

Henry VII in Somersetshire.¹

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THE visit of Henry the Seventh to this county was at a critical epoch in the history of his reign. The King came into Somersetshire in the autumn of 1497, after two rebellions which broke out in that year had been suppressed: the Cornish rebellion by the victory at Blackheath, on the 17th June; and the rebellion of Perkin Warbeck's adherents by his flight from Taunton on the 21st September.

The Cornish rebellion was a remarkable incident in a remarkable reign, and it can hardly be understood without looking at matters as they stood at the opening of the year. The King was then preparing to take the field against Scotland, and obtained a Parliamentary grant of two-fifteenths, each about £30,000, and a Subsidy equal in amount to them—in all, a sum of about £120,000.

Henry knew that thoroughly to prepare for war is the best mode to secure peace. He had—yielding not unwillingly to the solicitations of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain—just joined them in the great league against France. The importance of this step he had not exaggerated by his solemn reception of the hallowed Sword and Cap of Maintenance sent him in consequence, by Pope Alexander, on All-Saints' Day (1st Nov.), 1496.

The statesmen of France did not neglect their traditional policy; Scotland was stirred up to attack England openly, and at the very moment that Robert Shirborn, (whom we shall find by and by in our county,) Henry's ambassador, was agreeing to

(1). This paper was read before the Royal Archæological Institute at Taunton, and is printed here by the kind permission of that Society.

enter the Holy Alliance, the chivalry and rabble of Scotland had burst over the border, and, under their king in person, were wasting Northumberland with fire and sword.

Short was the raid, but James only withdrew himself to make a more vigorous spring ; and through the dark days of November and December, 1496, the hammer and the anvil of the armourer resounded in every tower between Edinburgh and Berwick ; the castles of the Scottish border were repaired, the artillery was brought down from the capital, and King James kept Christmas at the Abbey of Melrose, in a Court of which the "White Rose of Scotland" was a chief ornament, though the touch of English soil had sorely tested the pretence of her husband to be a true Plantagenet.

Henry prepared for war : in November he sent commissioners to get together supplies of provisions for his army ; Fox, lately Bishop of Bath and Wells, now Bishop of Durham, was strengthening his border castle ; and the King summoned his Lords and Commons in Parliament, and the Prelates and Clergy in Convocation, to ask the help of the whole realm.

The King's counsellors intended invasion ; invasion was foreign war, and required a hired force. Military tenants were only bound to serve for forty days, in or out of the kingdom ; and those who held direct of the Crown were few and ill-registered. The muster-rolls of the counties, sometimes made effective by writs of the sheriffs, and sometimes by commissioners of array, only summoned men who could not be compelled to go out of their shires ; to secure an adequate and disciplined army, voluntary enlistment, attracted by high pay, was the only resource.

Parliament had enacted, eighteen months before, that it was the duty of every subject to assist the Sovereign when going on wars for defence of the realm, or against his rebels and enemies, and now it was asked to give effect to, and put in practice, the principle. The new Parliament met at Westminster on 16th January, 1497, and Morton, the Chancellor, in a great speech, reminded the House of the happy audacity of the Scipios, who

invaded Africa, and carried the war to the gates of Carthage, while the victor of Cannæ ravaged Italy at his will ; and asked for a supply of money to enable the King to vindicate the honour of England by invading Scotland.

The Commons were ready to grant the supply, and Morton—who was the mouth-piece, and chief counsellor of the King—proposed and obtained a grant of two-fifteenths and tenths,² which was a well known tax, the incidence of which on each parish was regulated by a valuation made in the 8th Edward III (1335), and assessed upon the inhabitants by themselves.

The two-fifteenths, yielding only about £60,000, would not produce enough for the King's purposes, and, notwithstanding the insurrection which the imposition of an unusual charge had produced in the North in the third year of his reign, he ventured to employ an unaccustomed mode of increasing his supplies.

On the former occasion he had added to the fifteenth a Poll tax. The men of Yorkshire rose in arms, and killed the Earl of Northumberland, the chief adviser of the commissioners ; but the insurrection was extinguished in blood, and the King refusing to remit a penny, gathered in the whole tax. Now, though he was too wise to attempt a renewal of the Poll-tax, he yet proposed and obtained, on 13th February, an unusual tax, under the name of Subsidy, equal in amount to the two-fifteenths, and in the Act imposing it, procured the insertion of an ominous clause, that the clergy should not be liable for more than they paid of the fifteenths, although, on the 23rd January, the Convocation of the province of Canterbury had met at St. Paul's, London, and granted a separate Subsidy for the war of £40,000.

The King was in earnest : the day after the grant from the clergy, on the 24th January, he commissioned Stephen Bull to arm ships of war against Scotland ; the day the grant from Parliament was passed he issued a commission to Lord Dacre to muster forces in the North. He placed Lord Daubeny of Bar-

(2). Tenth is the name of the tax in Corporate towns, and fifteenth in other places.

rington in Somersetshire,³ now Lord Chamberlain, at the head of the army for the invasion of Scotland, whilst Fox completed his fortifications of Norham Castle. The King's preparations were on an extensive scale. All honour to those Scottish admirals or adventurers, who taught Henry the helplessness of his kingdom without a navy. He was not slow to learn the lesson, and the era of the English Royal Navy begins with the year 1497.⁴ Hitherto the vessels employed by the Crown for warlike purposes had been merchantmen, hired for the occasion; but now it would seem the King bought and fitted up the ships he commissioned against Scotland.

It was in the midst of these active preparations, and at the very moment when Henry had found the value of his possessions in Cornwall, by receiving a large sum for the tin sent up to him as a Royalty from the Duchy, that news came to him of an insurrection there.

Popular insurrections, in times of general excitement, spring from slight causes, but they seldom arise, except from innovations in taxation or religion. The quickest fire is lighted by an unusual impost, the most lasting by a change in the established order of religious observance. Absolute want has at times driven a population into rebellion; but the sturdy freeholders, who held so much of England at the end of the fifteenth century, were well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed.

Among the counties of England, Cornwall was then eminent for the number of its gentry,⁵ the wealth of its trading classes, and the warlike habits of its peasantry. The inhabitants of the Duchy were, to a considerable extent, of Celtic origin, retaining the Cornish language—a dialect of the Gaelic tongue—and accustomed to athletic exercises. The Cornish hug was fatal to other wrestlers; the Cornish arrow was a cloth-yard long. The

(3). He is considered by many to have been the builder of Barrington Court.

(4). *Exc. Hist.*, p. 100. "Dec. 11, 1496. Delivered by the King's commandment for rigging forth of the King's navy, £4,575 5s." Commission to Stephen Bull; *Pat. Roll*, 24th Jan., 1497.

(5). See the number in the King's list of 1502; Harl. MSS., p. 6166.

men were stout of stomach and mighty in body and limb;⁶ by language and habits much distinguished from the northern and eastern races ; they looked upon themselves as a separate people.

