of Nobility, Chevalry and Gentry.) Which Corporation, this King established by his Royal Charter; and placed the Heralds in an ancient fair house, which was called Yorkime, sometimes; after commonly Cole-harbour, stuate upon the Thames : ordaining Four Kings at Arms, by the names and Titles of John Writh, Garter; Thomas Holme, Clarentius; John Moore, Norway; and Richard Champney, Gloucester.

For Wales, I have feen the Charter wherewith the King created first Richard Champney Esquire, King at Arms, by the Title and name of Gloucester, dated Anno 1 R. 3. at Westminster, in the month of March, when the Charter of the Foundation was granted.

He further established, That these four Kingsat Arms, and the rest of the Heralds, who are in the Charter called Heraldi &

LIB.5. of King RICHARD the Third.

Profecutores five Purfevandi, fhould lodge, live and common together, in that house, where the Rolls, Monuments and Writings (appertaining to the Office and Art of Heraldry and Armory) should be kept; giving also Lands and Tenements for the perpetual maintaining of a Chaplain or Chantry Priest, to fay and fing Service every day, and to pray for the King, Queen and Prince, and for their fouls when they were dead.

Laftly, he gave fundry good Priviledges and Immunities to the faidCorporation: whichCharter was kept continually in theOffice until within thefe few yeers ; but now is in another place : the want of it importeth nothing, being the Duplicate is upon Record in the Archives, kept in the Convert-house, now called the Rolls. It was confirmed by the Parliament, and dated 29 die Martii, anno regni primo, apud Westmonasterium, Baron: and underneath was written, Per Breve de privato Sigillo, de datu predicto, autoritati Parliamenti.

He also built or repaired some part of the Tower of London towards the Thames : in memory whereof, there be yet his arms impaled with those of the Queen his wife, standing upon the Arch adjoyning to the Sluce-gate.

He began many other good works, which his fudden fate prevented; as Polidor thus witneffeth.

Richardus Tertius multa opera publica & privata inchoavit, quæ immatura morte præreptus non perfecit. Which works and monuments of Piety flew not the acts of a Tyrant. Polidor Virgil, being neither Yorkilt nor Lancastrian, speaks much in commendation of his pious and charitable disposition; to which I refer the Readers, and put it to their indifferent judgements, How many of those called Good Kings, have exceeded him in their longer and prosperous time, being in quiet posses of their Crown and Kingdoms? Let me adde for a Corollary, what that of the worthy Prelate Archebald Qubitlaw (chief Secretary, and a Privie Councellor of Scotland) in his Oration, when he was one of the Commissioners for a conclusion of a Peace and Marriage between Prince James, eldest fon to the King of Scotland, and the Lady Anne, daughter to John de la Pool: from whence I have collected these.

Serenissime Princeps,

Una me res consolatur, & juvat, tua (scil.) in omni virtutis genere celeberrima fama per omnem Orbis terrarum ambitum disseninata, tuæ etiam innatæ benignitatis clarissima præstansque bumanitas, tua mansuetudo, liberalitas, sides, summa justitia, incredibilis animi magnitudo, tua non humana, sed pene divina sapientia, te non modo singulis facilem, verum vulgo & popularibus affabilem præbes & quibus virtutibus altâque prudentia cuncta & pronunciata & dicta in meliora commutas. Serenissimus Princeps Rex Scoto-

Pacem Guxorem neptem Regis petit.

rum.

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L1B. 5. rum. Dominus meus qui te alto amore prosequitur, te desiderat, tuam, Amicitiam & Affinitatem affectat , suprà captum cogitationis mee ; fi quid a me erratum erit, tuis & divinis virtutibus, quibus Commercium cum Calestibus numinibus & societatem contraxeris, tribuendum putato.

Richardus fuit Statura parva.

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Faciem tuam summo Imperio & Principatu dignam inspicit, quam moralis & Heroica virtus illustrat de te dici prædicarique potest quod Thebanorum Principi inclytilfimo statui Poeta his verbis attribuit.

Nunquam tantum animum natura minori corpore, nec tantas visa estincludere vires. Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus. In te enim sunt rei militaris virtus peritia fælicitas O autoritas, que omnia in optimo exercitus principe Cicero requirit.

