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ROGER MACHADO, PERKIN WARBECK AND HERALDIC ESPIONAGE

Gemma L. Watson

This article came out of research for an AHRC-funded Collaborative Doctoral Award at the University of Southampton and Southampton City Council Arts and Heritage from 2009 to 2013.¹ Roger Machado is best known as Richmond King of Arms for Henry VII and lived in Southampton from 1486 to 1487. He was of Portuguese heritage and fluent in several languages including French and Portuguese. He was also an accomplished diplomat being sent to some of the most influential European kingdoms of the day on embassy and as a messenger.² Before this project was undertaken, relatively little was known about Machado. He is the subject of two *Dictionary of National Biography* articles: the first by A. F. Pollard in 1893, and then more recently by Adrian Ailes in the *Oxford DNB*, originally published in 2004.³ Further short biographies can be found in Rev. Mark Noble's *A History of the College of Arms* and in the London Survey Committee monograph *The College of Arms*.⁴ Sir Anthony Wagner also commented on Machado's life several times in his works on the English heralds, *Heralds and Heraldry* and *Heralds of England*.⁵ Although all these biographies are invaluable sources for the life of Roger Machado, it is often difficult to distinguish between fact and hearsay. This is particularly a problem of Hugh Stanford London's biography of Machado in the *College of Arms* monograph where references to original sources are few and far between.⁶ All the biographies noted here are short, which is not surprising considering the vast gaps in the sources for Machado's life.

The project aimed to build upon this body of work and consider, in depth, Machado's relationship with the material world and what this can tell us about him

¹ Gemma L. Watson, 'Roger Machado: a life in objects'; Ph.D. thesis, University of Southampton.

² For example, Machado wrote journals of three of the embassies he attended to Brittany, Spain and Portugal from 1488-90: CA Ms Arundel 51 fos 69-88; James Gairdner (ed.) *Memorials of King Henry VII*, Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages Series, 10 (London 1858), pp. 328-89.

³ Original and revised versions online at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17527>.

⁴ Mark Noble, *A History of the College of Arms* (London 1805); Godfrey and Wagner, CA pp. 79-80.

⁵ A. R. Wagner, *Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages: an inquiry into the growth of the armorial function of Heralds* (London 1939); id., *Heralds of England: a history of the Office and College of Arms* (London 1967).

⁶ Godfrey and Wagner, loc. cit. One longer treatment is M. Jones, 'Les ambassades de Roger Machado', in 1491 *La Bretagne, Terre d'Europe*, edd. J. Kerhevé and T. Daniel (Brest 1992), pp. 147-60, which places Machado's embassies to Brittany in their historical context.

and the sphere in which he lived. This unique approach was possible because of the nature of the evidence we have for his life. His extant memorandum book is housed in the College of Arms, which includes within its pages sources pertaining to objects (most notably an inventory and mercantile accounts), and in addition to this, we have evidence for his life within the archaeological record since Machado's Southampton residence has been excavated and a rich corpus of material culture was uncovered.⁷

During this research, the present writer came across some documents relating to Machado's involvement with the diplomacy surrounding Perkin Warbeck, which also hinted at the possibility that Machado may have acted as a spy on occasion for Henry VII.⁸ This article, consequently, seeks to explore this possibility.

Medieval spying and the heralds

Medieval espionage has been the subject of some scholarly research.⁹ However this research has to confront an obvious difficulty: by their very nature, spies and spying are not easily discernible in the documentary record. The historian very rarely knows anything about the personalities and private circumstances of medieval spies.¹⁰ Governments were extremely reticent about referring to secret agents in their employ.¹¹ Terms are often vague in the documentary sources: *nuntius*, *vespilio*, *coureur* and *chevaucheur* could all refer to a spy; *espie* and *explorator* almost certainly did.¹² English accounting documents frequently contain references to payments made to messengers and other persons sent 'in negociis regis secretis', 'pour certaines busoignes qu nous touchent', or 'en noz secrees busoignes'. Some of these references may mean nothing other than diplomatic intercourse between states and that the secret business

⁷ CA Ms Arundel 51 fos 14-88; Southampton City Council, Collections Management Centre, SOU 124 (unpublished excavation records). For further information concerning this project, see Gemma L. Watson, 'Roger Machado: a life in objects', in *Writing the Lives of People and Things, AD 500-1700: a multi-disciplinary future for biography*, edd. R. F. W. Smith and Gemma L. Watson (Farnham, forthcoming); Gemma L. Watson, 'A herald and his objects in exile: Roger Machado and his Memorandum Book, 1484-5' in *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: from the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, edd. M. O'Doherty and F. Schmieder (Turnhout, forthcoming).

⁸ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fos. 18-28; Frederick Madden 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck, with remarks on his history', *Archaeologia* 27 (1838), pp. 153-210.

⁹ J. R. Alban and C. T. Allmand, 'Spies and spying in the Fourteenth Century', in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. C. T. Allmand (Liverpool 1976), pp. 73-101; Ian Arthurson, 'Espionage and intelligence from the Wars of the Roses to the Reformation', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 35 (1991), pp. 134-54; Christopher Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', in *Go Spy the Land: military intelligence in history*, edd. Keith Nielson and B. J. C. McKercher (Westport CT 1992), pp. 31-47; Michael Mallett, 'Diplomacy and war in later Fifteenth Century Italy', in *Art and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, ed. George Holmes (Oxford 1993), pp. 137-58; J. O. Prestwich, 'Military intelligence under the Norman and Angevin Kings', in *Law and Government in Medieval England and Normandy*, edd. George Garnett and John Hudson (Cambridge 1994), pp. 1-30.

¹⁰ Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', p. 38.

¹¹ Alban and Allmand, 'Spies and spying in the Fourteenth Century', p. 74.