As soon as steps were being taken for levying the Subsidy in Cornwall the Cornishmen began to grudge and murmur. The fifteenths and subsidy were to be raised in two moieties. The first half was to be collected by the last day of May, and the other half by the 8th of November ; if peace was made with Scotland in the meantime, the second half was not to be raised.

Four commissioners were appointed to raise the subsidy in each county, the first of the four for Cornwall was Richard Flamank ; and these four, with the Justices of the Peace, were to appoint collectors, and to certify under their seals the names of these collectors of the subsidy before the morrow after the Feast of the Ascension (Thursday, the 4th May, 1497). Four hundred pounds was the sum the Cornishmen had to pay for the subsidy. It was payable only by those who had land of 20s. a year, according to the old valuation of 1335, or ten marks' value of substance in goods. But an equal amount of four hundred pounds had to be assessed and levied as two-fifteenths by the parish authorities, according to their own rules of assessment.

Richard Flamank was the owner of a small estate, called Boscarne, near Bodmin, and had filled several offices in the Duchy and town. His eldest son, Thomas, was an attorney, a gentleman of coat armour ; of great influence, it is said, with the people. For in the Duchy, remote from the capital, both at Sessions and in the Stannary Courts, the attorneys were the advocates, and, save when the judges rode to Launceston twice a year at the Assizes, the London Bar never appeared in Cornwall. Thomas, the chroniclers say, converted the grudge and murmuring of the people into a rising, or rather, supplied speeches and arguments to the blacksmith or farrier of Bodmin, Michael Joseph, who seems to have been the first ring-leader. These captains told the people not to stand like sheep before the shearers, but to

(6) Carew's *Survey of Cornwall*, *passim*.

put on harness and take weapons in their hands, and march to the King, and petition him to dismiss his counsellors, Cardinal Morton and Sir Reginald Bray; for they, with Fox, Bishop of Durham, King, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Sir Thos. Lovel, were the authors of the mischief.

This demand of change of counsellors implied more knowledge of what was being done in the Court, the Council, and the Parliament, than the Cornishmen could have; and doubtless it was Lord Audley, (who had, it is said, opposed a previous subsidy in the Lords,) and John Audley who supplied Thomas Flamank with these names; just as it was through Stephen Frion, Henry's traitorous French secretary, that Warbeck could blazon forth in his proclamation, issued September 1496 in Northumberland, the roll of evil counsellors, by naming "Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovel, Oliver King, David Owen, Riseley, Turberville, Tyler, Cholmley, Empson, James Hobart, John Cutte, Henry Wyat, and such other caitiffs and villains of simple birth!"

Arms were not scarce in Cornwall, but few spearmen joined. Besides Flamank there were only Trevysa, and Antron of Antron, gentlemen. Great was the multitude of archers and billmen, such as the King could not hire at less than sixpence a day; and mainly thus accoutred the insurgents marched forth from Bodmin the latter end of May. They went into North Devon, where they were joined by some yeomen, and passed by Bideford,⁷ and so to Taunton. Thence they marched to Wells, where they were headed by Lord Audley, who was building his mansion at Nether Stowey at the time they set out. He led them on from Wells to Salisbury, from Salisbury to Winchester, and from Winchester to Farnham, where they arrived on the 12th June.

They marched without any slaughter, violence, or spoil to the country, showing that remarkable forbearance from pillage or wanton destruction,—characteristic of the Celtic race, and so clearly displayed by the Highlanders on their march to Derby,

(7). On Horwood Church door was, until very recently, a horse-shoe, known as "Michael Joseph's badge," nailed there, tradition said, by the blacksmith himself.

in 1745 ; a noble contrast to the ferocious rapacity of the ruffianly peasants who pillaged London under Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. The difficulty of getting any accurate account of their route must arise from their good manners and courtesy. In the Celtic races every man is a freeman and a warrior, knitted together by the tie of a family, of which the chief is the father or elder brother. And the Celts of Cornwall, although little able to express themselves in English, would be, in their way, gentle and winning ; and every one, as they went along, helped them with food and shelter. So in the march of Prince Charles Edward from Carlisle to Derby, the inhabitants were at first alarmed at the uncouth dress and the unintelligible speech of the Highlanders, but found them considerate and self-restrained. "They behave very civilly, and pay for everything," was the report which the Government felt obliged to publish of them.

The number of the Cornish insurgents was so large that they must necessarily have advanced in separate divisions, except when they could avail themselves (which they frequently could) of the great open wastes, forests, and commons, which lay on their route. In Henry VII's time, Polydore Vergil says one-third of England was forest, and there was no deficiency of forest land in their line of march. This line is indicated to us by two rolls—signed by commissioners (among whom is the ambassador, Robert Shirborn, and Sir Amyas Paulet—the first Paulet of Hinton St. George), and endorsed by King Henry himself—of the fines afterwards levied on those who "aided and comforted" the insurgents.

In 1497 there were standing, with wide opening gates, those great houses of religious men, who, whatever faults they may have had, were given to hospitality, and not forgetful to entertain strangers ; and the Abbots of Athelney and Muchelney, of Cleeve and Forde gave to these bands of remonstrants the same help in bed and board as they did to other pilgrims, (for these pious acts Sir Amyas, somewhat sternly, made them pay) : and so in the towns and villages they were sped on their journey,

sometimes by the great men, and sometimes by the small—gentle and simple, from either favour or fear, helped them—and the roll of fines tells us how they moved on.

The forests of Dartmoor and Neroche, Salisbury Plain and Cranborne Chase, must have been lighted by their camp fires, on the way through Wells to Salisbury. The Winchester hills and Wolmer forests gave them space to pitch their field while passing on through Winchester to Farnham, and thence, we know from the truthful but unpublished chronicler of the Cottonian MSS.⁸ how they encamped, night after night, on Gille Down, by Guildford, on Wednesday, the 14th June; on Banstead Downs, by Epsom, on the 15th, arriving the night of the 16th at the *Mons Sacer* of Home County insurgents, the Blackheath, where the Smith, their captain, pitched his tent, on a spot which, for seventy years afterwards, the country people nick-named the Forge.

How can we explain this march? A body of from six to fifteen thousand men, armed to oppose the Government and destroy the King's Council, passing, undisturbed and unopposed, through the whole length of Southern England, which boasted then, as it boasts now, of its advance in all the arts of life, of its obedience to the laws, of its reverence for the Throne. These were the counties who constituted the strength of the Commons' House of Parliament.

Henry was at Shene when the news of the breaking out of the insurrection reached him on Sunday, the 4th of June. The intelligence must have been sent off after the insurgents had entered Devonshire, and before they had reached Somersetshire; for on this day Sir John Sapcotes received a sum of money from the King,⁹ and this must have been the time of issuing the undated commissions to Sir John to treat with those who had levied war against the King in Devon, Cornwall, and other parts, and

(8). MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. xvi.