In te (Serenissime Princeps) praclari Regis & Imperatoris pracepta it a concurrunt, ut nibil ad tuam Bellicam, aut domesticam virtutem cujusquam oratoris verbis apponi posit.

Tuigitur (Serenissime Domine & Princeps) de ineunda inter te & noftrum Principem charitate & amicitia, sic age, ut Angli & Scoti dilectionis respectu nullum penitus discrimen habeatur. sed in unum amoris & benevolentiæ vinculum videantur esse connexi, sic numerabiles commoditates ex tui & nostri populi dilectione, dulci connubio unione, Matrimonio, & Affinitate consurgent.

In freta dum fluvii current, dum montibus umbræ Lustrabunt connexa polus dum sidera pascet. Dum juga montis aper, fluvios dum piscis amabit, Dumque Thymo pascentur apes, dum'rore cicada, Semper honos nomenque tuum, laudesque manebunt.

But what is this, or more, to malice and detraction, that haunt him to his death; and after that, making the Catastrophe, or last Tragical act of his life at Bofworth-field, an immediate stroke of the divine vengeance, for fuch offences as they pleafe to particular from women or fuperstitious Clerks, whole natures startle at the noise of War and Martial trial, to whose fears and weaknesse, such reasons would found tolerable. But if Bishop Morton and Sir Thomas Moor (although they were men of the long Robe) had confidered with whom they conversed, and where they most lived; how could they forget, That to die valiantly in the field, for Countrey, life and friends, was always held a glorious farewel to the world; or what infinite numbers of vertuous and most noble Gaptains have fallen fo by the Sword and fate of War.

Lampridius affirmeth, that all the best men have died violent deaths: and what higher Quarrel could call any Heroical fpirit, then King Richard's, fighting for a Crown, kingdom, and all his happie Fortunes here. God hath many times taken away Princes, and changed the Government of kingdoms for the iniquities of the people; why then fhould not King Richard's fate be held in a modeft Scale, until we can better know or judge it ? Nor can it be fafe

To be flain in War, is no evil or unhappie death.

optimes quosq; violenta morte consumptos esse affirmat. Lani. Alexander.

of King RICHARD the third. LIB. 5.

fafe to enquire, or peremptorily to determine further after Gods proceedings in fuch cafes. He that owes him no malice (things looked upon thorow judgement and charity) may with more justice fay he died valiantly, and in a just quarrel, when many of his enemies fell by deaths more vile, and shameful Executions.

But he that hath but a reasonable pittance of Humanity, will cenfure no mans life by the manner of his death: for many good and holy men have suffered by violent deaths; though it be this Princes fortune to fall under the ill affections of envious pens, more then many that committed more publike and proved crimes then he, which wanted much of his vertues and defert.

Examine him with Henry the First, the good Clerk, and learned Prince, but fo covetous and ambitious, that he could not be content to usurp in this Kingdom the Right and Primogeniture of his elder brother, Robert Courthofe; but by force took the Dukedom of Normandy from him: and to make his injuries more exact and monstrous, cast him into the Castle of Gloucester, there kept him in cruel durance, and caufed his eyes to be put out ; fo wearied him to most miserable death.

King John, by the general voice, is charged with the murder of King John. Arthur Plantagenet the fon of his eldeft brother, and fo the next Prince in right of blood to King Richard the First.

And it is written by good Authors, that Edward the Third was not onely privie and confenting to the depofing the King his father (a King anointed) but alfo to his Massacre. And becaufe Edward Plantagenet Earl of Kent, Protector, and his Uncle. moved him to reftore the Crown to his father Edward the Second, he called him Traitor, and cut off his head at Westminster.

How King Henry the Fourth caufed King Richard the Second (the true and anointed King) to be cruelly butchered at Pomfret. is too notorious : and this was Scelera sceleribus tueri.

King Edward the Fourth is accused of the murder and death of the King Saint Henry, and of Edward Prince of Wales his fon. (Ut (upra.)

King Henry the Seventh (although amongst the best Kings in hisgeneral character) is not thought guiltleffe of that Crimen (acrum vel regale, in cutting off Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, an innocent.