¹² Alban and Allmand, loc. cit.; Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', p. 35.

referred to was perfectly innocent. The term *secret* could mean 'private', but in many cases it meant more than ordinary letter-carrying.¹³

There was a fine line between the messenger and the spy in the medieval mind, and sometimes they meant the same thing. It was the famous writer and diplomat of the late fifteenth century, Philippe de Commines, who claimed that the messenger, spy and diplomat were one in the same.¹⁴ In England and France, payments to spies were often listed amongst the expenditure on messengers. For instance, the Wardrobe Book of 44 Edward III records within a list of messengers' expenses, a payment of 110 marks to Frank de Hale, captain of Calais for expenses 'sur divers messages et autres espies ... as diverses parties pour espier et savoir la volente et les faitz des enemys de France'.¹⁵ In 1425 and 1426 Burgundian 'messengers' and 'cheauchiers' were sent to England and Holland to discover news of the English army.¹⁶ The ordinary messenger was also expected to be on the look-out for information when travelling abroad. For example, English messengers were dispatched to the French court at Paris in 1323-4 and sent back detailed information to Edward II on the movements of the French king and the state of current affairs in France.¹⁷ Messengers could also inform the king of any discoveries they made incidentally.¹⁸ Diplomats too came to be regarded as among the best spies because of their international immunity and the diplomatic courtesies extended to them. However, many were deeply suspicious of them because of these very reasons.¹⁹

The heralds were, as Alban and Allmand put it, 'messengers extraordinary', but they were supposed to abide by a strict code of conduct that prohibited them from spying.²⁰ At their creation, heralds would have had to take an oath similar to the following one:

Item ye shalbe servisable and secret in all poyntes, except treason, and obedience to all knyghth and gentillesse, to lorde and ladyes and to gentilmen and gentilwomen ... Item, yf cause fall that ye be in any place, that ye here any langaige between gentilman and gentilman, that shulde touche any stryfe or debate bytwene hem two, and afterward following that ye be sende for to come before our sovereyne, prynce, lord, or juge, to bere a witness of the forsaid langaige, ye shal kepe your mouth close, and bere no witeness withoute leve of both parties, and with their leve nor for drede, but ye shal say the trouth, and lette nother for love nor for drede, but ye shal say the trouth, so helpe you Godd and holydome.²¹

Heralds who betrayed the secrets and plans of their master's enemies were supposed to be punished by their master for having broken his trust, and the enemy was also to be informed and assured that no advantage would be taken from the information which had been obtained.²²

¹³ Alban and Allmand, pp. 74-5.

¹⁴ TNA: E 404/10/65.

¹⁵ Arthurson, 'Espionage and intelligence', p. 134.

¹⁶ Alban and Allmand, p. 75.

¹⁷ Alban and Allmand, loc. cit.

¹⁸ Alban and Allmand, p. 76.

¹⁹ Alban and Allmand, p. 77.

²⁰ Alban and Allmand, loc. cit.; Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', p. 34.

²¹ Travers Twiss (ed.), *Monumenta Juridica: The Black Book of the Admiralty* (Rolls Series 55: London 1871) vol. 1, pp. 297-9.

²² Alban and Allmand, p. 76.

In the fifteenth century, however, Anjou King of Arms and Sicily Herald both complained that heralds and pursuivants abused their international immunity by spying for their masters.²³ In 1480, one English herald, who had been sent on a mission to France, gave information to Etienne Fryon, a Burgundian mole in the English court, suggesting that this particular herald did not feel bound to keep information he learned a secret.²⁴ The heralds would pick up useful information and intelligence whilst performing their duties, which may have tested their loyalty to the office of arms and its codes. I argue below that Machado may have been one of these heraldic spies, on the evidence of his involvement in the diplomacy and espionage concerning the fifteenth-century pretender to the English throne, Perkin Warbeck.

Machado and Perkin Warbeck

Perkin Warbeck claimed to be Richard of Shrewsbury, Duke of York – one of the ‘Princes in the Tower’ thought to have been murdered by Richard III. Perkin first appeared as Richard of Shrewsbury in Ireland in November 1491. The story goes that Perkin liked to dress in the fine silks of his master, and whilst he was walking the streets of Cork in his finery he was recognised by the townspeople as a royal prince.²⁵ A group of Yorkist supporters (John Taylor, John Atwater, Stephen Poyton and Hubert Burke) then persuaded him to impersonate Richard of Shrewsbury so that they might seize back the English throne from Henry VII. By the close of 1491, Perkin was undergoing secret training for his royal role, and by the early summer of 1492 he was at the French court.

Perkin became a convenient pawn in European diplomacy against Henry VII to help the other European rulers secure what they wanted. To them, it was irrelevant if he was the genuine article or not. Henry’s failed military campaign in France of 1492 resulted in the Peace of Étaples that included an undertaking by France to stop harbouring Yorkist rebels. Charles VIII of France had by now successfully conquered Brittany and was shifting his attentions to securing the kingdom of Naples from Spain. It was vital for France to avoid confrontation with England if it was to maintain the security of its northern maritime frontier during this Italian campaign. It was necessary for Charles to uphold his side of the agreement signed at Étaples. Accordingly France did not persist in aiding Perkin and the pretender had to seek help elsewhere.

The Archduke Maximilian was not happy that England and France had reached peace; this opened the way for Perkin to seek refuge at Maximilian’s court. Maximilian’s step-mother-in-law, the dowager Duchess of Burgundy, Margaret of York, was the sister of Edward IV and Richard III. In December 1492 she welcomed Perkin with open arms as her long lost nephew whom the world had thought dead. Meanwhile,

²³ Alban and Allmand, loc. cit.

²⁴ Allmand, ‘Intelligence in the Hundred Years War’, p. 40.

²⁵ It is unclear which master was meant here, since Perkin Warbeck served under Sir Edward Brampton, the Portuguese knight Pero Vaz, and then the Breton merchant Pregent Meno. Brampton claimed that the silks were the ones given to Perkin by him to wear at a fiesta in Portugal just before Perkin sailed to Ireland with Meno. For further details see Ann Wroe, *Perkin: a story of deception* (London 2003), p. 45.



Figure 1: A sixteenth-century copy of the only known contemporary portrait of Perkin Warbeck. French school, sanguine on paper.

Arras, Bibliothèque municipale / Bridgeman Art Library.

John Taylor was stirring up support in England amongst former Yorkists with the story of Richard's miraculous escape, blended with prophecies and popular tales of the king who would return from overseas to reclaim his throne and unite the kingdom.

Maximilian became Holy Roman Emperor in August 1493. Perkin now benefited from the unrestricted support of one of Europe's most ambitious rulers, and Henry was obliged to put his response to the growing crisis at the centre of his policies. In retaliation for Maximilian harbouring Perkin, Henry placed an embargo on trade with the Burgundian Netherlands, to which Maximilian's son, Archduke Philip of Burgundy, responded by placing a ban on the import of English wool into his realm. The blockade resulted in riots in London and the future of the Tudor dynasty hung in the balance as the English economy declined.