(9). "June 4. Delivered to Sir John Sapcotes £13 6s. 8d." *Exc. Hist.*, p. 101. The Commissions are on the *Patent Rolls*.

to receive such as were willing into favour, and grant them letters patent of pardon. And that day, (Sunday, 4th June,) the King sent Lord Daubeny, the Lord Chamberlain, from Shene, to the army which had been collected in the midland counties for the Scotch war. Henry himself left Shene on the Monday, and sent away the Queen and Prince Harry to Crowborough. The King thus took measures at once for parleying with the rebels, and also for repressing them by force. He moved off with a few soldiers—probably only the Yeomen of the Guard—as Lord Bacon says of him on another occasion, making good his word, which was usual with him when he heard of rebels, that “*he desired but to see them!*” He went first into Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire. All that the people heard in London was, that he sent Lord Daubeny with his 8000 soldiers enrolled for the Scotch war, towards the Cornishmen. But during that week no tidings reached London, until the city was scared on Monday, the 12th June, with the news that the rebels were at Farnham, and was panic-struck at seeing the Queen and Prince Henry taking refuge that afternoon in the Tower. The Mayor and Sheriffs were stout of heart, and called out the City bands, and by Tuesday morning had constituted a general watch; whilst they were quieted by finding that Lord Daubeny was reported to be at Hounslow Heath, with eight or ten thousand spears, and the citizens sent out thither to their defenders wine and victuals.

But what had Lord Daubeny been doing in the meanwhile, and how came it that the King, whose forwardness to meet an enemy was proverbial, had left the rich southern counties at the mercy of the rebels? Was not Lord Daubeny himself a sympathiser with the movement? It is now clear that this was by no means confined to Cornwall or Cornishmen. The noble leader was supplied by Somerset, and all Somerset seems to have aided or comforted the insurgents. The King's chief friends in the county, Sir Hugh Luttrell of Dunster, Sir John Speke of

Whitelackington and John Sydenham of Brympton¹⁰ encouraged the rising. (These were three of the five gentlemen of Somerset whom Henry deputed, four years afterwards, to meet the Princess Catherine of Arragon at the borders of the county, and escort her through it.) Daubeny was a Somerset man, and may have had a fellow-feeling with his countrymen or with their object.

Certain it is that, in 1503, Thomas Flamank's brother, John Flamank, reported to the King Sir Richard Nanfan, the deputy of Calais, as saying, "My Lord Chamberlain was very slack in one journey, wherewith I know well that the King's grace was discontent; for and he had done his part well, the Cornishmen had never made the King feeld at Blackheath, but had all been destroyed long before their coming thither; that, I know well, the King's grace had leve had been done than 20,000 pounds for his honour."¹¹ The Venetian diarist, Sanuto, commenting on 19th July, 1497, on letters from England of the 13th June, writes: "I have heard that King Henry, on perceiving these assemblies, determined to oppose them, and ordered one of his captains to come to London against these men from the North, and was answered by him that he was of opinion that when they demanded [the dismissal of] those four [Cardinal Morton, Sir Reginal Bray, Bishop Fox, and Sir Thomas Lovel], they made a just demand, and did not think fit to come."¹² Was this captain Lord Daubeny?

The insurgents, at all events, considered Lord Daubeny as likely to befriend them. On the night of Thursday, the fifteenth, "was," as the city chronicler says, "secret meanes made unto my Lord Chamberlayne by dyvers of the Cornish men that it would please his Lordship to be a meane unto the King's grace that the sayd Commons of Cornwall might have for theym a general pardon and they would of a suretie bring into my Lord Cham-

(10). John Sydenham of Brympton married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Audley, Kt. Hugh Luttrell was a cousin of Lord Audley, and brother-in-law of Lord Daubeny.

(11). *Letters Rd. III, Hen. VII*, vol. i, p. 231.

(12). *Calendar of Venetian Papers*, p. 256.

bleyn the Lord Audeley and the other hede Capetayne the Smyth.”¹³ And in the fight at Blackheath, Lord Daubeny being taken prisoner by the rebels, was allowed by them to remain at liberty.

The battle was fought on Saturday, the 17th June, when the rebels were put to the rout in three hours. They fought well, but the De Veres and the Bouchiers, the De la Poles and the Stanleys, were too much for them. The fight being over, and the insurgents utterly defeated by the discipline and chivalry of the King’s forces, the King at once determined to deal most leniently with them.

On the 20th of June, three days after the fight, and on the 28th, writs were sent out to the Sheriffs of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Gloucester, Dorset, Wilts, Hampshire, and Surrey, to make proclamation for the pardon, on their submission to the King’s mercy, of all offenders in the insurrection which was subdued at Blackheath. But the King executed the chief captains, Lord Audley and Flamank, and Michael Joseph, the smith, upon their conviction on trial before Commissioners to execute the office of Constable and Marshall of England.¹⁴

The war with Scotland was no pretence to accumulate treasure, for on Midsummer Day the King ordered the sheriffs of the counties, not only of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, but also of Nottinghamshire, Derby, and Lincoln, to make proclamation that all between 16 and 60 should prepare to serve the King at an hour’s warning, against the Scots.

Lenity to his own subjects, and a determination to put an end to the spoil and havock of the Scots, are shown by his issuing on the 28th June, the second commission; on the 30th the Queen, with her own hands, garnished the King’s helmet, as he was himself to take the field, and on 1st July he sent £12,000 north for the war. Henry’s lenity to the Cornishmen was mistaken for weakness—a weakness such as the Governments of Henry VI

(13). MS. Cott. Vit., A. xvi.

(14). *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, $\frac{4}{M}$; 24 and 5 July, 1497.

and Edward IV had shown to the popular risings in their reigns ; when, in different parts of the kingdom, men became a law unto themselves, and resisted not only the demands of the Crown, but of their landlords or local rulers.

The Wars of the Roses did not so much harass and impoverish the people as demoralize them ; they thought no government was permanent, and they did what was right in their own eyes ; the period of these wars was an uninterrupted period of most fruitful years,¹⁵ and the small holders of land increased in comfort, opulence, and strength. The kingdom was fast relaxing into a state of division, the state of the Heptarchy was reviving, and north and south, east and west had no strong government to keep them welded and bound together.

The Cornishmen, who returned from Blackheath unmolested as they had advanced, told their neighbours that the King had not hanged them because all England was of the same mind with them.

The King, on the 1st July, returned to Shene, and whilst on the 5th of July he was penning instructions to Bishop Fox on terms of peace with Scotland, and insisting upon Perkin Warbeck not being retained at the Scottish Court, that parting guest was being civilly passed to Ayr by the officious directions of King James, to take the sea in the ship Cuckoo.

Perkin reached Cork on the 26th July. On the 28th Henry left Shene for the North ; he first went, on the 29th July, to Notley Abbey, and then straight to Woodstock. The Earl of Surrey had a strong force in Yorkshire.

Suddenly, on the morning of the 5th August, the King at Woodstock hears from the loyal Corporation of Waterford that Perkin was at Cork, and that he intended to sail thence to Cornwall.¹⁶ The King on the 6th August wrote from Westminster to thank the Corporation of Waterford for their intelligence. They had bravely defended their maiden city with

(15). Thorold Rogers on *Prices*, vol. i. p. 10, and elsewhere.