Edwardum, filium Ducis Clarencia, puerum & infantem, in fuam, O suorum securitatem capite plexit.

And to fecure his Estate, had more then learnt other smart rules of Policic. That reach of State upon Philip of Austrich, Duke of Burgundy, King of Castile and Arragon, is not the least memorable.

This Prince Philip was by croffe Fortune put into the Kings hands : purposing out of Flanders to go into Spain, with the Queen his wife, took shipping at Sluce, and passing by the coasts

King Richard was flain, Aug. 22. 1493. when he had raigned 2 yeers and 5 months, accounting his Protectorship; and about the 37th year of his age. King Henry 1.

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King Edw. 2.

King Hen.4.

King Edw.4. Seneca de Clementia.

King Hen.7.

Gul. Campden in Britan. Or Corn.

Grafton: Holinfbead.

of

The History of the Reigne

of England, was by a tempertforced for his fafety to put into the Port of Weymouth in Dorfet-fhire : the Queen being ill, and diffempered much with the ftorm, was compelled to make fome ftay there.

Lib. 5.

Sir John Carew, and Sir Thomas Trenchard (principal men in those parts) gave speedy intelligence of this to the King, who was glad of the accident, and purposed to make good use of it, as speedily returning his command to give them all honourable entertainment; but not suffer them to depart, until he had seen and faluted them.

The Duke ignorant of this, as foon as the Queen and the reft had recover'd and refreshe themselves, thought he was onely to give those Knights thanks, and take his leave ; which they by way of courtelie and request interpole, in behalt of the Kings vehement defire to falute him and the Queen : a motion the Duke much preft to be excused from, as the necessity of his journey flood : but the intreaty was fo imperious, he must stay, and alter his journey for Windfor, to meet the King, who received him there in a magnificent manner; and at the height of a Feast, propounds a fuit to the Duke for Edmind de la Pool (then in his Dominions) a pretender to the Crown of England, and not fo foundly affected to him: a fuit of a harfh expolition, as the Duke apprehended it, and to the blemish of his honour and piety, as he nobly urged : but no argument had vertue, nor no vertue argument enough to excule it; the King must have him. or the Dukemust stay. Castupon this extreme (and forefeeing what difadvantages were upon him, fome honourable conditionsgranted, that he should neither lay punishment nor death upon him) he gave his promife to fend him, and the King strictly and religiously bound himself to the exceptions.

The Duke accordingly fent this de la Pool into England; who upon his arrival was delivered to the Tower; but his life not toucht until the King lay a dying; then he equivocated his Vow by a Mental Refervation, enjoyning his fon after his death to cut off his head; which was done when he came to be King', and was held fome taint to them both; though the fon held himfelf acquit & warranted by the example of King *Solomon*, who was made the inftrument of fuch another fubtil flaughter by his father *David*, that thought he kept himfelf by equivocation : examples not to be imitated by any Christian Prince, being a fin; and fins are to be avoided, not imitated.

The eldeft brother of these de la Pools, John de la Pool, heir to the Duke of Suffolk, and Head of this Family, was slain cafually at the Battel of Stoke; and is he who, as neerest kinsman to King Richard the Third, was proclaimed heir apparant. The sister of these Princely de la Pools, the Lady Katherine, was kept close prisoner in the Tower, until grief and forrow bowed her to the grave. Nor

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LIB. 5. of King RICHARD the third.

Nor is it much from our purpose to note, that the chief *Plantagenets*, namely, the children of King *Edward* the Fourth, had but cold influences then : for the Lady *Bridget* was thrust into a Nunnery at Dartford, chiefly (as it was thought) that she should live sterile, and die without issue. The Lady *Cecily* was married to a base fellow, that so her issues the greater, in regard she was offered Matches to her quality; the King of Scotland propounding Prince James unto her; and the French King *Lewis* demanded her for the Dolphin *Charles* of France.