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In August 1494, Machado was sent by Henry VII to Charles VIII of France, as evidenced by confidential instructions given to Machado authenticated by Henry's signature at Sheen on 10 August.²⁶ In the letter, Machado is instructed to inform the King of France that Henry had received news of the arrival at Paris of the French ambassadors, the Archbishop of Rheims and Louis de la Trimouille, who had been despatched on a mission to the King of the Romans, and the intelligence they had brought of the intention of Maximilian to assist Perkin Warbeck. Henry acknowledged that the King of France was ready to lend his aid to defend England by lending Henry the Breton and Normandy fleets and that Charles had refused to allow his subjects to take part in Perkin's coup. Machado was instructed to return Henry's cordial thanks and acceptance of the offers, but to indicate that Henry did not consider Perkin such a massive threat as to take Charles up on his offer of assistance yet. The instructions then proceed:

And in regard to the said *garçon* the King makes no account of him, nor of all his...., because he cannot be hurt or annoyed by him; for there is no noblemen, gentleman, or person of any condition in the realm of England, who does not well know that it is a manifest and evident imposture, similar to the other which the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy made, when she sent Martin Swart over to England. And it is notorious, that the said *garçon* is of no consanguinity or kin to the late king Edward, but is a native of the town of Tournay, and son of a boatman, who is named *Werbec*, as the King is certainly assured, as well by those who are acquainted with his life and habits, as by some others his companions, who are at present with the King; and others still are beyond the sea, who have been brought up with him in their youth, who have publicly declared at length how...the king of the Romans. And therefore the subjects of the King necessarily hold him in great derision, and not without reason. And it should so be, that the king of the Romans should have the intention to give him assistance to invade England, (which the King can scarcely believe, being that it is derogatory to the honour of any price to encourage such an imposter) he will neither gain honour or profit by such an undertaking. And the King is very sure that the said king of the Romans, and the nobility about him, are well aware of the imposition, and that he only does it on account of the displeasure he feels at the treaty made by the King with his said brother and cousin, the king of France.²⁷

Machado was then instructed to offer the assistance of Henry in the mediation between Charles and Ferdinand of Spain over the kingdom of Naples. Machado was also to inform Charles that England was in as good, prosperous and peaceable condition as ever, and that Henry was going to resolve the problems in Ireland. Finally, Machado was to intimate Henry's thanks for Charles' declaration that he would not assist Scotland if James IV was to invade England. A separate article attached to the instructions also charges Machado to show to Charles privately that the aid given to

²⁶ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 18; this Ms is severely damaged. See the Appendix below for the full transcription. James Gairdner (ed.), *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII* (Rolls Series 24: 2 vols., London 1861-3) vol. 2, pp. 292-7.

²⁷ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 18, as quoted in Madden 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck' (note 8 above), pp. 165-6. See below, Appendix (a), for a full transcription of the original French.

Perkin by Maximilian is prompted entirely by his dislike of the friendship and amity between England and France, and that he would do everything in his power to set another king on the throne of England to accomplish his own desires. Henry was determined not to make terms with Maximilian and trusted that whilst England and France were in alliance they would be strong enough to defeat any attempts made to invade England by Maximilian and Perkin.

Machado was sent again to Charles VII at the end of December 1494. His instructions, dated 30 December at Greenwich, charge him to thank the French king for the good will he had shown towards Henry by agreeing to do all things according to his pleasure.²⁸ The instructions say that on Machado's prior return to England, Charles had promised to send an envoy to Henry, to discuss the affairs of both kingdoms, but as he had not arrived, Henry had thought it proper to dispatch Machado back again to learn the state of Charles's affairs and to communicate his own. Henry communicated that he was in good health, and was loved and obeyed in his kingdom as well as any of his predecessors had been. Everything in Ireland was going well. The instructions continue:

Item, in case that the said brother and cousin of the King, or others about him, should speak at all touching the king of the Romans, and the *garçon* who is in Flanders, the said Richmond may reply as he did on his former journey. And he shall say, that the King fears them not, because they are incapable of hurting or doing him injury. And it appears each day more and more to every person who the said *garçon* is, and from what place he came.²⁹

If Charles were to inquire about the peace between England and Scotland Machado was to reply that, at his departure, Henry had received information that an embassy was about to be despatched from Scotland to conclude peace. Machado was also to present some grievances and complaints held by English merchants to Charles. It is clear that Machado was to go on to Rome after meeting with Charles in France as an entry in the King's Household Book grants him £22 10s for his travel expenses to Rome for three months dated 1 January 1495.³⁰

In March 1495, Ferdinand of Spain engineered the League of Venice against the French (also known as the Holy League) which was made up of Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, the Papal States, Venice, Naples, Milan, Florence and Mantua. England remained neutral for the time being. Maximilian was still interested in making Perkin King of England. He believed that a Yorkist puppet would be a better guarantee of English support against the French. On the other side, Charles's best hope of securing a victory in Italy was to prevent a Yorkist take-over of the English throne.

By the early summer of 1495, the French informed Henry that Maximilian was massing ships and supplies to send Richard of Shrewsbury with a large army over to invade England. Henry's officials had already begun to arrest conspirators within the English court. Amongst Perkin's supporters in Flanders was Sir Robert Clifford,

²⁸ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 20.

²⁹ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 20, as quoted in Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 167. See below, Appendix (b), for a full transcription of the original French.

³⁰ BL Add Ms 7099; Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 167, note (g).

the man who had accompanied Machado on embassies to Brittany in 1490 recorded in Machado's memorandum book.³¹ Clifford's familiarity with Henry's daily routine and his many contacts in royal service had put him at the centre of Perkin's advisers. However, for unknown reasons, Clifford had a change of heart and wished to return to the king's grace. In exchange for immunity, he willingly provided letters and seals that identified the network of traitors in England. Clifford was pardoned just before Christmas 1494, and after a dangerous escape was back in London by mid-January 1495. Clifford informed Henry that Sir William Stanley, the man that had helped secure Henry's victory at Bosworth ten years earlier, had promised to assist Perkin in March 1493. By the end of January, suspected traitors had been examined and a special trial held at London's Guildhall. Stanley was convicted of treason on 7 February, and was beheaded on Tower Hill on 16 February.