(16). Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p. 33.

cannon on the Dane's Tower, against the adventurer's attack, two years before.

Although the Scottish King burst across the border with all his forces, Henry did not turn aside from the storm gathering in the West. Bishop Fox so stoutly repelled the Scotch attack on his Castle of Norham that James fled back to his own kingdom before Lord Surrey arrived, and, by the 15th of August, Surrey's force had beleaguered the Scotch Castle of Ayton. Meanwhile Henry's personal equipment was being completed, the royal sword then garnished for the Scottish war was eventually destined as a reward to the good city of Exeter for their gallant defence against Perkin.

From the West came now to the Royal presence the man who first planted the Cross of St. George on American soil. John Cabot, of Bristol, had been encouraged by the King to make out the western route to India, and had returned with the products of the Island, thenceforth and always called the Newfoundland. He now arrived to report his discovery to Henry, who welcomed him liberally on the 10th of August. On the 17th August the Court was again at Woodstock, and the retreat of James being known in the city, it was thought that the King would stay at Woodstock till Michaelmas.

Henry kept the movements of Perkin to himself, but he prepared for the threatened landing in Cornwall: on the 30th August, he sent £500 to his Commissioners in the West; on the 10th September he sent Empson to Exeter with £666 13s. 4d.

Perkin landed at Whitsand Bay in Cornwall on the 7th of September, and the news reached Woodstock on the 12th; on that day the King wrote to Sir Gilbert Talbot, who had so befriended him at Bosworth Field, to come to him on the 24th with six score tall men on horseback and no more.¹⁷ The King probably summoned all his military tenants to meet him on the same muster day, the 24th September, at Woodstock.

Perkin attacked Exeter on the 17th September (Sunday), and

(17). Ellis' *Original Letters*, vol. i. p. —

was at once met with a vigorous defence, not only on the part of the citizens, but from the Earl of Devon and the gentry of the county, assisted by Sir John Sapcotes, whom, as we have seen, the King had sent down on his first hearing of the Cornish insurrection to pacify the malcontents.

In the city of Exeter when Perkin attacked it, were, Henry writes to Sir Gilbert, the Earl of Devon, Sir William Courtenay, Sir John Sapcotes, Sir Piers Edgecombe, Sir John Crocker, Sir Walter Courtney, Sir Humphrey Fulford, with many other noblemen both of the King's counties of Devonshire and Cornwall.

Perkin attacked the city again on the morning of the 18th but failed, and he and his men went off about eleven o'clock, and by twelve were out of sight. To announce this, and that they had reached Collumpton, the Earl of Devon instantly sent off a letter to the King at Woodstock, who received it on Wednesday, 20th September.

The King in his letter of that day, dated at his Manor of Woodstock, to Oliver King, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, says, "The Perkin and his company, if they come forward, shall find before them our Chamberleyn,¹⁸ our Steward of Household,¹⁹ the Lord St. Maurice, Sir John Cheney, and the noblemen of South Wales and of our counties of Gloster, Wiltshire, Hamshire, Somerset, and Dorset, and at their backe the garrison of our tried City of Excester, and we with our Hoast Royale shall not be farre, with the mercy of our Lord, for the final conclusion of the matter."

On the same day the King sent £500 to Sir John Cheney for the pay of the soldiers under him, and sent down four men to be set as posts to pass the news. On the 22nd September, Henry sent to Lord Daubeny another £666 13s. 4d.

The Castle of Taunton, it would appear, was at this time under repair: the Gateway to the Inner Court of the Castle had been just built by Langton, the Bishop of Winchester; his

(18). Lord Daubeny.

(19). Lord Willoughby de Broke.

arms on it bear the date 1495, and his alterations were not completed in 1497, as over the East Gate his arms bear the date 1498.

Perkin Warbeck is said to have mustered his men at Taunton on the 20th;²⁰ he probably reached it on the 19th, and remained there until the 21st. Then he heard that the Lords Daubeny and Lord Willoughby de Broke, and Sir John Cheney, with the King's troops had arrived at Glastonbury Abbey.²¹

Taunton Castle was not then defensible, and Taunton was not a walled town; so Warbeck abandoned his followers and rode off at midnight on the 21st; and on the 23rd the news came to Woodstock that Perkin had fled from the town of Taunton and from his company on that night of Thursday, the 21st, and took, as the King expressed it, no leave nor licence of them. The posts stationed by the King did their work well for they passed the news on from Taunton to Woodstock in less than 48 hours.

The Bishop of Bath and Wells was now with the King and he wrote the news to the Bishop of Carlisle in Yorkshire, who received it in another 48 hours at Knaresborough, and sent the intelligence on to the leaders of the King's army in the North.

Whither Perkin had gone they knew not; he, poor wretch, again fearing a fight, as he had done at Ellamkirk and Tenterden, rode for his life to the New Forest from Taunton to Ilchester, through the Moors, then over the Sherborne heights into the Forest of Blackmoor, and through it to Cranborne Chase; he must have passed within a mile or two of the spot in the Chase where nearly two hundred years after another Pretender flying from Taunton Vale was found skulking in a ditch with a few peas in his pocket. But the Duke of Monmouth had fought his battle, and the royal blood which flowed in his veins would not let him fly like Perkin at the sound of the clash of swords.²²

Perkin, more favoured, reached in safety the sanctuary of

(20). Hall's *Chronicle*, 1084.

(21). Letter of Henry VII, in Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p. 35.

(22). Monmouth's Oak still marks the spot where that unfortunate Pretender ended his flight.

Beaulieu Abbey the next day (Friday, the 22nd September). John Heron, Richard Skelton, and John Astley, were with him, and registered themselves as persons privileged. Beaulieu Abbey was well known to his Cornish followers, as it had a cell in Cornwall.

The muster of the military tenants of the King took place at Woodstock on the 24th September. On the 25th came to the King at Woodstock "a man from Perkin;" a messenger, probably, sent by him from his sanctuary at Beaulieu, to offer, we presume, terms of surrender.²³

Henry now moved on towards the West, knowing that the second rebellion of 1497 was over, but knowing also that the embers of discontent still flickered there. He marched from Woodstock, on the 26th, to Burford; on the 27th, from Burford to Cirencester, and the next day to Malmesbury. On the 29th September, 1497, King Henry VII entered Somersetshire, and arrived at Bath, twenty-two miles from Malmesbury. By this time he had with him a large body of troops—the town clerk of Wells put them down at ten thousand men. Oliver King, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, was with him.²⁴

The eighteen miles from Bath to Wells were performed by the King early enough for him to be received in state by the Mayor (Nicholas Trappe) and Corporation there, just after they had received their new Bishop for the first time since his appointment two years before.

On Saturday, must have arrived at Wells, (if not at Bath,) the news that Perkin had given himself up to the King's officers at Beaulieu. The good news was immediately sent on by the King from Somerset to the Lord Mayor of London. The faithful contemporary chronicler says, "Upon the Sunday next

(23). Wilks, in his *History of Hampshire*, says: "The neighbourhood of Beaulieu often involved the Southampton men in question of sanctuary. They took prisoner Perkin Warbeck, who had sought sanctuary at the Abbey, for which good service the King gave them £40."