It was observed too, that this King was but an unkinde and fevere husband to his Queen (indeed :) they had all but fhort lives; and our Stories report he picked a quarrel with the Queen-Dowager-Mother, for an old and venial errour, becaufe the delivered her fon Richard to the Protector; for which there was a Confifcation upon all her Goods, Chattels and Revenues, and the confined to Bermondfey Abbey, where the lived not long, care and grief untwifting the threed of her fad fate. And when death had feized him from all the glories and policies of this world, his fon fucceeds ; and then, Residuum Locuste, Bruchus comedit : & residuum Bruchi comedit Rubigo : for, what remained of the House of York, he gave the last blowe to ; and after the dispatch of the aforesaid Edmund de la Pool, caused the Lady Margaret Plantagenet Countesse of Salisbury, then daughter and heir of George Duke of Clarence, to be attainted of Treason by Act of Parliament; and condemned unheard, being dragged to the Block barbaroully by the hair of her head, though above Threefcore yeers in age, Anno 33 Henr. 8. Not long after, Sir Henry Pool her eldeft fon was put to death, and her fon Reynold Pool was attainted of Treason with her (no man knowing what the Treason was) but got suddenly out of the Kingdom into I. taly, where he became much favoured by the Princes there, and by the Popes afterward made Cardinal, and highly renowned) in those times) for his Learning, Piety and other noble merits. Richard Pool, another fon of the Counteffe of Salisbury, fled, and lived a banished man in forraign Countreys; yet at the height of a good reputation, until he was flain at the Battel of Pavia.

These be fad pauses, which my Pen but touches at, to note the Partiality of fome on one fide, and the malignity of fome on the other fide, who have made King *Richard* the worst of all Princes; when other of our own, have had as great an appetite of Empire, whose fames and facred names we gratulate with honour.

Nor let my just and plain meaning bemistaken, which urges nothing in diflike or exprobation that King Henry the Seventh had the Crown, whom our age must acknowledge a wife, provi-

dent

Grafton.

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Polidor. lib. 4.

Although the Lady Anne and the Lady Katherine were well married, that may not be alleadged here; for they were bestowed in the time of Rich. 3. the one to the Lord Haward after Duke of Norfolk, the other to the Earl of Devon. Robers Glover. Joel, cap. 1.

Dominus Joh. Baro. Lumley, viva voce.

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The History of the Reigne

dent and religious Prince, The reftorer of the ancient Line of the British Kings to their Raign and Kingdom, Nephew of King Henry the Sixth by his Grandmother Queen Katherine, widow of King Henry the Fifth, and mother of King Henry the Sixth, and of his brother Uterine Edmund Tendor Earl of Richmond, the father of this King Henry the Seventh; and so he was Nephew also to Charles the Seventh King of France. I onely conceive he took it by too violent a hand, not staying tempus bene placiti.

Lib. 5.

And here I may fitly take occasion to make up a Defect or Brack covertly imputed to the Titles of the Normans, and Princes of York, by our vulgar Historians and Chroniclers.

And first, weare to suppose, If there be, it grew by the crrour of King Edwards Marriage, by which they hold that Title was weakned (at the least blemished) but that could have no continuance, being made found again as foon as King Richard came to raign, and after cured and confirmed by the mighty power of fundry Parliaments, by which it was made as ftrong and firm as ever ; belides the aid of the Difpensations Apostolical (in those times facred and authentick.) And without that (if need were) our King now raigning hath other Royal Rights; more then funiculus, Triplex; fome more ancient, authentick and just, therefore more secured, and of more prosperous hopes then that Norman Title, which was a violent acquest of the Sword, and a purchase made by blood, fo confequently none of the best; which was well conceived by that great Macedon, when he faid, Non est diuturna posselsio in quam gladio inducimus. Neither would it avail in this behalf to cite or avouch the Donation of this Kingdom, which the Confessor is faid to have made to William the Conquerour, being to no purpofe, becaufe that gift or Legacy was disclaimed and disallowed by the Barons of this Land, and found to be void.

Yet time now, and prefeription, have also made that Title good: for prefeription hath power to ratifie and confirm the Titles both of Princes and of private men.