Perkin mounted an invasion of England in the summer of 1495 despite Henry quashing a Yorkist rebellion in England. However, strong winds scattered Perkin's fleet and he landed with a much depleted force off the Kent coast. There he was attacked by Henry's troops and Perkin was forced to flee for Ireland, but was met by a bad reception. Perkin landed at Waterford and joined the Earl of Desmond's siege of the town. The town's citizens bombarded Perkin's ships and invaders taken prisoner were executed. Warbeck and Desmond were forced to retreat and were chased around Ireland and finally resurfaced at James IV of Scotland's court in November.

King James was eager for military glory and wanted Scotland to be taken more seriously in Europe. Perkin's reception in Scotland was mixed. Many of the Scottish lords saw that a Yorkist prince would be useful in Scottish policy, but others were suspicious that it was a plan initiated by Maximilian and Margaret of Burgundy who wanted Scotland to do what they could not, invade England. The king was convinced enough of Perkin's identity to offer him a generous pension and the hand in marriage of Lady Katherine Gordon.

Meanwhile, there was pressure being put on Maximilian to accept Henry VII into the Holy League. The coherence of the League was boosted by plans for the marriage between Maximilian's son, Philip, and Ferdinand's daughter, Joanna of Castile. Henry banked on Ferdinand's ability to influence Maximilian and begun to negotiate with Philip for a resumption of trade with the Netherlands. By the end of February 1496, a treaty, the *Intercursus Magnus*, restored trade and established an alliance between England and the Netherlands. However, Maximilian still refused to abandon Perkin.

Machado's third and final mission to France concerning Perkin Warbeck was in March 1496. His instructions are dated 5 March at Sheen and refer to the visit of the French ambassadors. They are confined to three main points: firstly, concerning a meeting of Henry and Charles, which Henry agrees to; secondly touching on overtures made for the marriage of the Dauphin and Margaret Tudor; and thirdly, concerning money owed by Charles to Henry, the payment of which Henry was content to postpone for twelve months. It concludes that Henry had been pressed by Maximilian, Ferdinand and the Pope to enter into the Holy League.³² However, this

³¹ CA Ms Arundel 51 fos. 69-88; Gairdner, *Memorials*, pp. 328-89.

³² BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 22.

was a cover for the real reason for Machado's visit – that Henry had received intelligence that James IV intended to attack England and Henry needed France's help. In a separate fragment of paper are instructions to Machado that note:

Item, if it should happen that the French King, or any great personages of his Council, should make any question or inquiry, how the King and the king of Scotland accord, seeing that the latter supports and entertains the *garçon* in his kingdom, or in similar words, — and in case they do not speak on the subject, the said Richmond is to endeavour by all proper means to give occasion to such remarks, — he may reply, that concerning this affair, the King cares nothing about it, and that it is the least of all his troubles. For the said king of Scotland is unable to injure him in any manner whatever, except, perhaps, in making him spend his money in vain.³³

Machado is then afterward instructed to address Charles in a prepared speech, reminding him of a promise made in the previous August at Turin, in the presence of many Scotsmen, that if James IV attempted anything prejudicial to Henry, then Charles would openly declare war on Scotland. Machado was to add that prior to his departure from England, Henry had received intelligence of the hostile designs of James to capture Berwick. At the same time, Machado was also charged to go to Charles's advisor, the Cardinal of St. Malo, Guillaume Briçonnet, to ask him to use his influence and that of the Duke of Orleans to persuade Charles that if Scotland threatened England then he would allow Henry access to the Duke of Albany, John Stewart, the nine year-old orphan son of Alexander de Albany, James III's brother, who had a claim to the Scottish throne. Henry would do for Albany what James IV was doing for Warbeck – put the young Duke of Albany on the Scottish throne.³⁴

Henry decided to join the League on 18 July 1496, but as a neutral he was not prepared to fight the French or supply money to anyone else wanting to. Spain put pressure on Scotland to abandon Perkin if James would ally with them, although Ferdinand did not have enough daughters to offer the Scottish king a suitable marriage to cement an alliance. Henry offered him the hand of his daughter, Margaret Tudor, but was too late as James was already planning to assist Perkin capture Berwick from the English. However, it was a war that James could not afford and had no chance of winning.

In mid-September 1496, a Scottish army crossed the border into England. After he had destroyed a few isolated towers and briefly bombarded Heaton Castle, James retreated back to Scotland. The north of England had remained indifferent to the return of Prince Richard and was unlikely to rise against Henry VII when the alternative monarch arrived at the head of a Scottish army. Henry began to muster his forces for a Scottish invasion in retaliation. Preliminary raiding began by both the Scots and English at the start of 1497 and Henry put the border region under martial law. However, financial pressure caused by the war with Scotland resulted in discontent in the south-west of England. A Cornish rebel army advanced through the West Country

³³ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 22, as quoted in Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', pp. 179-80.

³⁴ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fos. 26 & 28; Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 180-1. See below, Appendix (d), for a transcription of the original French of fo. 28.

onto London, but without artillery or significant cavalry, the rebel force was no match for Henry's forces and they were quashed at the Battle of Blackheath. However, this left England in no position to finance a lengthy northern war.

Spain was keen to broker a truce between England and Scotland. Perkin was now hampering the international recognition that James of Scotland craved, so he encouraged Perkin to sail for Spain. Perkin left Scotland on 4 July 1497, but James still continued his attack on England. However, James was eventually intimidated by England's superior numbers and started to withdraw his troops on 19 August. On 5 September, a seven-year truce was reached between Henry and James at Ayton.

Perkin ended up, once again, in Ireland. However, there were now very few Irish noblemen willing to support him, and he had to escape to sea. He landed at Land's End with only three ships on 7 September 1497. Although Perkin had missed his opportunity to exploit the western uprising a few months earlier, survivors of Blackheath were confident that the region would rise again in support of the Yorkist prince. By the time he arrived at Bodmin on 12 September, 3,000 rebels had joined him, and the army steadily grew as it marched into Devon. However, the rebels met with resistance at Exeter on 17 September and hundreds of them were killed. Perkin was forced to retreat to Taunton after a day's vicious fighting. By that time Henry's armies had him encircled. On 20 September, Warbeck fled and left his army to Henry's mercy.³⁵

By 22 September Perkin, disguised and accompanied by only three companions, sought sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, just a few miles across Southampton Water from Southampton itself. However, Perkin's anonymity was to be short-lived as he was recognised by the abbot who sent word to Henry. Before he knew it, Perkin was surrounded by Henry's men and citizens from nearby Southampton. As a result of Southampton's participation, the mayor, John Ward, received a reward of £40 from the king on behalf of Southampton.³⁶