(24). Extract from Wells Municipal Records, *Proc. Som. Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xii., 11—37.

following came certain tidings from the King unto the Mayor of the taking of the said Perkin within the sanctuary of Bewley aforesaid, whereupon the Mayor with his brethren assembled went forthwith about x of the clock in the morning into Paul's, and there caused *Te Deum* to be solemnly sung, which was the first day of October." That Sunday the King spent as a day of rest at Wells. He had the day before given £500 of the money of that time to his soldiers.

Sunday, the 1st of October, as we have said, the King remained at Wells; and doubtless there rose from the Cathedral choir, in unison with that of St. Paul's in London, the thankful anthem of *Te Deum*, the King himself assisting; the Vicars Choral coming by the new steps from the beautiful Vicar's Close, which Beckington's executors, executing faithfully the last will of the pious founder, had just raised.

Tradition says Henry VII stayed at the Deanery with Dean Gunthorpe, who had rebuilt a considerable part of the stately building now standing; for, it seems that, the Palace of the Bishop was, if not in a state of dilapidation, at least, unfurnished. Oliver King, the present Bishop, had been principal Secretary of State when Archdeacon of Taunton, but since his appointment as Bishop, had never visited Wells. Fox, his predecessor from 1491, was Lord Privy Seal, and had hardly quitted the King's side since that supreme moment at Bosworth Field, when Henry knelt down on the Red Moor, all being over, and thanked God for the victory, and Fox sung mass, before the flushed and conquering host. And Stillington, whose crafty plot for entrapping Henry, then Earl of Richmond, at St. Malo, had failed, found no place in his episcopal Palace of Wells for refuge from the stern but tempered judgment of his intended victim, which consigned him to the gentle imprisonment of a pleasant tower in Windsor Castle, from 1485 to 1491. So it may well be that the Palace of Wells was not furnished for the Royal guest.

The King gave a reward here to a guide from Bath; but this guide must have been for the bye-roads, by which his thousands of

men were obliged to pass, and not for the main road from Bath to Wells, a road which was as well known then as now, and was undoubtedly, before the dissolution of monasteries, like all other roads, kept up better than after their destruction. It was not till the reign of Henry VIII that it was necessary to pass the Statute of Bridges.

The next day the Royal host moved to Glastonbury, where they would join the division of the army led by Lord Daubeny. Glastonbury Abbey was then in all its glory, for Bere was its Abbot. None filled more efficiently that lofty and responsible station. He kept up the abbatial buildings to their height of magnificence, and yet could condescend to order well the lowly Spittal of St. Margaret at Taunton.²⁵ Nothing was too great for him to accomplish, or too humble for him to care for; and to Henry VII—always the patron and associate of learned men—Bere's welcome must have been grateful, for Bere was ever devoted to learning; and even Erasmus, who this very month was visiting Oxford for the first time, submitted his works to the criticism of the Abbot of Glastonbury.

The King occupied, we presume, the new lodgings by the great chamber, built by Bere, and thenceforth these apartments bore the name of the King's Lodging—the name given, as Leland tells us, to Abbot Bere's buildings.

Tuesday the King moved his Court to Bridgwater; the Royal Castle there was a place of great strength, of which Lord Daubeny was afterwards made constable²⁶; and on Wednesday, the 4th Oct., he arrived at Taunton—then, as in Clarendon's time, and now, "the fairest, largest, and richest town in Somersetshire."

The route thus taken was the line traversed by William of Worcester in 1471, from Bristol to the West: he rode by Bath to Wells, and thence to Glastonbury; but his horse must have been a quick one, as he reckons it only nine miles from Glastonbury to Bridgwater, and seven from Bridgwater to Taunton.

(25). See *Proc. Som. Arc. and Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xviii. p. 100.

(26). Lord Daubeny's son was created Earl of Bridgwater.

Taunton, on the flight of Perkin, was left in the hands of his followers, who were said to have been between five and six thousand when he raised the siege of Exeter; and before the King's forces, or their own fears, could disperse them,—if reports are to be relied on—here was enacted a terrible tragedy of popular fury, which I give in the city chronicler's own words.²⁷ “And on this while one James, a robber, which had gathered in his Company to the number of 6 or 700 rebels, seeking the foresaid Perkin to have assisted him, met with the Provost of Penrhyn and brought him unto Taunton aforesaid, and there, in the market place, slew him piteously, in such wise that he was dismembered, and cut in many and sundry pieces. The cause, as it was said, was for that he was one of the occasions of the rebelling of the Cornishmen: for he was one of the commissioners in that county, and gathered, they said, more money than came into the King's use. But whatsoever the cause was, foully and piteously was he murdered; upon whose soul, and all Christians, Jesu have mercy. Amen.”

We fear it was too possible. Lord Daubeny sent, it seems, some horse after Perkin Warbeck, on his flight from Taunton, but probably waited at Glastonbury for the King's arrival, if he did not meet him at Wells.

The Castle of Taunton not being then habitable, it is probable that the King was received by John Prowse the Prior, at the Priory. Prowse's standing or wealth had procured him, from Pope Alexander VI, the dignity of conferring orders, and the privilege of giving his blessing with two fingers; which he recorded by the image of a prior in this attitude of benediction, carved on the quoin-stone of the Prior's Chapel at Ruishton; but he would be hardly able amply to fill the duties of a Host to royalty.

At Taunton, on the next day, the 5th of October, Perkin was brought with John Heron, his chief councillor, a prisoner to the King's Court.

(27). MS. Cott., Vit. A., xvi., p. 113.

And now Henry's troubles about this image of a Prince were over, and he naturally felt at ease and indulged at the Augustine Priory of Taunton, in the royal diversion of playing cards.²⁸ He was not so successful in play as in earnest, and he had that night to pay for his losses some £93 of our money.

Perkin was admitted into the Royal Presence. The King's presence was maintained everywhere with dignity. Some few weeks before he received with ceremony, even at Woodstock, the Venetian Ambassador, who thus describes the reception:—

"I was admitted to the Presence in a small hall, hung with very handsome tapestry, the King leaning against a tall gilt chair. His Majesty wore a violet coloured gown, lined with cloth of gold, and a collar of magnificent jewels, and on his cap was a large diamond and most beautiful pearl. Throughout my speech the King remained standing."²⁹

To be received into the presence of Henry was to be safe; not like the brutal James II, who let Monmouth kneel to him for mercy and then sent him to Tower Hill, but, like a King, Henry assured the Pretender of his life and ordered him to follow in his train.³⁰ The next day, the 6th October, 1497, King Henry left Taunton and Somersetshire.

We have in the Wardrobe Accounts in the Record Office the King's expenses for the five days; Sunday at Wells, Monday at Glastonbury; Tuesday at Bridgwater, and Wednesday and Thursday at Taunton.

At Wells, from the entries of the Butler, it would seem the

(28). We have among the entries of his expenses: "1496. May 24. To the King's grace to play at the cardes, in gold £20, in grots 100s., in grots £19, and in grots 60s."