But our King is the immediate and fole lawful Heir of King Egbert (who first gave the name of England to this Land, and was absolute Lord of it) from him, by the glorious Kings, Edgar, Edmund, Athelstan, Alfred, and many others, as well Saxons and Angles, as Anglo-Saxons, the Right and Title of this Kingdom is duely descended and devolved to Edmund Ironside King of England, who was father to the most Noble Clyto, Edward firnamed Exul, whose fair daughter and heir (a religious Lady) the Princesse Margaret of England, was married to Malcom Canmoire King of Scotland; from which ancient and happie Alliance, the King our Soveraign Lord is directly and certainly descended, and is the true and onely Heir to the Rights and Titles which were without flaw; so the most ancient and famous

our King to the Crown of England

Riv. . the

The fundry great Titles Jof

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Alex. apud Curtzum, lib.8.

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Chro, that is, A Prince of the blood.

of King RICHARD the Third.

famous Title, and Right of the first Kings of Britain are in him, being the next Heir of our last British King Henry Tendor, wose Genealogie I have seen derived from the antique Kings of Britain, and from divers other British Princes. And this Henry Tendor (or the Seventh) to confirm all the Titles of this Kingdom unto his claim, by the strongest and greatest autnority, procured them decreed to him and to his issue (so established in himself and his posterity for ever) by Act of Parliament, in this manner and words.

Lib. 5.

TO the Pleasure of Almighty God, and for the Wealth, and Prosperity, and Surety of this Realm of England, to the fingular Comfort of all the Subjects of the same, and for avoyding all Ambiguities and Questions:

onfectation of the Lines, puts from their incers, or

Be it Ordained, Eftablished and Enacted by the Authority of this prefent Parliament, That the Inheritance of the Crown of the Realm of England, and allo of France, with all the Pre-eminencies and Dignitics Royal to the fame appertaining, and all Liegances to the King belonging beyond the Seas, with the appurtenances thereunto in any wife due or appertaining, To be, reft, remain and abide in the most Royal person of our Soveraign Lord King Henry the Seventh, and in the Heirs of his body lawfully comming perpetually, with the Grace of God, and so to endure, and in no other.

Which is also another Title to our King, Heir to Henry the Seventh.

And this Act was renewed and firmly established, for our Soveraign Lord King James, Anno regni prima.

Yet King Henry the Seventh obtained of the Pope another Title, jure Belli.

All which Titles and Rights (which ever were appertaining to this Kingdom, and to the Empire of Britain) are coalefeed and met in our Soveraign King; for he hath not onely the claims of the ancient Kings of Britain, of the Saxons, and Anglo-Saxons Kings, and of the Norman Race; but also the Titles and Rights of the Royal Families of York, of Lancaster, and of *Wales*, &c.

And (not as the leaft, in reference with these) he hath in V possel-

Anno 1. H. 7. in Parliament, in Novemb.

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The History of the Reigne

L18.5.

The wedding Ring of England.

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Edwardus Elthelredus d'Rivallis.

The fatall fone-

Heltor,Boetius lib. 4. Et Geo.Buchan Gul. Cambden.

olbas

possession also, those singular and particular Monuments of Empire and Raign by some called Fata Regni, and Instrumenta & Monumenta Regno, & Imperio destinata.

One being the Ring of the accounted holy King Edward, the fon of King Etheldred, which was confectated and extraordinarily bleffed by Saint John Baptist in Palestine, and sent back by the King (as old Writers tell) which hath been religiously kept in the Abbey of Westminster, and is (as Tradition goes) the Ring which the Archbishop of Canterbury at the Inauguration and Confectation of the Kings, puts upon their finger; called in our Stories, The Wedding Ring of England.

The other Monument of the British Empire, is the Marbleftone whereupon Jacob laid his head, when he had those caleftial and mystical Visions mentioned in holy Writ; which ftone was brought out of Palestine into Ireland, and from thence carried into Scotland by King Keneth; after translated to the City of Scone, and used for the Chaire wherin the Kings fate at their Coronation; brought out of Scotland by Edward the First into England, as the best Historians of Scotland and England relate.

Cathedram Marmoream Regibus Scotorum fatalem (in quainfidentes Scotorum Reges Coronare confneverant.) Rex Edwardus primus e Scona Londinum transtulit, & in Westmonasterio (ubi hodie visitur) deposuit.