Once Henry VII was informed of Perkin Warbeck's whereabouts at Beaulieu Abbey, he dispatched a party to negotiate Perkin's surrender. Machado was amongst its members. When Perkin surrendered he removed his sanctuary habit and dressed himself in royal finery and was escorted to Taunton Castle by a small guard, among whom was Machado.³⁷ As a result, Machado got a close look at the pretender and was able to describe him to the Milanese ambassador:

He [Machado] tells me that the young man is not handsome, indeed his left eye rather lacks lustre, but he is intelligent and well spoken.³⁸

This is a curious observation as Perkin has always been thought of and described as handsome and his surviving portrait shows a good-looking young man, though

³⁵ For further information on Perkin Warbeck see Ian Arthurson, *The Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy, 1491-1499* (Stroud 1994); Wroe, *Perkin*; Sean Cunningham, *Henry VII* (Abingdon 2007), pp. 65-98; Desmond Seward, *The Last White Rose* (London 2010).

³⁶ TNA: E 36/126 fo. 37v; TNA: EXT 6/140; Southampton City RO SC 5/3/1 fo. 20v; Southampton City RO SC 5/1/24a fo. 2r.

³⁷ *CSP Milan*, pp. 329-30; Arthurson, *Perkin Warbeck Conspiracy*, p. 189.

³⁸ *CSP Milan*, p. 330.

perhaps it does hint at a defective left eye: see **Figure 1** above.³⁹ At this time, strange eyes were considered dangerous and signified that the person could not be trusted.⁴⁰ Was Machado telling the truth, or was he elaborating to play on the medieval psyche and further convince the world of Perkin's guilt? Machado was also entrusted with a copy of Warbeck's confession, which he showed to the Milanese ambassador probably on his way to showing it to Charles VIII of France.⁴¹

Machado the spy? Some conclusions

The three sets of instructions given to Machado between 1494 and 1496 for missions concerning Perkin Warbeck show that he was trusted enough by Henry to pass on confidential messages between the kings of England and France. However, they also hint at another role that Machado performed, that of a spy. The heralds' recognised international immunity made them ideal messengers and carriers of secrets. Machado was a discreet and intuitive man who was frequently in a position to observe goings-on at foreign courts that he could then pass on to his master, Henry VII. Machado's home in Southampton may have also provided a means to acquire intelligence from abroad because merchants were a major source of intelligence.⁴² In the Byzantine world, for instance, merchants were thought to be the best spies because they could pick up intelligence on the movements of armies, the intentions of the enemy and valuable economic information during the course of their daily activities.⁴³

There is also evidence that strongly suggests that Machado was actively involved in intercepting foreign espionage and illicit activity in the port at Southampton through his position as Searcher of Customs. Enemy aliens and agents would often smuggle arms, bullion and victuals, as well as prejudicial bulls which might attack the king's prerogative, through ports under the guise of legitimate trade. Customs officials were always on the look-out for such activity. Anyone carrying such material was to be arrested and detained immediately.⁴⁴ The record of Machado's appointment as Southampton's Searcher of Customs refers to this particular obligation:

Appointment of Roger Machado, *alias* 'Richemounde Herod', as the king's searcher in the port of Southampton and in all adjacent ports and places, to examine in person all ships and boats passing from and to the realm in the said ports and places, and to make search of all such ships and boats suspected of being laden with uncocketed or uncustomed wools, woollfells, hides, cloths or other customable wares, or with gold or silver in money by tale or mass or plate, or with jewels, or of any persons suspected of having carried into or out of the realm *bulls, letters, instruments or processes, or any other things prejudicial to the king or his subjects*, contrary to the proclamations and prohibitions made thereof in the king's behalf; *and to arrest all such goods and instruments as forfeit, together with the ships and person carrying them, and to keep them safely until further order*; and to do all other things that pertain to the said office; and to certify the king in the Chancery touching all that is done by him in this behalf; to hold the said office during

³⁹ Wroe, *Perkin*, p. 8.

⁴¹ *CSP Milan*, pp. 329-31.

⁴³ Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', pp. 35-6.

⁴⁴ Alban and Allmand, p. 93-4.

⁴⁰ Wroe, *Perkin*, p. 9.

⁴² Arthurson, 'Espionage', p. 146.

pleasure, together with a moiety of the said forfeiture, answering and rendering account at the Exchequer for the other moiety of the forfeiture arrested by him. And order to all sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, lords, masters, mariners of ships, and other the king's ministers and lieges, under pain of forfeiture of what they can forfeit, to be intendant to Roger.⁴⁵

As someone who may have been occasionally used to spy on other realms, Machado was uniquely qualified to carry out this role.

Ann Wroe speculates that Machado was spying for Henry VII when he was sent to Portugal alone 'for certain causes' in August 1489 whilst on embassy, before then being joined by the other envoys. At this time, Perkin is believed to have been in the service of Sir Edward Brampton in Portugal. Wroe argues that Henry was aware of Perkin well before he materialised in Ireland as Richard of Shrewsbury in 1491, and sent Machado and Carlisle Herald to gather intelligence on him. Carlisle Herald was sent to Bruges, Brampton's town, a few days after Machado was dispatched to Portugal (see **Figure 2**).⁴⁶ It is very likely that Machado's and Perkin's paths crossed in Portugal. Brampton played host to the English envoys in 1489. However, this assumes that Perkin already had designs on the English throne, well before 1491 when he was identified in Ireland as a Yorkist prince. Securer proof of Machado's involvement in espionage comes from the instructions given for his second mission to Charles VIII of France. In them he is explicitly ordered to gather intelligence concerning the state of affairs in the Pope's territories, in France, in the seignories of Venice, Florence and other Italian principalities.⁴⁷

Although it is near impossible to provide undisputable proof that Machado and other English heralds were regularly used as spies at this time, it is also difficult to argue that they did not because of the unique position heralds were often placed in. Herald's were both visible and invisible members of diplomatic embassies. They would have proudly worn their colourful coats of arms whilst also discreetly standing in the background to listen and observe goings on in foreign courts. Their role as reporters also meant that they had to be perceptive of their surroundings as well as sensitive to and knowledgeable of the situations they found themselves in. Discretion and political insight were vital talents for heralds to have, and Machado had these in abundance. He was described by the Milanese ambassador in 1497 as 'a wise man', 'a man of wit and discretion' and a 'herald, who is worth two doctors'.⁴⁸

Machado also had the advantage of being multi-lingual. Native speakers made the best spies because they aroused less suspicion.⁴⁹ Being of Portuguese heritage,

⁴⁵ *CFR 1485-1509*, pp. 36, 38; W. Campbell (ed.) *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII, From Original Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office* (Rolls Series 60: 2 vols., London 1873-5) vol. 1, pp. 28-30. Italics author's own.