(29). *Cal. Venetian Papers*, I. p. 263. The Ambassador was Andrea Trevisan, whose *Relation of the Island of England*, so admirably edited and translated by Miss Sneyd, forms the 34th (1847) vol. of the Camden Society's publications.

(30). Here, at Taunton, Perkin seems to have made his famous Confession. Henry in his letter to the Mayor of Waterford, twelve days after, says: "And so the said Perkin came unto us to the town of Taunton from whence he fled; and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us, hath of his free will openly showed, &c." See Letter in Appendix.

King only got rooms at the Deanery, whilst the royal household provided entertainment for man and horse. At Glastonbury the princely Abbot appears to have received the King right royally. At Bridgwater Henry was in his own Castle. At Taunton, as at Wells, the Butler's charges rise to a large amount, and it is probable that John Prowse's resources were hardly equal to keep up the state and open house which the Royal Presence required.

Throughout even this progress, doubtless, as at Woodstock and Shene in the spring, Henry continued during the din of warlike movement his habitual cultivation of the arts of peace. No King of England ever exceeded him in the stateliness of his buildings, the care of the Royal Gardens, or the splendour of the Crown jewels; all these things had been neglected by his immediate predecessors, but during the months of March and April and May, 1497, we have again and again entries among his household expenses of large sums for the buildings at the Manor House of Woodstock, the Hall of King's Langley and the Priory of Shene, of grafts from foreign parts of the choicest sorts of table fruit for his gardens, of the purchase of diamonds and jewels; coupled as all such entries are with every assistance his affection could give his Queen to keep up the honour of the royal apparel, and with constant gratuities to those coming to his Court, whether ambassadors from Denmark or from Spain, old friends to him in exile or the discoverers of a New World. None who could claim from his royal bounty, either reward for distinguished learning,³¹ skill in art, music or song, or assistance in distress, ever went empty away.³²

The King rested at Tiverton and then next day went on to Exeter, where he stayed three weeks. He pardoned most of

(31). Aubrey, *History of Surrey*, vol. v., appen., quotes from a French author: "Je trouve dans l' Itineraire de France, de Loise Sincer Allemand que Henry VII Roy d' Angleterre avoit temoigné l' affection qu'il avoit pur les lettres, en l' Etablissement d' une Royale Bibliotheque qu'il institua a RICHMONT."

(32). Ex. Hist. p. 111.

Perkin's adherents, who came before him in crowds in the Cathedral Yard, with halters around their necks. He gave the Mayor the sword he wore by his side; he received with princely courtesy the Lady Elizabeth Gordon, the Pretender's wife—the White Rose of Scotland. He sent her to Shene to his Queen, and leaving Exeter on All Saints' Day he passed slowly by Newnham Abbey and Bridport to Salisbury, London, and Shene.³³

Returned to his Court he took no hasty steps to deal with the disaffected spirit that had been revealed.

He first asserted the authority of the Central Government by insisting on the payment of the whole subsidy and fifteenths, though he postponed the receipt of the second half until March, 1498. By the autumn of 1498 it was all collected, and on the 13th September, 1498, he issued a commission to Thomas Harrys (one of his chaplains), William Hattecliffe, and Roger Holland, to deal with those implicated in the two movements in Cornwall and Devon.

The Devonshire accounts are in the Record Office, and the County was treated with great lenity; no gentleman was separately fined, no monastic house—each parish implicated paid by the parson or a principal landowner a small lump sum for all the inhabitants. Among the persons paying for their parishes are, Halnacker of Uford, Walrond of Bradfield, Courtenay of Kenne, and Raleigh of Southwerke; and the whole County did not pay more than about £500.

Apparently about the same time the King issued the commission to Robert Shirborn, (then Archdeacon of Taunton), Sir Thomas Darcy, and William Hattecliffe (to Shirborn Sir Amias Paulet was afterwards joined), to deal with those who had in Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, and Hants, been guilty of contempt "in favouring and assisting a certain rebel, Michael Joseph, or his adherent James (late Lord) Audley, and a certain Image

(33). The Account given in the *Excerpta Historica*, that he stayed for nearly a week at Newnham Abbey is not confirmed by the Wardrobe Accounts.

or Form [*idolo sive simulacro*], Peter Warbeck, a Fleming born."

The account of the fines received, indorsed in the King's own hand, is in the British Museum.³⁴

John, Abbot of St. Saviour's, Athelney, was fined	£ 66	13	4
Henry, Abbot of St. Mary of Clyff	40	0	0
William, Abbot of St. Mary, Forde	60	0	0
William, Abbot of St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Andrew, Muchelney	60	0	0
Sir John Speke, K.B., of Whitelackington ..	200	0	0
Sir Hugh Luttrell, of Dunster	200	0	0
Thomas Champneys, of Frome	61	13	4
John Sydenham, of Brympton	33	6	8
The Borough of Taunton	441	6	8
Hundred of Taunton Deane	250	0	0

The Accounts of the Borough and Hundred of Taunton are added to this paper.

Beyond Taunton Perkin Warbeck never advanced, except in his hasty flight, but the parts of the County of Somerset beyond Taunton were fined several thousand pounds, and this must have been for their—to use the language of the witnesses before the Commissioners—aiding and comforting the Cornishmen.³⁵

Borough of Bridgwater	£ 66
Hundred of North Petherton	505
Hundred of Glastonbury	428
Hundred of Kingsbury	426
Wells	321 ³⁶

The whole received, according to this account, from the four counties mentioned in the Commission was £8,810, of which nearly £8,000 was from Somerset alone.³⁷

In October, 1498, some bonds were taken for good behaviour

(34). R. R. 14, B. vii.

(35). Complaints of extortion before the Commissioner in Purbeck. Letters Rich. III. and Hen. VII., vol. ii. p. 75.

(36). The Wells account shows that Nicholas Trappe, the apparently loyal Mayor, is fined.

(37). Id., p. 337.

from persons in various counties who were not fined. Among them is one from William Heron of Ford Castle in Northumberland. In Somerset are such bonds from Thomas Malet of Enmore, gentleman; Alexander Pym of Cannington, gentleman; and John St. Abyn of Cannington, Esquire.³⁸

The parochial clergy were amongst the offenders. The Venetian diarist tells us: "These disturbances arose because the King laid a tax of tenths upon the priests, contrary to the custom."³⁹

The parochial clergy fined according to the first roll are the Vicar of North Petherton, the Vicar of Ashill, 24s. each; the Chaplain of Currylode, £4; the Chaplain of Thurlbere, £10; the Rector of Gotehurst, £10.

The King renewed his Commission for enquiry in Somerset, Dorset, Wilts, and Southampton, on the 6th Aug., 1530, and made Shirborn and Sir Amias Paulet Commissioners.