It is fet or born in a Chaire of Wood, and for a perpetual honour (upon a Table hanging in the Chappel at Weltminster) this is writ :

Si quid habet ueri vel Chronica cana, fidesve Clauditu hac Cathedra, Nobilis ille lapis, Ad caput, eximius Jacob quondam Patriarcha, Quem posuit cernens numina mirifica; Quem tulit a Scotis Edwardus primus, &c.

In boc lapide fatum regni Scotia continetur. Geor. Buchan. George Buchanus faith, The people are ferioufly perfwaded that in this stone (which he calleth Lapidem Marmoreum rudem) the state of the kingdom is contained, and that fatum Regni is thus understood; viz. What King of Scotland sever is Lord of that Stone, & Soveraignly possessed thereof, shall be King and raign in the Countrey where he findeth that stone: thus told in a prophetical Diffich.

Ni fallat fatum, Scotus quocunque locatum Inveniet lapidem, regnare tenetur ibidem.

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LIB. 5. of King RICHARD the third.

Which Prophecie was accomplifhed in King James, when he came first into England: for his Titles were not onely funiculus triplex qui difficile rumpitur; but also funiculus multiplex qui nunquam rumpitur. And may those Titles for ever be establisht in his Loins, according to that of the heavenly Messenger, Regnum perpetuum. & cujus non est finis. Amen.

Thus I have led you thorow the various Relations, and Tragical Interchanges of this Princes Life, to his laft act and place, where, after Revenge and Rage had fatiated their barbarous cruelties upon his dead body) they gave his Royal earth a bed of earth, honourably, appointed by the Order of King Henry the Seventh, in the chief Church of Leicefter, called Saint Maries, belonging to the Order and Society of the Gray Friers; the King in fhort time after caufing a fair Tomb of mingled colour'd Marble, adorned with his Statue, to be erected thereupon, to which fome grateful pen had alfo deftined an Epitaph, the Copie whereof (never fixtto his statue, to be feen in a recorded Manufcript-Book chained to a Table in a Chamber in the Guild-hall of London : which (the faults and corruptions being amended) is thus reprefented, together with the Title thereunto prefixed as I found it. Scotus primus Rex Scotie, ut Anglus Gallus Hispannus Gro. proRex Anglia Gallia Hispan. Gro.

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Ottob. 9. 1646. Imprimatur, Na: Brent.

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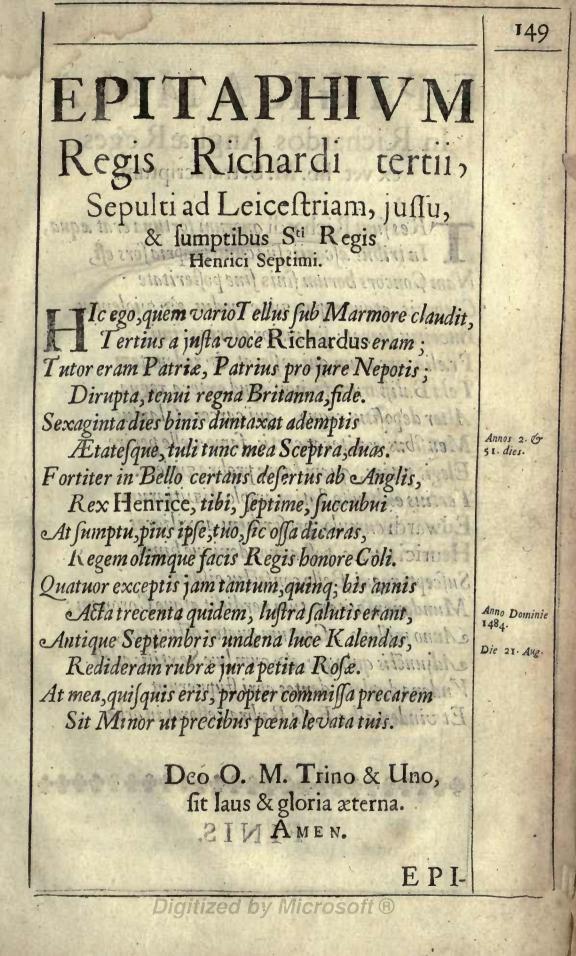
The History of RICHARD the Third. Lib. 5.