⁴⁶ Wroe, *Perkin*, pp. 40-1. For the exchequer writ allowing Machado his expenses for the Portugal trip see TNA: E 404/80/37; for Carlisle Herald's expenses for trip to Bruges see TNA: E 36/130 mem. 46v.

⁴⁷ BL Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fo. 20; Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', p. 167.

⁴⁸ *CSP Milan*, pp. 323, 329-31; *CSP Ven.*, vol. 1 p. 260.

⁴⁹ Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', p. 35.

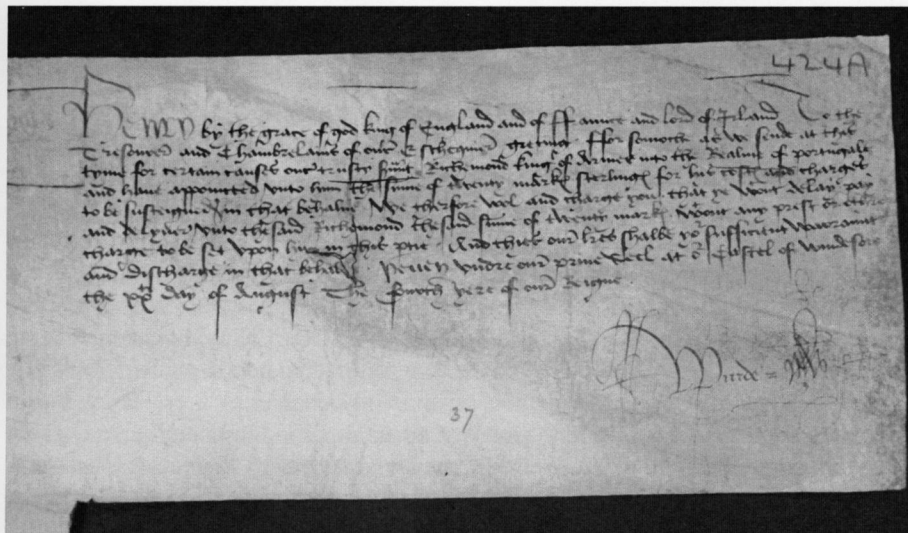


Figure 2: Exchequer warrant of Henry VII for issue of expenses to 'Richemond King of Armes' (Roger Machado). TNA E 404/80/37.

By courtesy of The National Archives. Photograph by Adrian Ailes.

Machado did not look like an Englishman and therefore may have been able to overhear and understand conversations not intended for English ears. Machado also had access to the inner council and often to the king himself as evidenced by his involvement with the diplomacy surrounding Perkin Warbeck, discussed above. This meant that he had access to the nerve centre of policy and decision making of foreign courts.⁵⁰ Machado, therefore, had the means as well as the opportunity to be a successful spy.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Allmand, 'Intelligence in the Hundred Years War', p. 39.

⁵¹ My thanks go to the AHRC for funding my doctoral research, my supervisors and examiners and to Clive Cheesman, the current Richmond Herald, for his suggestions on an earlier draft. Thanks to him also for obtaining the funding for Figure 1 and to Adrian Ailes for supplying Figure 2. Any errors are of course my own.

Appendix: British Library Cotton Ms Caligula D. VI fos. 18, 20b, 25 & 28.

Transcriptions from F. Madden, 'Documents relating to Perkin Warbeck', *Archaeologia* 27 (1838), pp. 153-210.

(a) fo. 18 [= Madden, pp. 200-4]

H. R. Instructions bailleés à Richemont, Roy d'armes de Clairenceaulx, de [ce qu'il] aura à dire et remoustrer par le Roy nre fr à son frere & cousin de [France.]

Premierement fera pñtacion des lectres du Roy à sond' frere & cousin, avecques [les] tres affectueuses recommandacions à ce requises, et luy dira comme le Roy a rec[u] par les mains de son escuier Thomyn le Feure, les lectres de creance que sond' [frere] et cousin luy escripuoit par messier Georges le Grec; En luy remoustrant e icelluy messe. Georges estoit tumbé en chemin fort mallade de la goute, tellem[ent] qu'il ne pouoit venir deuers le Roy, pour accomplir sa charge.

Après luy dira comme le Roy a sceu & entendu par led' escuier, que naguaires [sont] ariuez deuers sond' frere & cousin, ses ambassadeurs, l'archiesque de Rans, et [Monseigneur] d la Trymouille. Lesquelz il auoit enuoyez en ambassade deuers le Roy des Ro[mains], et luy ont dit & rapport le vouloir & desir que led' Roy des Romains a de ayd[er] & fauourizer celluy qui se nomme Plantagenet, et ester filz du feu Roy Edo[uard], et qu'il est deliberé de luy ayder de gens, de faveur, et de ce qu'il pourra. Et à [cette] intencion est allé en Flandres, avec bonne puissance. Dont led' frere & cousin du Roy l'a bien voulu aduertir, pour y pourueoir, & s'en prendre garde.

Disant oultre, que Icelluy son frere & cousin, pour moustrer au Roy l'armour qu'il [luy] porte, comme Il luy a esté aydant à conqueror le Royalme d'Angleterre, lu[y] voudroit ayder & fauourizer à le garder et deffendre, et que le Roy advise [ra de la] forme & maniere de bien pourueoir à son affaire, et dilligeamment, et qu[ant le] cas le requiert, à ce que le Roy ne soit soupriens.

Offrant comme son bon frere, que non obstant l'arméé qu'il a fait par [mer et] par terre, pour l'emprinse du Royaulme de Naples, qu'il luy aydera & favou[riza] volentiers pour la conseruacion dud' Royaulme d'Angleterre, et st que le Roy se puisse aydr des nauires de Bretagne, Normandie, e besoin en a pour son fuice, en les payant raysonnableme[nt, et] ce ne feust l'affaire qu'il a de sad' entreprinse, eust dein tout & tel secours qu'il luy eust demander.