These Commissioners extended their enquiries into Dorset, Wilts, and Hants. Somerset is not extensively visited. The lists of contemnors extends to the inhabitants of Alton. The parochial clergy of Somerset are again implicated; the Rector of S̄ynton, Vicar of Shapwyke, Rector of Norton-sub-Hambdon, Rector of Chesylburgh, Vicar of Lyng, and Vicar of Wellington, are fined xx shillings each.

The fines were imposed with a tempered judgment, and levied with mild discretion: they were payable by three instalments; the first was due on Easter, 1501, and the money was not all paid till March, 1506.

They were being collected when Catherine of Arragon was being received in her progress through the West to her marriage in October, 1501.

The King dealt generously with those who had forborne to render him quick service, or from a mistaken feeling had allowed

(38). By three bonds, each of these three is made surety for the others; their signatures are: "Thomas Malett, Alex. Pym, John Seynt Abyn." The documents are in the Record Office; Miscell. $\frac{916}{14}$

(39). *Calendar of Venetian Documents*, U.S.

local prejudices to sway them. And by his gracious dealing he won the hearts, and by his encouraging example he raised the best aspirations, of the great men and great ecclesiastics.

Sir Hugh Luttrell strongly supported that provision for the holy ceremonies in Dunster Church, which is found in the agreement of 1499 between the Dunster Monks and the parishioners, to which his beautiful seal is attached.

The corn now waves where Athelney Abbey stood, but the late Perpendicular style in the Abbey of St. Mary Clevee, and in that of St. Peter and St. Paul at Muchelney tell us now how the pious King made our Abbots emulate him in magnificence. Notwithstanding his being amerced, John Sydenham of Brympton, placed the Royal arms⁴⁰ over that western front which is the glory of Brympton, and here in Taunton, it may be that the splendid tower of St. Mary Magdalene owes some of its magnificence to the man whose wealth, and perhaps zeal for his own town and county, made him the most heavily weighted of the contributories.⁴¹

Nor was this judicious treatment without its fruits in Somerset.⁴² The spirit of freedom, ill directed to break up the

(40). The arms are the Royal arms, but the supporters are two lions.

(41). Those who passed, in 1502, under the tower into the Church of St. Mary Magdalene were asked, by a plain inscribed stone, to pray for the soul of John Toose of Taunton, merchant, who died in April of that year; and throughout the roll of those fined, as Esquires, and Gentlemen, and Burgesses, John Toose stands highest, and was charged £100.

(42). Henry VII was at Bristol and Bath in 1496, and the good effect of his visit upon the people of Bristol is shown by the following extract:—Seyer's *Bristol*, vol. 2, p. 208; from MS. Calendar: "In the summer of 1497, the Cornish rebels, under their Captains, Flamanck a lawyer, a blacksmith, and others, being at Wells, and there being joined by the Lord Audley, sent to Bristow to the Maior to billet 2,000 men; which he not only denyed, but forbade them, at their peril, to approach the towne. This message was so ill taken, that the rebels intended revenge, but such provision was made to entertain them that they desisted. The Gates were fortified, and such shippes as were of force were brought up to the Marsh. The whole strength of the town was in readiness; for which they received greate commendation of the King." *Itinerary* of the King's Western Progress. 1496. June 25, at Chertsey; 26, at Guildford. July 2, at Farneham; 3, at Alford; 5, at Waltham; 10, at Porchester; 14, at Hampton; 20, at Biewleys; 21, at Wight; 23, at Biewley; 25, at Christ Church; 26, at Poole; 27, at Corf. August 5, at Salisbury; 10, at Heytesbury; 11, at Broke; 12, at Bathe (to the boys at the Bathe, 6s. 8d.); 13, at Bristol; 19, at Acton; 21, at Malmesbury; 25, at Cicester (to a priest that wrestled at Cicester, 6s. 8d.); 30, at Wodestock."

growing unity of England, was diverted to an attachment to popular principles, which did not leave themselves without a witness in this our county in later times.

The Houses of Lancaster and Tudor owed their thrones to these principles. Later Tudors indeed knew not the rock whence they were hewed, and a Stuart could find no place among the sixteen royal banners which preceded the body of Elizabeth on its progress to her Grandfather's Chapel for one single quartering of the great House of Lancaster; but those principles were not forgotten by the men of Somerset, and the Stuarts, whether James I or Charles I, found no more sturdy opponents than here. Monmouth's defeat on our Sedgmoor but prepared the way for the bloodless victory of William of Orange; and when he rode through Somerset on his noble white charger, clothed with a cloak of England's scarlet,⁴³ no county on his triumphant progress more loudly gave a welcome to the great deliverer.

Onus omnium et singlorm finium p Recognicoem captam coram Magro Roberto Shirborn, &c., Thomas Darcy, &c., et Willo Hatteclyff, &c., Commissionariis, &c.⁴⁴

1. De Johanne Abbate Sancte Salvatoris de Athelney	c marc.
De Henrico Abbate Monasterij Beate Marie de Clyff	xli
De Willielmo Abbate Monasterij Beate Marie de fforde	lxii
De Will'mo Abbate Monasterii Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli atque Andree de Michelney	lxii
De Joh'ne Speke de Whitlakynton Milite ..	ccii

Nominum predictorum vera summa.

ccccxxvj^{li} xiijs^{iiij^d}

Ro Shirbo'n

Tho^{as} Darcy kt.

Will'ms Hatteclyff

(43). Oral tradition, through two persons, speaks of William the Third riding down Middle Street, Yeovil, on his way to London, clothed with a red cloak, on a white horse.

(44). British Museum, Rol. Reg., 14, B. vii.

2. BURGESS DE TAUNTON.

De Will'mo Nitheway de Taunton	..	..	xx ^{li}
„ Will'mo Boldey de eadem	..	..	x ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Capper	..	..	xx ^s
„ Rob'to Marshall alias Sporier	..	..	xx ^s
„ Will'mo Carvanell	..	..	lx ^s
„ Ric'o Best	..	..	xxiiiij ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Gebon'	..	..	xl ^s
„ Laurenc' Adamps	..	..	x m ^a rc.
„ Joh'ne Tose	..	..	c ^{li}
„ Rob'to Applyn	..	..	xx ^s
„ Thoma ffisher	..	..	xx m ^a rc.
„ Joh'ne Lokier	..	..	xx ^s
„ Rob'to Roper	..	..	xx m ^a rc.
„ Henrico Scose	..	..	xx ^s
„ Henrico Captyn'	..	..	vj ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Awode	..	..	xx ^s
„ Ric'o Lose	..	..	xl ^s
„ Will'mo Lose Drap'	..	..	xl ^s
„ Ric'o Smyth'	..	..	c ^s
„ Joh'ne Eston'	..	..	x m ^a rc.
„ Petro Corveser	..	..	xl ^s
„ Joh'ne Togwill	..	..	x ^{li}
„ Alexandro Neuton'	..	..	xl ^{li}
„ Henrico Bonvile	..	..	vj ^{li}
„ Will'mo Peire	..	..	xx ^s
„ Thoma ffox	..	..	iiij ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Swenge	..	..	xx ^s
„ Joh'ne Magette	..	..	iiij ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Crudwill	..	..	iiij ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Netheway	..	..	iiij ^{li}
„ Joh'ne Pope	..	..	vj ^{li}
„ Thoma Lath ^a m	..	..	xx ^s
„ Henrico Bowyer	..	..	lx ^s
„ Joh'ne Bowyer	..	..	xv ^{li}