O give you him in his equal Draught and L Composition: He was of a mean or lowe compact, but without disproportio & uneveness either in lineaments or parts (as his severall Pi-Aures present him.) His aspect had most of the Souldier in it; so his natural inclination (Complexions not uncertainely expounding our Dispositions) but what wants of the Court-Planet, effeminate Cenfurers think must needs be harsh and crabbed (and Envie will pick quarrels with an hair, rather then want Subjet.) The Judgement and Courage of his Sword-actions, rendred him of a full Honour and Experience, which Fortune gratified with many Victories ; never any Overthrows through his own default, for lack of Valour or Policie. At Court, and in his general deportment, of an affable respect and tractable cleernesse. In his dispence, of a magnificent liberalhand, fomewhat above his power (as Sir Tho. Moor fets down.) And furely the many Churches, with other good works he founded, (more then any one former King did in so short a time) must commend him charitable and reli gious, as the excellent Laws he made, do his wisedom and strain of Government, which all men confesse of the best. So having (even from those his bitterest times) the esteem of a valiant, wife, noble, charitable and religious Prince, why should ours deprave him so much upon trust, & deny works their character and place? Epi-

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Sir Tho. Moor. Duke Bucking. in his speech to Mr. Morton.

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E PIGRAMMA

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In Richardos AngliæReges, ex vet. lib. M. S. transcriptum.

Res sunt Richardi quorum fortuna erat equa, In tribus & scariis sua cujus propria sors est, Nam Concors borum finis fine posteritate Corporis, atque rapase vite modus, & violentus Interitus fuerat; sed major gloria primi, Prælia terrarum qui gesserat & redeuntem Tela Balistarum feriunt apud extera regna. Alter depositus regno, qui carcere Claus, Mensibus extiterat certis, fame velle perire Elegit potius, quam fame probra videre. Tertius exbausto statim amplo divitiarum Edwardi cumulo, proscribens auxiliares Henrici partes, post annos denique binos Susceptiregni, Bello confectus eisdem Mundanam vitam, tum perdidit atque Coronam : Anno milleno; Centum quater octuageno, Adjunctis quinque, & cum lux Sextilis adest Vndena duplex, dentes apri stupuerunt, Et vindex alba Rosa Rubra refloret in orbe.

FINIS.

TO THE FAVOVRABLE ACCEPTANCE Of the Right Honourable PHILIP Earle of Pembrooke and Mountgomery, Sec.



Sir

Aving collected these papers out of their dust, I was bold to hope, there might be somthing in them of a better fate (if mine obscure pen darken not that too.) Please your Lordshipp to let your name, make

them another witnesse of your noblenesse, it may redeeme and improve them, to a clearer opinion and acknowlegedment of these times, in which I am to meet every Critick, at his owne weapon, who will challenge the Book at the very Title : The Malicious and Malevolent, with their blotted Coments; the Captious & Incredulous, with their jealous precisianismes, whose inclinations shewes them of envious perplexed natures, to looke at other mens actions and memory by the wrong end of the perspective, and (me thinks) I fancy them to our shaddomes, which at noone creepe behind like Dwarfes, at evening, stalke by like Gyants; they will baunte the noblest merits and endeavors to their Sun-fet, then they monster it : but to the Common-rout, they are another kind of Genius, or U.C.L ignis,

ignis fatuus; leades them into darke, strange, manderings, there they stick : for to personade the opinionated vulgar out of their ignorant selves, is of as high a beli. fe to me, asto transpeciate a Beast into a man; I (therefore) shall crave favour, to protest these papers beyond their Cenfure, and bumour : But to those they are mished (I hope) their meak accesses may be the more pardonable fince they are the kindlings and scintillations of a modest Ambition, to truth and gratitude which gives me the encour agement to assure your Lord (hips that if mine Authors be sincere and faithfull, my penis free and innocent, baving learned, that astory (as it ought) must be a just, perspicuous Narration of things memorable, spoken, and don. The Historiographer, veritable; free from all Profopolep fyes, or partiall respects, and surely bis pen should tak with a great deal of Conscience, for there is nothing leaves so an infected a sting, or scandall, as History, it rankles to all posterity, wounds our good names, to all memory or places, by an Authentick kind of preiudice : I am with bis opinion, in bis excellent Religio Medici, who bolds it an offence to Charity, and as bloody a thought one way, as Nero's in another; My Lord, under these bumble addresses, this sues to your bonoured hand, Presented by the unfained wishes of your ment bern thank (buddones, which at noone creeps bowovs arvonoHenine, falke by like Gy-

ante ; they will connect the nableft merits and enor tus sti rollnon vol and humble Servant,

ос comment they are another kind of Genius, or Geo: Buck.