Plus, luy a remoustré led' escuier, que sond' frere & cousin ne sou que led' garson puisse recouurer gens de son obeysance, pou A fait reffuz à aucuns qui luy en ont fait requeste, am Leur vie.

..... et pardessus ce, luy a dit, que led' frere & cousin du Roy soingner des nauires et gens, qu'il veu andant à ses v ... d
.....

Et pourtant qu'il dit que l'affaire pourroit ester soudain, Icelluy [son frere & cousin] a ordonné et commandé mandement, que tous ceulx qui voudront aller ... le Roy, ilz y puissant aller, et semblablement les nauires, en les payant con disant que sond' frere & cousin seroit tres deplaisant, qu'il [ne] peust venir incon au Roy, pour la fraternité qu'ilz ont ensemble, à quoy le Roy saura bien pou[neoir] par bon conseil et aduis.

Dont, et des bons aduertissemens, et avec les honnourables offres que led' frere [et cousin] du Roy luy fait en ceste parties, mesmement des inionctions donnez à ses gens [et] officiers, le Roy l'en remercy le plus trescordialement que faire peult, et ne [les] refuse pas, mais les accepte, parce qu'il congnoist & apperçoit bien, que ce [iuy] meult & procede de bonne & cordiale amour, et qu'il desire le bien & prosperité d[u] Roy comme le sien proper, qui est vng tresgrant resiouyssement & confort [au] Roy, et à tous ses subgetz, en tant qu'ilz congnoissent, que ce est meu & procede de son proper mouuement.

Et se peult led' frere & cousin du Roy tenir pour tout asseuré, que le Roy est en ue[rs] luy de mesmes vouloir et disposicion, et bien deliberé de luy moustrer par effect, quant le cas le requeroit; Combien que le Roy n'entent point, veu que la mat[iere] dud' garson est de sy petite estime & valeur, de mectre en paine ne trauail les subgetz de sond' frere & cousin, ne de luy donner cest ennui pour cest affaire,..... quant le cas aduiendroit, qu'il en auroit besoing, le Roy se voudroit ayder plus volentiers de luy que de nul autre prince; Et est le Roy bien deliberé [que] s'il venoit quelque fortune ou necessité à sond' frere & cousin, que dieu ne v[ueille], de faire le cas pareil pour luy.

Et au regart d'icelluy garson, le Roy ne fait estime nulle de luy, ne de toute sa parce qu'il ne luy sauroit nuyre ou porter preiudice; car il n'y à seigneur ou home de façon ne d'auctorité oud' Royaulme d'Angleterre ne autres de qu[elconque] estat qu'ilz soient, qui ne congnoissent bien que ce n'est que vne abusio[n] t[re]s manifeste & evidente, pareille à l'autre que la duchesse douagere de Bour[goigne] fist, quant elle enuoya Martin Souart en Angleterre. Et est notoirement que led' garson n'est d'aucune consanguinité ou parenté aud' feu Roy Edoua[rt], mais est natif de la ville de Tournay, et filz d'ung batellier, le quell s'appell[oit] Werbec, comme de ce le Roy est deument acertainé, tant par ceulx qui ont sa vie & gouuernement, que par aucuns autres ses compaignons, qui sont present avecq le Roy, et les autres sont dela la mer, qui ont esté nourriz en leurs jeunesse, lesquelz l'ont publiquemēt declairé tout au long, cu e Roy des Romains. Et n'y a point de faulte, que les subgetz du Roy le p Tresgrande desrizion, et non sans cause.

..... ue quant ainsi seroit, que led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, ce [que le Roy ne peult au]cunement croire, que luy ne autre princ le vouldist abusio[n] que cest, qui est desrogante à l'onneur de Prince honorable y doit auoir es Plaisir de dieu, ne luy en pource, veue grant honneur, et encoires moins de prouffit. Et est le Roy bien sceur que led' [Roy] des Romains et les gens de façon de pardela congnoissent bien lad' abusio[n], [et] que ce qu'il en fait, est pour le desplaisir qu'il a prins, et prent, du traicté & app[ointement] que le Roy a fait avecq sond' frere & cousin.

Encoires luy dira comme le Roy a sceu par led' escuier les droit; et tiltres que sond' frere & cousin pretend ou Royaulme de Napples, et le forme & maniere d l'enuoy et conduiete de l'armée qu'il a enuoyé, tant par mer que par ter[re] oud' Royaulme de Napples. Laquelle il semble au Roy en son opinion ester bien et prudntement ordonnée et conduite, actendu les intelligences qu'il dit auoir es Ytalles.

Dont et de ce qu'il a pleu à Icelluy son frere & cousin si famillicremēt l'aduertir de la disposicion de ses affaires, et de sesd' entreprises & intelligences, sentien ..

tresfort a tenu à luy, et l'en remercy. Neantmoins le Roy voudroit voulent[iers], tan en consideracion de la propinuité (sic) de sang & liniage, qui est entre sond' fre[re] et cousin & luy, que aussi pour la fraternité qui est entre luy et led' Roy de Napples, le quel a recue son ordre de la Jarretière, qu'il se peust trouuer quelque bon traitté & appointemēt entre eulx, et en especeal pour euitier l'effusion du sang humain, l'onneur et droit d'icelluy son bon frere & cousin gardé en ceste Et semble au Roy, qu'il seroit trop enveulx, s'il pouoit ester moyen de paciff[ier] le different, à quoy se employroit d tresbon cuer sur ce, & non autremēt.

Et pour ce que le Roy dsire pareillement que sond' frere & cousin soit advert[y] de ses nouuelles, luy dira que, graces à dieu, le Roy est en bonne santé & prosper[ité] dé sa personne, et le Royaulme en bonne & paisible obeissanc, autant qu'il a j[amais] esté en memoire d'homme. Ce voyant le Roy, et qu'il est en bonne paix, trans[quillité] et vnion, aussi bien en sond' Royaulme que partout ailleurs, à ceste cause [il] a conclu et deliberé de mectre ordre en son pais d'Irland, assauoir sur ceu[ilx] qui s'appellent Irlandois sauuaiges, affin qu'ilz puissent desormais viure polic & justice, comme font ceulx de sond' Royaulme, & les autres Irlandis [de] langue Angloisse. Et à ceste intencion, Il enuoye vne bonne & suffisau[n]te armée] accompagnée de bons et grans personnages, tant pour la guerre que [pour la] justice. Et de ce faire est tres instantement supplié & requis par les n[otables] gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, et autres gens d'estat dud' pais, qui scay[ent] lad' langue Angloysse. Lesquelz sont en aussi bonne obeissance ou temps de nul autre prince. Et à ceste fin sont venuz deuers De Duuelin, troys ou quatre autres euesques, le conte de Kildare autres seigneurs et gens d'estat d'icelluy pais. Lesquelz sont en [aue]cq le Roy. Et n'y point de faulte, que lad' armée a y aller sera preste de passer ou moys de Septemb[re] [plu]start.