De Joh'ne Atwey	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Joh'ne Bide	..	..	..	xxjv viij ^d
„ Will'mo Baile	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Joh'ne Huett	..	..	..	lx ^s
„ Joh'ne Patyn'	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Will'mo Wilkyns	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Will'mo Mors	..	..	..	lx ^s
„ Joh'ne Houper	..	..	..	xl ^s
„ Joh'ne Drever	..	..	..	lx ^s
„ Joh'ne Awode	..	..	..	xx ^a
„ Walt'o Sarger	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Edwardo Golstone	..	..	..	xl ^s
„ Joh'ne Lentall	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Ric'o Ley	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Thoma Edward'	..	..	..	xx ^s
„ Dn'a Anna Burton' vovente castitatem	..	..	..	xl ^{li}
ccccxlj ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d				

Ro: Shirborn

Tho^{as} Darcy kt.

Will'ms Hatteclyff

HUNDREDUM DE HOLWEY.⁴⁵

3. DECENNA EXTRA PORTAM DE TAUNTON IN PAROCHIA B'TE MARIE MAGDALENE.

De Johne Dier	..	..	..	xx ^{li}
„ Johne Odam	..	..	..	xx ^{li}
„ Johne Miller	iiij ^{li}

4. DECENNA DE HOLWEY.

5. DECENNA DE RISDON'.

De Willmo Seger	iiij ^{li}
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6. DECENNA DE HENLADE.

7. DECENNA DE STOKE.

8. DECENNA DE OTTERFORD'.

De Roberto Trykey	iiij ^{li}
„ Thomas Grigge	..	..	..	vj ^{li}

(45). Only the names of those fined in this Hundred in pounds are given.

9. DECENNA DE GALMYNGTON'.

De Waltero Pyers viij^{li}

10. DECENNA DE WODLOND'.

De Robto Smyth iiij^{li}

11. DECENNA DE SHIPLEY.

12. DECENNA DE FFIDDOKE.

HUNDR'M DE POUNDES FORD'.

13. DECENNA DE SOUTHFULFORD'.

14. DECENNA DE LIGH'.

15. DECENNA DE BLAKDON'.

16. DECENNA DE PITMYNST'R.

17. DECENNA DE SOUTHTRENDELL.

18. DECENNA DE DUDLESTON'.

19. DECENNA DE CORFF.

HUNDR'M DE HILLE.

20. DECENNA DE HILLE.

APPENDIX.

*Henry VII to the Mayor and Citizens [of Waterford], and others.*⁴⁶

“Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas Perkin Warbeck, lately accompanied with divers and many our rebels of Cornwall, advanced themselves to our city of Exeter, which was denied unto them, and so they came to the town of Taunton, at which town, as soon as they had knowledge that our Chamberlain, our Steward of Household, Sir John Chynie,

(46). Sir F. Madden, in his article on Perkin Warbeck (*Archæolog.*, vol. xxvii, p. 187, *a*), says, with reference to *Ryland's History of Waterford*, “It is to be regretted that the Canon's letters in this local work are given in so unsatisfactory a form, both to the antiquary and historian. The compiler of the book does not even think it worth his while to inform his readers where the originals are deposited, but I presume they exist in the archives of the city of Waterford.” In point of fact, they are in the Lambeth Palace Library, MSS. 652, f. 651, and are printed at length by Mr. Hallewell, in his *Letters of the Kings of England*, vol. i, p. 175. Mr. Hallewell, on his part, making no reference to Sir F. Madden's article in the *Archæologia*, or to *Ryland's History of Waterford*.

and other our loving subjects with them, were come so far forth towards the said Perkin as to our Monastery of Glastonbury, the said Perkin took with him John Heron, Edward Skelton, and Nicholas Ashley, and stole away from his said company about midnight, and fled with all the haste they could make. We had well provided beforehand for the sea coasts, that if he had attempted that way (as he thought, indeed, to have done) he should have been put from his purpose, as it came to pass. For when they perceived they might not get to the sea, and that they were had in a quick chase and pursuit, they were compelled to address themselves unto our Monastery of Beaulieu, to the which, of chance and fortune, it happened some of our menial servants to repair, and some we sent thither purposely. The said Perkin, Heron, Skelton, and Ashley, seeing our said servants there, and remembering that all the country was warned to make watch, and to give attendance, that they should not avoid or escape by sea, made instances to our said servants to sue unto us for them—the said Perkin designing to be sure of his life, and he would come unto us to show what he is, and, over that, do unto us such service as should content us ; and so, by agreement between our said servants and them, they encouraged them to depart from Beaulieu, and to put themselves in our grace and pity. The Abbot and Convent, hearing thereof, demanded of them why, and for what cause they would depart? Whereunto they gave answer, in the presence of the Abbot and Convent, and of many others, that, without any manner of constraint, they would come unto us, as of their free wills, in trust of our grace and pardon aforesaid. And so the said Perkin came in to us to the town of Taunton, from whence he fled, and immediately after his first coming, humbly submitting himself to us, both of his free will openly shewed, in the presence of all the Council here with us, and of other nobles, his name to be Pierce Osbeck, whence he hath been named Perkin Warbeck, and to be no Englishman born, but born of Tournay, and son to John Osbeck, sometime while he lived, Comptroller of the said town, with

many other circumstances too long to write, declaring by whose means he took upon him this presumption and folly, and so now the great abuse, which hath long continued, is now openly known by his own confession. We write these news unto you, for be undoubted, that calling to mind the great abuse that divers folks have been in by reason of the said Perkin, and the great business and charges that we and our realm have been put unto in that behalf, you would be glad to hear the certainty of the same, which we affirm unto you for assured truth. Sithever the writing these premises, we be ascertained that Perkin's wife is in good surety for us, and trust that she shall shortly come unto us, to this our city of Exeter, as she is in dole. Over this, we understand, by writing from the Right Rev. Father in God, the Bishop of Duresme, that a truce is taken between us and Scotland, and that it is concluded the King of Scots shall send unto us a great and solemn embassy, for a longer peace to be had during both our lives. And since our coming to this our city of Exeter, for the suppression of this great rebellion, and so to order the parties of Cornwall as the people may live in their due obedience unto us, and in good restfulness for themselves in time to come. The Commons of this shire of Devon come dayly before us, in great multitudes, in their shirts, the foremost of them having halters about their necks, and full humble, with lamentable cries for our grace and remission, submit themselves unto us. Whereupon, ordering first the chief stirrers and doers to be tried out of them, for to abide their corrections accordingly, we grant unto the residue generally our said grace and pardon; and our Commissioners, the Earl of Devon, our Chamberlain, and our Steward of Household, have done, and do dayly, likewise, in our county of Cornwall. Given under our signet, at our said city of Exeter, the 7th day of October."