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An Explication of some dark words and Sentences.

Sotbriquets or Sobriquets; Nicke-	1.
nams, 4. Angeume, of or belonging to Anjou. Naturall son; i. a Bastard, also a natu-	A E
rall Father. Rodomantade, p. 12. a brag or brava- do.	A
Cloth of assurance, 27. Towel or napkin that wait on the cup.	A
Contrast, withstanding or repugnance. Parergum, 32. Something added that is not of the principal matter.	Jı
Tort, 35. wrong, injury, and violeuce. Vmbrage or Ombrage, 35. Suspition,	B
alfo difgrace. Difgust, 36. Distaste. Contrecar, 44. A counter-strength, &c:	wwan
being children of common women. G.	In .
in respect of the Father of uncertaine Parentage.	No low
Carl State	

Ne Croix ny Pile, 51. Neither croß nor pile, not one title or jot of right, &c. Ambidexter, a Jack on both fides. Brother uterine, 51. (1) by the mothers fide. Abbayance. 53. In delay or dispute,

Such as Lawyers use, a term borrowed from another creature.

- Apodixis, 60. Plain demonstration of a thing.
- Inconcuís, that cannot be shaken, undaunted.

Bartlemies, 63. Meant of the great and generall massacre of above 100000. Protestants in France, chiefly in Paris, and the Countrey adjoyning on Saint Bartholmews Eve, Anno 72. whereupon St. Bartholmews teares,

Bartholomæus flet, quia Gallicus occubat Atlas.

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Como

Como fal in aqua, 105. Is meant of Suddain wasting. Monomachy, 62. When two fight fin-

gle without seconds. Cadet, 67. A younger brother. Guerdonable, worthy of reward, 75. Adveu.45. An acknowledging or taking for his owne. Gens fans adven, vagabonds, that none wil owner fo Bastards, are not admitted to their ad-

-Bestindia della A REMARK PROPERTY OF stricture s oc. au. 0, 2.

ioncus "et quia Criticus

StranonSt. L. . . . Specar 25

coub t Atlas.

ven (1) not acknowledged by their Fathers.

Rebus de Picardy, Devises and reprefentations of odd things by words & mottoes, which present one thing, and by deviding the word in pronunciation, signific another.

Faulcon Serrure, An obscene French device, and presents the use of Italian lockes.

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Uguftine. 12 12 1 Grafton Newbrigenfis Aristotle. Nyerus Glover Gainsford Ovid, Baleus. Goodwin Ofiander **Boetius**. Buchan. Chill Lane Du Hailon Pliny Sur Cini Cambden. But en stan Hall Joh Paradin Hollinshead Polidor Virg. Cicero. Plutarch Hyrd Cambrenlis. Claudian. 2010W 211 De-le-Haylo noitas Seneca Sarisburienfis Croyland Pryor Harding. and Hift. de Brit. Stow Comineus Strabo Cooke Homer Demofthines Julius Capitol Socrates . Well'IL OFFICE Stanford Dion. **Juvenall** a lest car lat Suetonius Tuftus Vulterius Ælopus. 1.72. . (1) 19. Lib. Manufer. De Serres. Euripides Tacitus Apud D. Rob. Cotton. Ennius 53. 1: 6: 390 Lampridius ->>> Terence Eralmus yers. i.a.s. Tillet Lucan Epictetus . 181 213 141 1 11 11 11 Virgill Maximus. Fabian C. 2 6. 21 Valla Fuchius Moore some walfingham Monstrolet Froifard

With many Parliament Roules and Records. letters 63.21: solit general

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