Like his Yorkist predecessors, Henry VII faced threats from pretenders to the throne, such as Perkin Warbeck (ca. 1474–99), a young man who claimed to be Richard, duke of York, Edward V’s younger brother, escaped from the Tower of London to reclaim his usurped throne. Compare the argument of “Richard IV” (Perkin) for his legitimacy and the illegitimacy of Henry with similar arguments in Richard III’s and Henry’s declarations of 1485. What values are appealed to?

Whereas We [“Richard IV,” that is Perkin] in our tender age, escaped by God’s great might out of the Tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea to divers other countries, there remaining certain years as unknown. The which season it happened one Henry son to Edmond Tydder [Tudor] -- earl of Richmond created, son to Owen Tudor of low birth in the country of Wales -- to come from France and entered into this our realm, and by subtle false means to obtain the crown of the same unto us of right appertaining: Which Henry is our extreme, and mortal enemy, as soon as he had knowledge of our being alive, imagined, compassed and wrought, all the subtle ways and means he could devise, to our final destruction, insomuch as he has not only falsely surmised us to be a feigned person, giving us nicknames, so abusing your minds; but also to deter and put us from our entry into this our realm.

In 1529, Wolsey’s power came crashing down, in large part because of his inability to solve the King’s Great Matter (see Bucholz and Key, chapter 2, and below chapter 3). What other factors might have contributed to Wolsey’s fall? How do the charges against him compare with earlier documents? Are they fair? How might he have defended himself? Are his failings political, religious, or personal failings?

1. For obtaining [papal] legatine authority in England, to the injury of
the king’s prerogative and the immunity possessed by the crown for 200 years.

2. For making a treaty with the French king for the pope without the king’s knowledge, the king not being named therein, and binding the said French king to abide his award if any controversy arose upon it.

4. For having in diverse letters and instructions to foreign parts used the expression, “the king and I”; “I would ye should do thus,” and “the king and I give unto you our hearty thanks,” using himself more like a fellow to your highness than a subject.

5. For having caused his servants to be sworn only to himself, when it has been the custom for noblemen to swear their households first to be true to the king.

6. For having endangered the king’s person in that he, when he knew himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in diverse places of his body, came daily to your grace [King Henry VIII], rousing [whispering] in your ear and blowing upon your most noble grace with his perilous and infective breath; and when he was healed, he made the king believe that it was only an impostume [swelling] in his head.

8. For making ambassadors come first to him alone, so that it may be suspected he instructed them after his own pleasure, contrary to the king’s command.

12. For writing to ambassadors abroad, in his own name and without the king’s knowledge, and causing them to write again to him, so as to conceal their information.

13. For discouraging the hospitality kept in religious houses, by taking impositions [bribes] of the heads of those houses for his favor in making abbots and priors and for visitation fees, which is a great cause that there be so many vagabonds, beggars, and thieves.

14. For surveying and relating at increased rents the lands of the [monastic] houses he had suppressed, putting out copyholders or compelling them to pay new fines.

15. For arrogant demeanor in the council chamber, letting no man speak but one or two great personages.

19. For shamefully slandering many good religious houses, by which means he suppressed 30, exceeding even the powers given him in his bull, which enabled him only to suppress houses that had not more than six or seven in them. He then caused offices to be found by untrue verdicts that the religious persons had voluntarily abandoned their houses.

20. For examining matters in chancery after judgement had been given on them by the common law, and compelling parties to restore to the opposite party what they had recovered by execution in the common law.

32. For promoting dissension amongst the nobles.

37. For forbidding persons who had been before him in the Star Chamber to sue to the king for pardon.

40. For stamping the cardinal’s hat under the king’s arms on the coin of groats made at York.

43. For prohibiting two bishops from visiting the university of Cambridge to prevent the spread of Lutheran heresies.

44. They beg the king to make the cardinal an example.