..... luy dira que le Roy a entendu pareil[lement] moys pñtement
.....
et que entre autres choses de sa charge led' frere & cousin du Roy luy [a donné] commandement de dire et remoustrer aud' Roy d'Escosse, que se leu se vouloit parforcer de inuander led' Royaulme d'Angleterre, que donne aucun port, faueur, ne assistance. Car de sa part Il est tou deliberé de ayder et assister le Roy. Surquoy led' Richemont le rem[ercyera] trescordialement, et prent le Roy à tresgrant Plaisir de c qu'il don[noit] ainsi à congnoistre aux autres princes le lad grant amour & affection qu'il porte enuers luy. Et est le Roy bien deliberé de donner à cōg[noistre] pareillement aux autres princes l'amour & affection qu'il luy porte [de] sa part.

Et finalement luy dira, que pour le desir et affection que le Roy a de so ester acertenné de ses nouuelles, et qu'il en soit semblablement advert [des] siennes, Le Roy l'enuoye deuers luy, Luy pryant que par luy, luy vy faire sauoir d sesd' bonnes nouuelles, qui luy sera tresgrant resiouys[sance] et confort. Fait & expédié au Manoir de Shene, le xme Jour d'A[oust] l'an [mil] iiijc xiiij.

HENRY R.

MEAUTIS.

(b) fo. 20b [= Madden, pp. 167-8, note (h)]

Lesquelles sont tells. Que, graces à Dieu, le Roy n're d' souuerain sr est bonne santé & prosperi[té] de sa personne, aussi bien aymé et obey en son Royaulme, que fue janais Roy en Angleterre, et que les affaires de son pais d'Irlande vou Avant, tout ainsi qu'il les sauroit ou vouldroit demauder. Et pour te certain, les notables prelatz, gens d'eglise, grans seigneurs, gens d'onn[eur] et de façon, et tous autres dud' pais d'Irlande, aussi bien ceulx de la sauluaige, que celle de la langue Angloisse, se sont tous venuz rend Lieutenant general du Roy n're d' souuerain sr. Reste tant seullement, fors de metre icelluy pais en bonne justice, or[dre], et police. Ce que le Roy n're d' souuerain sr espoire sera fait de brief [sans] aucune diffilculté, à son tres grant honner et prouffit.

Item on cas que led' bon frere & cousin du Roy n're d' souuerain sr estans alentour de luy, entient aucunement en paroles tou[chant le roy des] Romains, et du garson qui est en Flandrs, Led' Richmont [pourra] responder, co'me il fist à l'autre voyage, et que ses tent, Lesquelles il pourra porter avecques Et dira que d'eulx le Roy n're d' nulle, parce qu'ilz ne luy sauroient en façon quelconque nuyre, ou porter p'iud[ice]. Et appert l'ung jour plus que autre à vng ch'un du lieu dout est yssu led' garson, et qu'il est.

(c) fo. 25 [= Madden, p. 204]

Advertissement apart à Richemont de ce qu'il aura à dire en secret and' frere & cousin du Roi.

Led' Richemont, quant il verra temps conuenable, remoustrera en secret a[ud'] frere st cousin du Roy, que se (sic) le Roy des Romains se delibere de donner aid et assistance au garson qui se fait renommer Plantagenet, qu'il ne le fait sy non pource qu'il voit l'armytié ester sy grande et entire le Roy et Icellui son frere & cousin, et qu'il ne peult trouuer moien d'y faire romptu .. Meismement pour le desplaisir qu'il prent de la paix que le Roy prinst avecques soud' frere et cousin.

Et peult ester que si le Roy se vouloit encoires incliner & condescendre au desir des intencions dud' Roy des Romains, il pourroit auoir avecques luy aussi grande intelligence et amytié qu'il eust jamais, et plus; ce que le Roy n'est pas deliberé faire, pour chose qu'il luy sauroit ou pourroit offrir. Puis est resolu entierement de tenir ferme & estable ce qu'il a fait et promis avecques Icellui son frere et cousin.

Et scayt bien le Roy, que ledit Roy des Romains entant qu'il voit que le Roy ne se vault nullement incliner à sa voulenté, desireroit voulentiers trou[uer] moien à toutes fins, s'il pouoit, qu'il y eust vng autre Roy en Angleterre, du quell il se peust aidr et faire à sa posté, pour puenir à son entrepr[ins]. Et quelque semblant que moustre, il est bon à veoir, qu'il se vouldroit voulentiers reuenger, s'il pouoit, aussi bien sur led' frere & cousin du Roy, q' sur le Roy. Ja soit ce qu'il n'a matiere ne cause raisonnable de ce faire, si non qu'il se fonde tousiours sur la prinse dud' traicté d .. appointment.

Mais le Roy espoire que sond' frere et cousin & luy seront à mo de dieu, assez de puissance pour resister à sa malueillance. C[ar] il vouldroit ores aucune chose entreprendre sur eulx, estans [en] paix et vnion ensemble, comme ilz sont de present.

(In Machado's handwriting)

[Instruct]ions du Roy H. vije. à Rychemont Roy d'armes de Clarenceaux declairer au Roy Francoys.

(d) fo. 28 [= Madden, p. 180, note (p)]

Item s'il audient q' le Roy Francois ou aucun grans personnaiges de [son] conseil facent aucune question ou demande à Richemont, comme accordent et font le Roy n're souuerain sr et le Roy d'Escosse, vue qu'il supporte et entretient le garson en ses pais, ou de tells ou semblables paroles. Et si' d'auenture on ne luy en parle point, qu'il se mette en deuoir par tous bons moiens de doner occasion q' on luy en puisse parler.

Et ce fait, pourra responder, quant à ce, que le Roy n're souuerain sr ne s'en soucyue que bien appoint, et qu'il croit q' c'est le moind[re] de tous ses soucyys. Car led' Roy d'Escosse ne luy sauroit nuyre en facon quelconque, si ce n'est de luy faire despandre argent en vain.